

# SCOTICHRONICON

by  
WALTER BOWER

New edition in Latin and English  
with notes and indexes

General Editor: D E R WATT

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Volume 7

Books XIII and XIV

Edited by  
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with  
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## SCOTICHRONICON

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## Preface

Several people have shared in the editing of this volume. The Latin text of Book XIII cc.1-18 was produced by Norman Shead, and of cc.19-50 by Donald Watt. The English translation of cc.1-19 was drafted by Donald Watt, and of cc.20-50 by Ulrike Morét with help for some chapters by Sonja Cameron. The Latin text and translation of all of Book XIV was drafted by Donald Watt, with some initial assistance from Alan Macquarrie and Steve Boardman. The whole translation of both Books in this volume has benefited from revision by Brian Scott. The notes for both Books are the work of Donald Watt with some initial assistance by Norman Shead.

For this volume as for others Professor Harry Hine has been most helpful in tracing quotations from Classical Latin literature. Professor George Rigg has helped materially in suggesting corrections and improvements to our draft translation of the Otterburn poem (XIV c.52). Madame M.A.Polo de Beaulieu has generously put at our disposal her extensive knowledge of the literature on 'The Ghost of Guy' (XIII cc.6-9). Among those who have helped us on particular points thanks are due particularly to Professor N.J.Housley, Professor M.C.E.Jones and Dr A.T.Luttrell, besides colleagues in the University of St Andrews.

Thanks are due as before to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge for giving us access to their MS 171 as the main basis of this edition, and for their continuing contributions towards the financial cost of its publication. Other generous donors on the business side are the TSB Foundation for Scotland, the Keepers of the Quaich, and William Grant and Sons. On the academic side the British Academy has maintained its long-standing interest in this project, as has the University of St Andrews, in whose Centre for Advanced Historical Studies in St John's House it has its base. All these donations are gratefully acknowledged, for without them the completion of this edition would not be possible.

The publication of this volume marks the completion of the Latin text, English translation and commentary on this new edition of the *Scotichronicon*. The final volume of Critical Studies and General Indexes is currently in preparation.

Donald Watt

## Introduction to Books XIII and XIV

### *The Manuscripts*

The part of the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 171 used as the basic text for this volume (fos. 271-315v) has survived with comparatively little damage by rodents to the paper on which it is written. The words lost from the main text for this reason are therefore very few; rather more of the additional material in the margins has been lost, either from the same cause or as a result of the corners of the folios rubbing together. As usual in this edition these lost passages have been recovered as necessary from the Donibristle MS. The aim is to provide a text as near as possible to its condition at the time of Bower's death in 1449 or a few years later, before the copies were made which derive from MS 171 directly or indirectly. No illustrations occur in this part of the manuscript.

The list of rubrics for Book XIII follows immediately on the *Explicit* for Book XII on fo.271. The wording of each title in the list is frequently longer than that of its counterpart at the head of each chapter, though it is usually to the same effect (cf. above Vol.4, pp. xiii-xiv). The numbering of the entries in the list is one short after no.31 had been given twice to two successive chapters in error. There follows a completely blank page (fo.271v) before the start of c.1 of the text. An unusual feature of this Book is the insertion of an extra bifolio (fos.277-277v and 286-286v) as an addition to the normal section of ten bifolios (fos.271-292v).<sup>a</sup> The first leaf of this bifolio contains the texts of two formal documents included here in cc.12-12a. An act of renunciation by King Edward III in 1328 had been mentioned in the course of c.12 in the middle of fo.276v, when presumably the full text was not to hand. At a later stage this extra leaf was introduced so that this text could be inserted just opposite the mention of it with a short introductory bridging passage. The text-hand is still the same. Since this text occupied only half of the *recto* of this extra leaf, the opportunity was taken to insert on the bottom half of that page and on the *verso* the full text of the so-called second tailzie of King Robert I dating from ten years earlier. This also had not been available when the first tailzie of 1315 had been included above (XII c.24; cf. c.37). It was inserted here now in time to be included in a cross-reference in the list of rubrics at the start of Book XIII.

The list of rubrics for Book XIV follows immediately after the end

of Book XIII on fo.292v, running on to the top half of fo.293 and leaving the bottom half of that folio blank before c.1 starts at the top of fo.293v. Again many of the titles are considerably longer than their equivalents at the start of each chapter. This Book ends in some confusion. The last chapter of normal text (c.55) comprises the text of a letter supposedly sent by some Turks to the pope. It is dated 1366 here, and entered about twenty-five years out of its chronological sequence. There follows a short gap at the foot of fo.317v with no customary *Explicit* marking the end of the Book. This leads to an eccentric leaf containing fos.318-318v, which is not this time a part of an extra bifolio that had been inserted, but rather a part of the normal section of ten bifolios. Originally, however, it was reversed, with the leaf then here blank on both *recto* and *verso* while awaiting the insertion of the list of rubrics for Book XV, and the other leaf of the bifolio (i.e. the leaf now here) then forming fos. 327-327v. At the top of fo.327 some fourteen and a half lines of XV c.20 (text l.19 ['scola'] to l.44 ['choruscare']) were copied, with latterly so many errors that the scribe marked the whole passage for deletion. He then reversed the bifolio to provide a fresh leaf on which to continue XV c.20 correctly, and the deleted passage then (as now) came to form the top of fo.318. Despite this blemish, the rest of the leaf and the top two lines of fo.318v were used for the list of rubrics for Book XV. Then the whole of the rest of the *verso* was used for the insertion of full texts of a papal bull of 1375 and an act of King David II dated 1368 × 1369. Though physically within Book XV, these items belong chronologically to Book XIV. Indeed the first of them is entered as c.56 in a late entry in the list of rubrics for that Book, though the second is not. At some stage cross-references were added in the text-hand in the margins of XIV cc.27 and 39 (fos. 303v and 308v) drawing attention to the three texts printed here as cc.55, 56 and 56a as having been copied out of chronological order.<sup>b</sup> Rather different is the situation in XIV c.41, where an additional document is entered wholly in the margin of fos. 309v-10 in association with a related document already in the text, both documents being in fact similarly misdated to 1381 rather than the correct 1371.

There are unusually few scribal corrections in this part of the Corpus MS. Only very occasionally (e.g. XIII c.36, textual note f; c.44, note l; XIV c.3, note v; c.28, note b) are there possible authorial corrections in the main text; but in at least two chapters (XIV c.14, 43) Bower was to make an unusually large number of changes for the corresponding chapters in the Coupar Angus MS, which is presumably a sign of his dissatisfaction with his composition here. Four times (XIV cc.29, 39, 40, 50) a chapter is first numbered wrongly by repeating the number of the previous chapter, and then given its correct number in the series. In all these cases it appears to be a matter of scribal error rather than authorial change (cf. above Vol. 4, p.xiv).

The scribe twice (XIV cc.37, 40) leaves gaps in his text for the later insertion of personal names which never materialised. As is occasionally found in other parts of the manuscript, the text here in some passages of analysis and discussion is laid out in schematic rather than literary form (XIV cc. 24, 28, 29, 31, 33, 52), which is probably a reflection of the author's university training in scholastic method. It is noteworthy that when the scribe inserted in the margin the full text of one of the documents wrongly dated 1381 (see above), he at first copied the correct date 1371, but then altered it to 1381 to conform with the author's dates in the main text.

The more substantial additions to the basic text in the Corpus MS are to be found as follows:

Book XIII cc.4 (fo.273), 12 (fo.276v), 12a (fos.277-277v), 13 (fo.278), 14 (fo.278), 18 (fos.279v-280), 20 (fo.280v), 24 (fo.282), 25 (fo.282), 41 (fo.289), 43 (fo.290), 49 (fo.292).

Book XIV cc.1 (fo.293v), 3 (fo.294v), 4 (fo.295), 10 (fo.297), 12 (fos.297v-298), 18 (fos.299v-300), 20 (fo.300v), 26 (fo.303), 36 (fo.307v), 41 (fos.309v-310), 42 (fo.310v), 47? (fo.312v), 51 (fo.314v), 54 (fo.317).

These additions follow the usual mixed pattern. Some provide extra factual information, occasionally in the form of short entries such as occur in annals (e.g. XIII c.12; XIV c.42); some are longer quotations from identifiable sources such as the Bridlington prophet or Vincent of Beauvais (XIII c.24; XIV c.4; cf. XIII c.18); some introduce short passages of reflective verse (e.g. XIII cc.12, 13, 14, 25; XIV cc.26, 36, 54), or other literary embellishments (e.g. XIII cc.24, 41, 43), or a passage of judicious summing up (e.g. XIII c.49 on the career of William Bullock). It is as usual impossible to tell which of these additions were made on the instructions of Bower himself in his last years and which may have been added by his scribe in the years after his death before the derivative manuscripts were copied. But we do have in the Coupar Angus MS Bower's own corrections, improvements and additions, to which attention is here drawn either in the textual notes (where a Coupar Angus reading helps to clarify Bower's earlier intention in the Corpus MS) or in the editorial notes (where any long additional passages are included as representing Bower's latest work).

Besides the edition of these two Books in Goodall's full text of them, a small section of Book XIV is available also in the earlier edition of Thomas Hearne (see Vol.8, p.xiii). This comprises XIV cc.46-56a (Hearne, iv, 1063-1108, where c.56a here is numbered c.57). This version of the text is derived from the Royal MS (MS R) collated with the Harleian MS (MS H); but since both of these manuscripts are ultimately derived from the Corpus MS, no collation with Hearne's edition is offered here. He chose to start where he did (and then

continue throughout the whole of Books XV and XVI) because he regarded this part of Bower's work as a continuation of Fordun's annals. He thus picked up the story in the mid-1380s as the date at which the Fordun manuscript known to him was ending. As usual the editorial notes in this edition include references to the printed editions of the *Liber Pluscardensis* and the *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie*, since both of these works in their different ways are derived from Bower's text.

### *Content and Sources*

These two Books provide a narrative covering the period 1320-90, with a break at 1345-6. Apart from brief references to events in France, such as the battles of Crecy and Poitiers, the story is confined to people and events in Scotland and the north of England. The story moves from the unsettled relations between the two countries during the last years of Robert I until 1329 to the long reigns of David II and Robert II. Much attention is paid to the ultimately unsuccessful efforts of Edward Balliol and his followers in the 1330s to reverse the achievements of Robert Bruce. Then despite the ups and downs of David's reign as an adult, and the problems raised latterly by his childlessness, the Stewart dynasty is established from 1370 onwards. A central theme is made of the many military expeditions, large and small, which crossed the border with England in both directions. This emphasis may to some extent be explained by Bower's need to attract the interest of his patron, the lay laird of Rosyth Sir David Stewart. But the military bias of the story was also shaped by the content of the main sources available to Bower, for apart from his own contribution of interesting passages of reflection on the course of events, his normal procedure as an author was to incorporate the work of his predecessors straightforwardly with a minimum of additions or corrections. He was even ready sometimes to leave contradictions in his sources unresolved, leaving his readers to choose between them (e.g. XIII c.36; XIV c.12).

Almost to the end of these two Books, Bower still had the 'Gesta Annalia' of Fordun available to him as a main source, nearly every word of which he sought to incorporate. He did assume the editor's right to make small alterations, however, and there are a few places where in trying to correct Fordun's work he falls himself into error (e.g. XIII c.13, 39, 40). Now too the priority which in earlier Books he had given to Fordun is modified. He openly claims to be following a plurality of chronicles (XIII c.40, l.43). For the 1320s he shows awareness of, and admiration for, the text of John Barbour's *Bruce*,

though he commends it to his readers rather than use it as a source for his own account (e.g. XIII c.15). Then he introduces material from what seem to have been lost *Lives* of both Thomas Randolph and James de Douglas, the heroic companions of Bruce in his earlier days of struggle. But for the whole period from ca 1330 right through to 1390 he regularly blends with Fordun's account material similar to that in the anonymous chronicle in Middle Scots which came to be incorporated by Wyntoun into his own vernacular poem to cover the story from the birth of David II to the death of Robert II.<sup>c</sup> This is not specifically acknowledged by Bower; but there are few incidents in Wyntoun's story which are not included here, and the order in which they are set out is usually the same. It is not, however, a question of Bower copying and translating from the Wyntoun text as we know it. Though he must have known Wyntoun personally, for both were Augustinian canons connected with the community that served St Andrews cathedral, he never mentions Wyntoun by name, and there is no evidence that he ever saw his vernacular poem (cf. below Vol.8, p.xvii). The link is rather through the anonymous chronicler, who is thought to have completed his work in the early 1390s.<sup>d</sup> Though editors have identified parts of this chronicle as derived from material in Fordun's 'Gesta', most of its contents are different. Its author clearly had access to sources which were not known to (or at any rate not used by) Fordun; and it may be suggested that these sources had already before the 1390s been worked up into a Latin prose chronicle (now lost) which was then converted into Scots verse by Wyntoun's contributor (or perhaps even by Wyntoun himself?). This putative Latin work was apparently not known to Fordun, and may well have been kept at St Andrews, where there were probably other sources that escaped Fordun's attention (cf. above Vol.4, pp.xxii-xxiv). But both Wyntoun in his day and Bower in the 1440s would have had access to it. This is positively likely, since detailed analysis of the chapters in this volume shows how Wyntoun's anonymous contributor and Bower in his turn made separate, but in various details different, use of the same source. The implication is that Bower's excerpts from it are of equal authority to those that were eventually taken into Wyntoun's chronicle. It is clearly not a case of Bower copying and translating from Wyntoun, making his own improvements as he went along – he omits details which have ended up in Wyntoun, and includes other details which have been dropped from Wyntoun.<sup>e</sup> But by comparing the two versions of this lost Latin source the reader can reconstruct its likely contents. Its author (perhaps working at St Andrews for a decade or two before ca 1390) knew of Fordun's work, but chose to compile his own chronicle because he knew of substantial additional material for the period which Fordun had not noted for his comparatively brief 'Gesta Annalia'.



Bower looks beyond his narrative sources for the full text of some eight documents of historical interest. The first of these (XIV cc.2-3) is a draft version of the famous letter of the Scottish barons to Pope John XXII in 1320 (the 'Declaration of Arbroath'). He probably found this document in the kind of collection of texts relating to the independence of Scotland which he had used for Books XI and XII above (cf. Vol.6. pp.xix-xx); and though an 'official' file-copy of this document happens to have survived separately, the details of this version have much of interest that has not hitherto been much studied. From this same period Bower preserves a copy of the tailzie or entail of the Scottish crown in favour of the descendants of Robert I that was laid down in 1318 after the death of the king's brother Edward Bruce (XIII c.12a), and Edward III's renunciation of his claim to the Scottish throne of 1328 (XIII c.12). These texts were important to Bower as evidence of how effective the Scots could be in maintaining their independence when they were united among themselves against the perfidious English, for he is not slow to point out (XIII c.25) the poor record of the English kings in keeping their solemn promises. Later come copies of the document recording the submission of the Stewart family and their followers in 1363 after the collapse of their rising against King David (XIV c.27), and of the renewed Franco-Scottish treaty of alliance arranged in 1371 (curiously misdated 1381 here) by the emissaries of Robert II as the first Stewart king. At the end come two related documents of interest to those concerned with the liberties of leading churchmen in Scotland, in which King David in 1368 x 1369 and Pope Gregory XI in 1375 laid down definitions from their respective points of view regarding the long-disputed matter of the right of Scottish bishops to bequeath their personal property without seizure by the crown (XIV cc.56a, 56). A last document (XIV c.55) is more eccentric – a supposed plea by the Turks to the pope to desist from encouraging crusading activity against them in the Aegean Sea. This text survives in several parts of Europe under various dates: Bower dates this copy 1366, presumably in association with plans which King David had about this time to engage in crusading in the eastern Mediterranean (XIV c.34). But here it stands by itself as a curiosity, which at any rate illustrates how Scotland was at this date still in touch with the widespread affairs of Christendom (cf. above Vol.5, p.xv).

If Edward Balliol and the 'Anglicised Scots' who were associated with him are denigrated here by Bower, more favourable interest is shown in the baronial leaders on the nationalist side. The deaths of the heroic companions of Robert Bruce, Thomas Randolph and James de Douglas, are lamented (XIII cc.17-20), in the latter case with a long poem in his honour. And central to the evolving story are the members of the noble house of Dunbar (not least the famous countess, Black Agnes, a Randolph by birth [XIII cc.39-40]), the

various members of the Douglas family (culminating in William the first earl of Douglas and his successors James and Archibald the Grim), and, most complicated of all, Robert Stewart, from his youth as a guardian for the absent young David II to his accession as king in 1371 and his death in 1390. The spread of Stewart influence for good or ill, through the acquisition of many noble estates and titles by his many sons (of whom Alexander the 'Wolf of Badenoch' was the most notorious [XIV c.54]), and through the marriages of his many daughters, is well illustrated. It was seemingly through exploits of military leadership that these men established their families, and the constant opportunities for repeated raiding presented by a hostile England south of the Border allowed heroic reputations to be built up. Truces were seldom kept for long, and serious efforts to establish permanent peace were exceptional events. But Bower does not disguise the reverses suffered by the Scots – the disastrous battles at Dupplin Moor in 1332 and at Durham or Neville's Cross in 1346 especially are described in considerable detail. On the other hand the Pyrrhic victory at Otterburn in 1388, gained at the expense of the death of James earl of Douglas, is celebrated by the inclusion of Thomas de Barry's poem of more than 340 lines (XIV c.52). Bower shared in this militarist outlook of the ruling class of his day; we can see this not least in his lack of sympathy for the social revolution threatened by the peasant risings which he mentions, the Jacquerie in France in 1358 (XIV c.19) and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 in England (XIV c.43), two of the very few events of the period outside Scotland which he felt moved to mention.

Writing as he did in the disturbed 1440s, Bower appreciated good government, and was glad to observe it while Thomas Randolph was guardian after King Robert's death in 1329 (XIII cc.17-18): 'he boosted the church and preserved its liberty, he delighted the nobles and pleased the common folk, and effectively humbled the insolent pride of the English.' More surprising perhaps is his sympathetic appreciation of the rule of David II in the 1360s. Critical as he was of the upsets caused by the rampages of the baronial rebels of that time, he describes how the king 'as the mildest of men, preferred to forgive them rather than take revenge' (XIV c.25); and this leads to an excursus on the virtues of mercy in a ruler (c.26), which in this case, he says, had the effect of attaching the inhabitants of the kingdom to David by the bond of love. There follows a panegyric for the king at his death in 1371, both in prose and verse (cc.34-35).

This is the more surprising in the light of earlier criticism of David for having taken a mistress during his years of imprisonment in England 1346-57. After reporting with little sympathy how she came to be murdered when travelling in Scotland in 1360, Bower breaks off into a sermon against the sin of adultery (XIV c.24), drawing parallels with the behaviour and fate of the biblical King David. Here the

churchman in Bower was not missing the chance to make a professional point: 'If this vice brings discredit on any simple man because he is notorious, how much do you think it is unbecoming in a king!' Such moralizing is part of Bower's stock in trade, and must surely have been expected of a holy abbot. It can be seen also in Bower's criticism of King David for the campaign in 1346 that led to his capture at the disastrous battle at Durham. On one level this is analysed as a political error which resulted from the king listening to the advice of young headstrong inexperienced flatterers instead of the older and wiser William de Douglas; and Bower provides literary parallels to support this interpretation (XIV c.4). But he gives greater weight to the offence which the king had given to the spirit of St Cuthbert as the active protector of the lands of the church of Durham, despite a warning which the saint had given to David in a dream. The king had in consequence been the object of excommunication by the monks of Durham in defence of their property, and Bower produces examples from history to show how those in high places who flouted solemn excommunication might expect to face disaster (XIV cc.2, 4-5). The offence was particularly worthy of punishment in this case since St Cuthbert had long ago been a monk at Melrose at one stage of his life, and was regarded as having done the Scots much good in the centuries since his death. He could therefore be expected to be angry with those who displeased him. Such a belief in the active intervention of saints from the past in human activities is central to Bower's attempts at historical explanation. It is illustrated too on a different level in the way that he believed that St Columba had been active in protecting his own monastery on Inchcolm from the worst depredations of English raiders, who tended to suffer disaster for their pains (XIIIc.33, 36; XIV c.45). It does not amount to a satisfying kind of historical explanation today; but Bower presumably satisfied at least some of his readership with his churchman's view of events. The threat of divine judgment was never far from his thinking (e.g. XIV c.20).

As a law graduate of the University of St Andrews Bower was able to quote canon law to support his arguments (see Index of Authorities Cited). As an Augustinian canon he can report information about houses of his order in Scotland other than his own (XIV c.50). As a religious superior in West Fife he tells the story of a contested appointment as abbot of the neighbouring Benedictine house at Dunfermline in 1351, which resulted in the locally-elected and confirmed appointee withdrawing from office in the face of a candidate who arrived home from abroad with a papal nomination to the abbacy of his home monastery (XIV c.8). Writing in an age when such papal appointments had become common, Bower is careful to argue that such a papal appointment should be regarded as wholly exceptional. Perhaps he was thinking that a pass had been sold. He

briefly looked to the papal court at Avignon again when he noted with apparent approval the activities there in 1357 of Archbishop Richard FitzRalph of Armagh in denouncing the activities of the mediant friars, especially their interference in the rights of the secular clergy in hearing confessions and conducting funerals (XIV c.18). Such awareness on Bower's part of movements throughout the western church in general is illustrated most strikingly by his insertion (without any local reason for doing so) of the full text of an extraordinary pamphlet about the nature of Purgatory which had been officially approved by Pope John XXII at Avignon in 1324 for general circulation (XIII cc. 6-9). Under the title 'The Ghost of Guy' it is devised as an account of the ghostly return from the dead of Guy de Corvo a few days after his death in a small town in Provence. Though he could not be seen, he could be heard; and the story revolves around an academic discussion between this ghostly voice and some learned Dominican friars of the town about the dead man's experiences so far in Purgatory. This supposedly verbatim account was widely circulated with papal backing as an aid to faith. Copies of it have been traced in most European countries in both Latin and the vernacular languages, and it was known in England from a year or two after its composition. But only from the time of Bower's inclusion of it in this book in the 1440s is it known to have reached Scotland. He not only gives a full text which is in some ways unique among the many surviving manuscript copies of this pamphlet, but adds two chapters (XIII cc. 10-11) of *exempla* from other sources to support the view that by God's permission men's spirits make appearances after death in various ways. Care, however, is needed in handling such experiences! Bower here is providing a window into an extensive area of the religious thinking of his time, which we know to have been picked up by literary figures in Scotland in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and which today deserves more study.

As usual Bower contributes quotations from literary sources as substance for his reflective comments on the material he was copying from earlier writers. These range from classical writers such as Aristotle, Horace, Ovid, Pliny, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Vegetius Renatus and Virgil, through early Christian writers such as Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great, to medieval writers such as Helinand of Froidmont, Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St Victor, Peter the Venerable, Walter Map and Vincent of Beauvais, and the recent writers John of Bridlington and St Bridget of Sweden. By such means were readers in Scotland invited to reflect on the less parochial implications of the experiences of fourteenth-century Scots. Bower is never just a chronicler: he is always the churchman with a wider mission in life.

This is dramatically illustrated above all in XIVcc. 28-33, where he uses the opportunity of a mention of King David II's second marriage



in 1363 to Margaret Drummond or Logie (after asserting that the king was motivated 'perhaps not so much for the excellence of her character as a woman as for the pleasure he took in her desirable appearance') to digress on his views about women. He knew that this marriage as to end unhappily in divorce in 1369 (XIV c. 34), and so decided to generalize about the mistakes that a man can make in choosing a wife and in his subsequent relationships with her. The discussion is illustrated with biblical and classical quotations. Then he moves on to develop a theme in Ecclesiasticus, where a wicked wife is compared with a serpent, a lion and a dragon, and Bower's venomous condemnation of women for the ostentatious clothes that they wear and for their general bad behaviour is astonishing. Though he does balance this to some extent with a modicum of praise for good wives, he ends with support for the view that a wise man should not take wife. There is plenty of scope here for psychological analysis of the author of the *Scotichronicon*! His devotion to St Bridget of Sweden (XIV c.39) does not seem to have softened his anti-feminist outlook.

### Methods of Editing

See Volume 8, pp.xx-xxiv for a general description of the methods followed in this edition. A convention has been followed in this volume of standardizing the surname of Robert Steward and his immediate family as 'Steward' (as a translation of 'Senescallus') until his succession to the throne in 1371, and as 'Stewart' thereafter (as the name of the dynasty he founded). Bower's scribe for the Corpus MS is much more irregular in his practice.

### Notes

- a* See XIII c.33, l.15 note.  
*b* See also XIV c.46, ll.2-6 note.  
*c* *Wyntoun*, vi, 356-7, note for ll.1120-4; cf. i, pp.xc-cii.  
*d* *Wyntoun*, i, 135, note for ll.1097-1103; cf. XIV c.15, l.9 note.

- e* Cf. the argument in E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, 'The debt of Bower to Fordun and Wyntoun', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, ii (1938-45), 386-9, where it is assumed throughout that Bower translated and adapted material from Wyntoun.

## Lists of Abbreviations

### I. Sigla

- B: Scottish Record office, GD.45/26/48 (Brechin MS)  
 C: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171 (Corpus MS)  
 CA: National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS 35.1.7 (Coupar Angus MS)  
 D: Darnaway Castle, Forbes, Donibristle MS  
 E: Edinburgh University Library, MS 186  
 FA: Wolfenbüttel, Germany, Cod.Guelf. 538 Helmst.  
 FB: British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E.XI  
 FC: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.9.9  
 FD: Dublin, Trinity College, MS 498  
 FE: British Library, Harleian MS 4764  
 FF: Edinburgh, Scottish Catholic Archives, MM2/1 (Scots College MS)  
 FG: British Library, Add.MS 37, 223  
 G: Goodall's printed edition of Bower  
 H: British Library, Harleian MS 712  
 P: National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS 35.6.7 (Perth MS)  
 R: British Library, Royal MS 13.E.X  
 S: Skene's printed edition of Fordun

### II. Words

- |                                |                                       |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| app. appendix                  | l/ll lines                            |
| art.cit. (article cited)       | lac. lacuna                           |
| bk. book                       | loc.cit. (in the place already cited) |
| c century (c.g. 12c)           | MS/MSS manuscript/manuscripts         |
| c./cc. chapter/chapters        | n. note                               |
| ca circa (about)               | no./nos. (number/numbers)             |
| cf. (compare)                  | om. omitted                           |
| col./cols. column/columns      | p./pp. page/pages                     |
| d. died                        | para. paragraph                       |
| dau. daughter                  | pt. part                              |
| del. deleted                   | s.a. (under the year)                 |
| dép. département               | sect. section                         |
| ed. edited                     | s.v. (under the heading)              |
| edn edition                    | trans. translated                     |
| ff. and following (pages etc.) | ut cit. (as cited)                    |
| fo./fos. folio/folios          | vol./vols. volume/volumes             |
| ibid. (in the same place)      | + add after word signalled            |
| interlin. interlineated        |                                       |

## III. Names of Counties

In the notes places in English, Welsh and Scottish counties (as defined between the 1890s and 1970s) are identified by the following abbreviations for these counties.

ABD	Aberdeenshire	LIN	Lincolnshire
ANG	Angus	LNC	Lancashire
ARG	Argyllshire	MLO	Midlothian
AYR	Ayrshire	MOR	Morayshire
BNF	Banffshire	NTB	Northumberland
BWK	Berwickshire	PEB	Peebles-shire
CAM	Cambridgeshire	PER	Perthshire
CLA	Clackmannanshire	RNF	Renfrewshire
DMF	Dumfriesshire	ROS	Ross and Cromarty
DNB	Dunbartonshire	ROX	Roxburghshire
DRH	Durham	SLK	Selkirkshire
ELO	East Lothian	STL	Stirlingshire
FIF	Fife	WIG	Wigtownshire
INV	Inverness-shire	WLO	West Lothian
KCB	Kirkcudbrightshire	WML	Westmorland
KCD	Kincardineshire	YOE	Yorkshire (East Riding)
KNR	Kinross-shire	YON	Yorkshire (North Riding)
KNT	Kent	YOW	Yorkshire (West Riding)
LAN	Lanarkshire		

## IV. Publications

*Aberdeen-Banff Coll.* Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club, 1843).

*Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations* Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club, 1847-60).

*Alberigo, Decreta* Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta, ed. J. Alberigo and others, 3rd edn (Bologna, 1973).

*Anonimalle 1307-34* (The Anonimalle Chronicle 1307-1334, ed. W.R. Childs and J. Taylor (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vol. cxlvii, Leeds, 1991).

*Anonimalle Chronicle* Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333-81, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927).

*APS* The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75).

*Barbour's Bruce* Barbour's Bruce, ed. M.P. McDiarmid and J.A.C. Stevenson, (Scottish Text Society, 1980-85).

*Barrow, Bruce* G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland, 3rd edn (Edinburgh, 1988).

*Barrow, Kingdom* G.W.S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots (London, 1973).

*Berwickshire Hist.* History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club (1831-).

*Black, Surnames* G.F. Black, The Surnames of Scotland: their Origin, Meaning and History (New York, 1946).

*Cal. Close* Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (London, 1892-).

*Cal. Pat.* Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (London, 1891-).

*CCSL* Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout, 1953-).

*CDS* Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland in the Public Record Office, ed. J. Bain and others (Edinburgh, 1881-1986).

*Chiffolleau, La Comptabilité* J. Chiffolleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà 1320-1480 (Paris, 1980).

*Chronicon Baker* Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke, ed. E.M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889).

*Chron. Picts-Scots* Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other Early Memorials of Scottish History, ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1867).

*CMH* Cambridge Medieval History, ed. H.M. Gwatkin and others (Cambridge, 1911-36).

*Coupar Angus Chrs.* Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus, ed. D.E. Easson (SHS, 1947).

*Cowan, Parishes* I.B. Cowan, The Parishes of Medieval Scotland (Scottish Record Society, 1967).

*CP* G.E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, ed. V. Gibbs and others (London, 1910-59).

*CPL* Calender of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters (London, 1893-).

*CPP* Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope (London, 1896).

*CSD* The Concise Scots Dictionary (Aberdeen, 1985).

*DBF* Dictionnaire de biographie française (Paris, 1933-).

*Delachenal, Charles V* R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V (Paris, 1909-31).

*DHGE* Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques (Paris, 1912-).

*DML* Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (Oxford, 1975-).

*DNB* Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1885-1900).

*DOST* A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (Aberdeen, 1937-).

*Dowden, Medieval Church* J. Dowden, The Medieval Church in Scotland (Glasgow, 1910).

*Duncan, Kingdom* A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom (Edinburgh, 1975).

*Duncan, 'Making'* A.A.M. Duncan, 'The making of the Declaration of

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- Duncan, 'War of the Scots' A.A.M.Duncan, 'The war of the Scots, 1306-23', *TRHS*, 6th series, ii (1992), 125-51.
- EHR* *English Historical Review* (London, 1886- ).
- ER* *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. J.Stuart and others (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).
- Eubel, *Hierarchia* C.Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, 2nd edn (Münster, 1913-23).
- Extracta* *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie* (Abbotsford Club, 1842).
- Fergusson, *Declaration* Sir James Fergusson, *The Declaration of Arbroath* (Edinburgh, 1970).
- Ferrarius, *Historia* Ferrerii *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* (Bannatyne Club, 1839).
- Foedera* *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, ed. T.Rymer, Record Commission edn (London, 1816-69).
- Foedera* [O] *Foedera* ... (etc), original edn (London, 1704-35).
- Fordun* *Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W.F.Skene (Edinburgh, 1871-2) [all references to vol.i unless otherwise stated].
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- Fraser, *Lennox* W.Fraser, *The Lennox* (Edinburgh, 1874).
- Fraser, *Menteith* W.Fraser, *The Red Book of Menteith* (Edinburgh, 1880).
- Fraser, *Wemyss* W.Fraser, *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of Wemyss* (Edinburgh, 1888).
- Fraser of Philorth* *The Frasers of Philorth*, ed. A.Fraser, Lord Saltoun (Edinburgh, 1879).
- Friedberg *Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. E.Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879-81).
- Goodall *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri*, ed. W.Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759).
- Goodman, *Gaunt* A.Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (London, 1992).
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- Grant, 'Otterburn' A.Grant, 'Otterburn from the Scottish point of view', in *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.Goodman and A.Tuck (London, 1992).
- Hall, *St Andrew* U.Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* (St Andrews, 1994).
- HBC* *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn, ed. E.B.Fryde and others (London, 1986).

- Hearne *Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon Genuinum*, ed. T.Hearne (Oxford, 1722).
- Hedley, *Northumberland Families* W.P.Hedley, *Northumberland Families* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1968-70).
- Historical Atlas* *An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.600*, ed. P.McNeill and R.Nicholson (St Andrews, 1975).
- History of Northumberland* *A History of Northumberland* (The Northumberland County History Committee, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and London, 1893-1940).
- HKW* *The History of the King's Works*, ed. H.M.Colvin and others (London, 1963- ).
- HLF* *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1733- ).
- Inchcolm Chrs.* *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (SHS, 1938).
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- Itinerary of Edward II* *The Itinerary of Edward II and his Household, 1307-1328*, ed. E.M.Hallam (List & Index Society, vol.211, 1984).
- Knighton's Chronicle* *Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. G.H.Martin (Oxford, 1995).
- Laing Chrs.* *Calendar of the Laing Charters 854-1837*, ed. J.Anderson (Edinburgh, 1899).
- Lanercost* *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Maitland Club, 1839).
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- Melrose Liber* *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros* (Bannatyne Club, 1837).
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1826- ).
- Midlothian Chrs.* *Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and other Collegiate Churches in Midlothian* (Bannatyne Club, 1861).
- Moray Registrum* *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1837).
- Morton Registrum* *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Bannatyne Club, 1853).
- MRHEW* D.Knowles and R.N.Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales* (London, 1953).
- MRHS* I.B.Cowan and D.E.Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland* (London, 1976).

- NCE *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (Washington, D.C., 1967- )
- NEB *The New English Bible* (Oxford and Cambridge, 1970).
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- OCD *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1970).
- ODB *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991).
- ODCC *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1974).
- ODP *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986).
- ODS *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1987).
- OED *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* [later *Oxford English Dictionary*] (Oxford, 1888- ).
- Old Edinburgh Bk. *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, (Edinburgh, 1908- ).
- OPS *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (Bannatyne Club, 1851-5).
- Ordnance Gazetteer *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, ed. F.H.Groome (Edinburgh, 1882-5).
- Paisley Registrum *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet* i.e. Paisley (Maitland Club, 1832; New Club, 1877).
- PG *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Graeco-Latina*, ed. J.P.Migne (Paris, 1857-68).
- PL *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina*, ed. J.P.Migne (Paris 1844-55).
- Pluscarden *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. F.J.H.Skene (Edinburgh, 1877-80) [all references to vol.I unless otherwise stated].
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- PSAS *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1851- ).
- RCAHM *Reports of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1909- ).
- RHF *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1738-1904).
- RMS *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum* (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).
- Robertson, Parl.Recs. *The Parliamentary Records of Scotland*, ed. W.Robertson (Record Commission, 1804).
- Rot.Scot. *Rotuli Scotiae* (Record Commission, 1814-19).
- RRS *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, ed. G.W.S.Barrow and others (Edinburgh, 1970- ).
- RS *Rolls Series* (London, 1858-96).

- St Andrews Copiale *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, ed. J.H.Baxter (Oxford, 1930).
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- Scone Liber *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* i.e. Scone (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843).
- SHF Société de l'histoire de France.
- SHR *Scottish Historical Review* (1903-28, 1947- ).
- SHS Scottish History Society.
- SHS Misc. *The Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* (SHS, 1893- ).
- SP *The Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir J.Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-14).
- Stevenson, Illustrations *Illustrations of Scottish History from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. J.Stevenson (Maitland Club, 1834).
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- Stringer, Essays *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K.J.Stringer (Edinburgh, 1985).
- TAES *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society* (1886-1905).
- TDGAS *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* (1862- ).
- Theiner, Monumenta *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, ed. A.Theiner (Rome, 1864).
- TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1872- ).
- Vincent Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* (Nuremberg, 1483).
- Vulgate *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, new edn (Madrid, 1977).
- Walther, Initia H.Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959).
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## Book XIII

## Book XIII

### 1

fo.272;  
G ii,274

### *De Nigro Parlamento et prodicione Willelmi<sup>a</sup> de Sowlez et complicum eius<sup>b</sup>*

G ii,275

Robert rex Scocie in principio mensis augusti anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xx<sup>o</sup> tenuit parliamentum suum apud Sconam, ubi dominus Willelmus de Soulez et comitissa de Stratherne convicti de crimine lese majestatis et confessi conspirando contra regem sententiam perpetui carceris acceperunt. Dominus David de Brechyne, qui in expedicione Terre Sancte dimicans paganos apud Christianos qui eum noverunt dicebatur Flos Milicie, qui propterea de predicta conspiracione solum ob taciturnitatem et quia non revelavit regi prodicionem conspirantium convincitur, per infrascriptos et<sup>d</sup> supra cum<sup>e</sup> propositum eorum sibi innotuit et omnino eis dissentivit,<sup>f</sup> et quia<sup>g</sup> opido compulerunt eum juramentum prestare de silendo, una cum dominis Gilberto de Maler et Johanne Logy militibus ac Richardo de Broun armigero de predicta conspiracione convicti equis tracti novissime capite sunt puniti. Domini Eustachius de Maxel, Walterus de Berclay vicecomes de Aberdon et Patricius de Graham milites, Hamelinus de Trowpe et Eustachius de Retrevin armigeri de eodem crimine accusati sunt, sed rei nequaquam inventi. Contigit autem eodem tempore quod Rogero de Mowbrey nexu carnis soluto, eius corpus ibidem fuit deportatum, de conspiracione convictum, ad equorum traccionem, patibuli suspensionem et capitis detruncacionem condemnatum. Sed rex usus clemencia, pietate commotus divino cessit iudicio, et corpus defuncti sine vilificatione quacumque ecclesiastice tradi sepulture mandavit. Eodem anno xvii die marcii legati domini pape venerunt ad regem Scocie apud Berwicum persuadentes eidem ut micus ageret et parceret Anglorum destruccioni et destitucioniquousque summus pontifex plenius informaretur de justicia partis regis Anglorum ad jus vel clameum regni Scotorum. Quos benigne rex recepit, et satis curialiter, ut decebat regem, tractabat. Quod percipientes magnates regni fecerunt convocacionem suam apud

<sup>a</sup> interlin. over Johannis del. C  
<sup>b</sup> et complicum eius om. CA  
<sup>c</sup> initial A ten lines deep and decorated C  
<sup>d</sup> ut R

<sup>e</sup> + sibi del. C  
<sup>f</sup> dissentiret CA  
<sup>g</sup> et quia om. CA

## Book XIII

### 1

### *The Black Parliament, and the treason of William de Soules and his accomplices*

At the beginning of August 1320 Robert king of Scotland held his parliament at Scone, where Sir William de Soules and the countess of Strathearn were convicted of the crime of lese-majesty. After confessing that they were conspiring against the king, they received a sentence of perpetual imprisonment. Sir David de Brechin, who was called 'The Flower of Knighthood' by the Christians who knew him when he was fighting the pagans on an expedition to the Holy Land, was convicted of that conspiracy only because of his silence and for not revealing the conspirators' treason to the king; when he was informed by those mentioned below and above of their plot, he entirely disagreed with it, and for this reason they put extreme pressure on him to swear an oath of silence; along with the knights Sir Gilbert de Malherbe and Sir John Logie and the man-at-arms Richard Brown, who had been convicted of the said conspiracy, they were drawn by horses and finally punished by beheading. The knights Sir Eustace de Maxwell, Sir Walter de Barclay sheriff of Aberdeen, and Sir Patrick de Graham, and the men-at-arms Hamelin de Troup and Eustace de Rattray were charged with the same crime, but were not found in any way guilty. At the same time also it happened that once Roger de Mowbray had been released from the bonds of the flesh, his body was brought there, convicted of conspiracy, and condemned to drawing by horses, hanging on the gallows, and beheading. But the king was merciful, and moved by pity yielded to divine judgment, and ordered that the body of the dead man be handed over for a church burial without any kind of mutilation.

In the same year on 17 March legates of the lord pope came to the king at Berwick, urging him to act less harshly and to refrain from inflicting destruction and destitution on the English until the supreme pontiff was more fully informed about the justice of the case of the king of the English on his right or claim to the kingdom of the Scots. The king received them in a friendly spirit, and negotiated with them courteously as was fitting in a king. On observing this the magnates of the kingdom gathered at the monastery of Arbroath, and unanimously wrote to the supreme pontiff in a hurry to forestall the legates in the following terms:

1320: Aug.

[13 20:]  
17 Mar.

monasterium de Abirbrothoc. et unanimi consensu scripserunt 30  
summo pontifici cum festinatione prevenientes legatos huiusmodi  
sub tenore:<sup>h</sup>

<sup>h</sup> istud tamen ante Nigrum Parliamentum  
per quinque menses et ultra *for*  
huiusmodi sub tenore *CA*

## 2

*Generose probitatis progenies Scotorum scribunt domino pape  
super rege Anglie conquerentes<sup>a</sup>*

Sanctissimo patri in Christo ac domino domino Johanni, divina  
providencia sacrosancte Romane ac universalis ecclesie summo  
pontifici, filii sui humiles et devoti Duncanus comes de Fife, Thomas  
Ranulphi comes Moravie dominus Mannie et Vallis Anandie, Patri- 5  
cius de Dunbar comes Marchie, Malisius comes de Strathern',  
Malcolmus comes de Levenax, Willelmus comes de Ross', Magnus  
comes Cathanensis et Orchadie, et Willelmus comes Sutherlandie,  
Walterus Senescallus Scocie, Willelmus de Sowlez butelarius Scocie,  
Jacobus de Douglas,<sup>b</sup> David de Brechin, David Graham, Ingelramus 10  
Wmfrevile, Johannes de Menteth custos comitatus eiusdem, Alex-  
ander Fraser, Gilbertus de Haya constabularius Scocie, Robertus de  
Keth marescallus Scocie, Henricus de Sanctoclaro panetarius Scocie,  
Johannes Graham, David de Lyndesey,<sup>c</sup> Patricius Graham, Johannes  
de Fenton, Willelmus de Abernethi, David de Wemis, Willelmus de 15  
Monte Fixo, Furgusius de Ardrossane, Eustachius de Maxwel,  
Willelmus de Ramsey,<sup>d</sup> Alanus de Moravia, Dovenaldus Cambell,  
Johannes Cameron, Reginaldus le Chene, Alexander de Seton,  
Andreas de Lesly et Alexander de Stratoun ceterique barones et libere  
tenentes ac tota communitas regni Scocie, omnimodam reverenciam 20  
filialem cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum. Scimus, sanctissime  
pater et domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris colligimus quod inter  
ceteras | naciones egregias nostra scilicet Scotorum nacio multis  
preconiis fuerit insignita, | que de Grece finibus et Egipti<sup>e</sup> per Mare  
Tirenium et Columpnas Herculis transiens, et in Hispania inter 25  
ferocissimas gentes per multa temporum curriculam residens, a' nullis  
quantumcumque barbaricis poterat alicubi gentibus subjugari. Inde-  
que veniens post mille ducentos annos a transitu populi Israelitici per  
Mare Rubrum sibi sedes in occidente quas nunc optet, expulsus primo

G ii,276  
fo.272v

<sup>a</sup> Tenor littere *for* title *CA*  
<sup>b</sup> + Rogerus de Moubray *G*  
<sup>c</sup> + Willelmus Oliphant *G*  
<sup>d</sup> + Willelmus de Monte Alto *G*

<sup>e</sup> majori Scythia *for* de Grece finibus et  
Egipti *G*  
<sup>f</sup> + non *del.C*

## 2

*The Scottish descendants of noble prowess write to the lord  
pope complaining about the king of England*

To the most holy father and lord in Christ, Lord John, by divine 1320:  
providence the supreme pontiff of the holy Roman and universal 6 Apr.  
church, his humble and devoted sons Duncan earl of Fife, Thomas  
Randolph earl of Moray, lord of Man and of Annandale, Patrick de  
Dunbar earl of March, Malise earl of Strathearn, Malcolm earl of  
5 Lennox, William earl of Ross, Magnus earl of Caithness and Orkney,  
and William earl of Sutherland, Walter the Steward of Scotland,  
William de Soules the butler of Scotland, James de Douglas, [Roger de  
Mowbray,] David de Brechin, David Graham, Ingram de Umfraville,  
John de Menteith keeper of the earldom of the same, Alexander Fraser,  
10 Gilbert de Hay the constable of Scotland, Robert de Keith the  
marischal of Scotland, Henry de Sinclair the pantler of Scotland, John  
Graham, David de Lindsay, [William Oliphant,] Patrick Graham,  
John de Fenton, William de Abernethy, David de Wemyss, William de  
15 Muschet, Fergus de Ardrossan, Eustace de Maxwell, William de  
Ramsay, [William de Mowat,] Alan de Moray, Donald Campbell,  
John Cameron, Reginald le Cheyne, Alexander de Seton, Andrew de  
Leslie and Alexander de Straiton, and the rest of the barons and  
freeholders, and the whole community of the kingdom of Scotland  
20 [send] all kinds of filial reverence with devout kisses on his blessed feet.  
We know, most holy father and lord, and have gathered from the  
deeds and books about men in the past that among other famous  
nations ours, that is the nation of the Scots, has been outstanding for its  
many distinctions. It journeyed from the lands of Greece and Egypt by  
25 the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, and stayed for many  
years in Spain among the fiercest of peoples, but could not be subdued  
anywhere by any peoples however barbaric. Coming from there one  
thousand and two hundred years after the Children of Israel crossed  
the Red Sea, it took possession of the settlements in the west which it  
30 now desires, after first driving out the Britons and totally destroying  
the Picts, and although often attacked by the Norwegians, Danes and  
English. Many were its victories and innumerable its efforts. It has held  
these places always free of all servitude, as the old histories testify. One



Britonibus et Pictis omnino deletis, licet per Norweigenses, Dacos et Anglicos sepius impugnata fuerat, multis tamen victoriis et laboribus 30  
 quamplurimis acquisivit, ipsasque ab omni servitute liberas ut prisce testantur historie semper tenuit. In quorum regno centum et tredecim reges de ipsorum regali prosapia nullo alienigena interveniente regnaverunt. Quorum nobilitates et merita, licet ex aliis non clarent, 35  
 satis patenter effulgent ex eo quod rex regum et dominancium, Dominus noster Jhesu Christus, post Passionem suam et Resurreccionem ipsos in ultimis finibus terre constitutos quasi primos ad suam fidem sanctissimam convocavit. Nec eos per quemlibet in dicta fide confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum apostolum vocacione (quamvis ordine secundum vel tercium) Sanctum Andream mitissimum beati 40  
 Petri germanum, quem semper ipsis preesse voluit ut patronum.

## 3

*De eodem*

Hec autem sanctissimi patres et predecessores vestri sollicita mente pensantes, ipsum regnum et<sup>a</sup> populum ut beati Petri germani peculium multis favoribus et privilegiis quampluribus munierunt. Ita quippe quod gens nostra sub ipsorum protectione actenus libera deguit et 5  
 quieta, donec ille princeps magnificus Eadwardus rex Anglie (pater istius qui nunc est) regnum nostrum acephalum populumque nullius mali doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum, sub amici et confederati specie inimicabiliter infestavit. Cuius injurias, cedes, violencias, predaciones, incendia, prelatorum incarcerationes, monasteriorum combustiones, religiosorum spoliaciones et occisiones, alia 10  
 quoque enormia et innumera, que in dicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens etati aut sexui, religioni aut ordini, nullus scriberet nec ad plenum intelligeret nisi quem experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumeris, ipso juvante qui post vulnera medetur et sanat liberati sumus, per strenuissimum principem regem et dominum nostrum 15  
 dominum Robertum, qui pro populo et hereditate suis de manibus inimicorum liberandis, velut alter Machabeus aut Josue, labores et tedia, inedia et pericula leto sustinuit animo, quem etiam divina disposicione juxta<sup>b</sup> leges et consuetudines nostras, quas usque ad mortem sustinere volumus, et juris successio, et debitus nostrorum 20  
 omnium consensus et assensus nostrum fecerunt principem atque regem. Cui tamquam illi per quem salus in populo nostro facta est pro nostra libertate tuenda tam jure quam meritis tenemur, et volumus in omnibus adherere. Quem si ab inceptis desisteret, regi Anglorum aut 25  
 Anglicis nos aut regnum | nostrum volens subicere, tamquam inimicum nostrum et sui nostrique juris subversorem statim expellere

G ii, 277

<sup>a</sup> et interlin. over ut del. C<sup>b</sup> juxta interlin. over et del. C

hundred and thirteen kings of their royal lineage have reigned in their kingdom, with no intrusion by a foreigner.

If the noble qualities and merits of these men were not obvious for other reasons, they shine forth clearly enough in that they were almost the first to be called to his most holy faith by the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, our Lord Jesus Christ, after his Passion and Resurrection, even though they were settled on the most distant boundaries of the earth. And he did not wish them to be confirmed in that faith by anyone other than the first of his apostles to be called (although the second or third in rank), namely the most gentle St Andrew the brother of blessed Peter, whom He wished to protect them as their patron for ever.

## 3

*The same*

The most holy fathers your predecessors gave anxious consideration to these matters, and strengthened that kingdom and people as the private property of the blessed Peter's brother with many favours and innumerable privileges. Thus our people lived until now in freedom and peace under their protection, until that mighty prince Edward king of England (the father of the present king) in the guise of a friend and ally attacked our kingdom in hostile fashion, when it had no head and the people were not harbouring any evil treachery, nor were they accustomed to wars or attacks. His unjust acts, killings, acts of violence, pillagings, burnings, imprisonments of prelates, burnings of monasteries, robbings and killings of regular clergy, and also innumerable other outrages, which he committed against the said people, sparing none on account of age or sex, religion or order – no one could write about them or fully comprehend them who had not been instructed by experience.

From these countless ills we have been set free, with the help of Him who follows up wounds with healing and cures, by our most energetic prince, king and lord Sir Robert, who with the aim of delivering his people and inheritance from the hands of their enemies, like another [Judas the] Maccabee or Joshua, cheerfully suffered toil and fatigue, hunger and danger. By divine providence his succession to his right according to our laws and customs which we intend to maintain to the death, together with the due consent and assent of us all, have made him our prince and king. To him as the man by whom our people have been protected, we are bound for guarding our freedom, both because of his right and because of his merits, and to him we intend to cling come what may. But if he should give up what he has begun, seeking to subject us or our kingdom to the king of the English or the English, we would immediately strive to expel him as our enemy and a subverter of



niteremur, et alium regem nostrum qui ad defensionem nostram  
 sufficeret faceremus. Quia quamdiu centum ex nobis vivi remanserint,  
 numquam Anglorum dominio volumus aliquatenus subjugari. Non  
 enim propter gloriam belli, divicias aut honores pugnamus, sed propter  
 leges paternas et libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul  
 cum vita amittit. Hinc est, sanctissime pater et domine, quod  
 sanctitatem vestram omni precum instancia exoramus quatenus  
 sincero corde menteque pia recensentes quod apud eum cujus vices in  
 terris geritis cum non sit pondus nec distincio Judei et Greci, Scoti vel  
 Anglici, tribulationes et angustias nobis et ecclesie Dei illatas ab  
 Anglicis paternis oculis intuentes, regi Anglorum cui sufficere debet  
 quod possidet, cum olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere  
 regibus, monere et exhortari dignemini ut nos Scotos in exili degentes  
 Scotia ultra quam habitacio non est, nichilque nisi nostrum cupientes,  
 in pace dimittat. Cui pro [nostra] procuranda quiete quicquid  
 possumus ad statum vestrum respectu habito facere volumus [cum  
 effectu.]<sup>c</sup> | Vestra enim refert, sancte pater, hoc facere, qui paganorum  
 feritatem Christianorum culpis exigentibus in Christianos sevientem  
 aspicitis, et Christianorum terminos arctari indies, quantumcumque  
 vestre sanctitatis memorie derogat si, quod absit, ecclesia in aliqua sui  
 parte vestris temporibus paciatur eclipsim aut scandalum vos videritis.  
 Excitat igitur Christianos principes qui non causam ut causam  
 ponentes<sup>d</sup> se fingunt in subsidium Terre Sancte propter guerras quas  
 habent cum proximis ire non posse. Cuius impedimenti causa est verior  
 quod in minoribus proximis debellandis utilitas proprior et resistencia  
 debilior estimatur. Sed quam leto corde dominus noster rex predictus  
 et nos, si rex Anglorum nos in pace dimitteret, illuc iremus qui nichil  
 ignorat satis novit. Quod Christi vicario totique Christianitati ostendi-  
 mus et testamur. Quibus si sanctitas vestra Anglorum relatus nimis  
 credula fidem sinceram adhibeat, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem  
 favere non desinat, corporum excidia, animarum exterminia et cetera  
 que secuntur incomoda que ipsi in nobis et nos in ipsis fecerimus, vobis  
 ab Altissimo credimus imputanda. Ex quo sumus et erimus in hiis que  
 tenemur tamquam obediencie filii vobis tamquam ipsius vicario parati  
 in omnibus complacere. Ipsi tamquam summo regi et iudici causam  
 nostram tuendam committimus cogitatum nostrum jactantes in ipso,  
 sperantes firmiter quod in nobis virtutem faciet et ad nichilum rediget  
 hostes nostros. Sanctitatem ac sanitatem vestram conservet Altissimus  
 ecclesie sue sancte per tempora diuturna. Dat' apud monasterium  
 nostrum Aberbroth' in Scotia vi<sup>to</sup> die mensis aprilis anno gracie  
 millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup> xx<sup>o</sup> regni vero regis nostri predicti xv<sup>to</sup>.

Notandum est quod hec litera missa fuit ante Nigrum Parlamentum  
 et eodem anno ut supra.

<sup>c</sup> D; lac. C  
<sup>d</sup> ponentem C

<sup>e</sup> + tamquam ipsius vicario para del. C

30 his right and ours, and we would make someone else our king, who is  
 capable of seeing to our defence. For as long as a hundred of us remain  
 alive, we intend never to be subjected to the lordship of the English in  
 any way. For it is not for glory in war, riches or honours that we fight,  
 but only for the laws of our fathers and for freedom, which no good  
 35 man loses except along with his life.

Therefore, most holy father and lord, we implore your holiness with  
 all vehemence in our prayers that you recall with sincerity in your heart  
 and pity in your mind that since with Him whose deputy you are on  
 earth there is no weighing or distinction between Jew and Greek,  
 Scotsman or Englishman, and look with paternal eyes on the troubles  
 40 and difficulties brought upon us and the church of God by the English.  
 And that you deign to admonish and exhort the king of the English,  
 who ought to be satisfied with what he has (since England was formerly  
 enough for seven kings or more), to leave us Scots in peace, living as we  
 45 do in the poor country of Scotland beyond which there is no dwelling-  
 place, and desiring nothing but our own. In effect we are willing to do  
 whatever we can for him (with due regard for your position) that will  
 secure peace for us.

It is important for you, holy father, to do this, since you see the  
 savagery of the heathen raging against Christians (as the sins of  
 Christians require), and the frontiers of Christendom are being  
 curtailed day by day, and you have seen how much it detracts from  
 your holiness's reputation if (God forbid!) the church suffers eclipse or  
 scandal in any part of it during your time. Let it then rouse the  
 55 Christian princes who are covering up their true motivation when they  
 pretend that they cannot go to the assistance of the Holy Land on  
 account of wars with their neighbours. The real reason that holds them  
 back is that in warring with their smaller neighbours they anticipate  
 greater advantage to themselves and weaker resistance. But He from  
 60 whom nothing is hidden knows well how cheerfully our aforesaid lord  
 king and we as well would go there, if the king of the English would  
 leave us in peace. This we promise and affirm to you as vicar of Christ  
 and to all Christendom.

But if your Holiness too credulously trusts the tales of the English  
 fully, or does not leave off favouring the English to our confusion, then  
 we believe that the Most High will blame you for the slaughter of  
 bodies, the destruction of souls, and the other misfortunes that follow,  
 inflicted by them on us and by us on them. Therefore we are and shall  
 be ready as far as duty calls us to do your will in everything as sons  
 65 obedient to you as His vicar. We commit the defence of our cause to  
 Him as Supreme King and Judge, casting our cares upon Him, and  
 firmly hoping that He will inspire courage in us and reduce our enemies  
 to nothing. May the Most High preserve you for his holy church in  
 holiness and health for many days to come. Dated at our monastery at  
 70 Arbroath in Scotland 6 April 1320 in the fifteenth year of our said  
 king's reign.

It should be noted that this letter was sent before the Black Parliament  
 and in the same year as above.

*De morte Sancti Thome de Loncastria et de transitu  
regis Scocie in Anglia et Anglie in Scocia<sup>a</sup>*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxi dominus Thomas Lancastrie comes apud Borowbrig per Andream de Hertclay capitur, regi Anglie traditur, et apud Pontem Fractum xvi die januarii capite punitur, atque ibidem sepultus requiescit, ad cuius sepulcrum plurima ut fertur fiunt miracula. In capcione dicti comitis Lancastrie comes Herfordie interfectus est, et plures nobiles alii Anglie antedicto comiti benevoli et amici causa ipsius morte turpissima condemnati sunt. Eodem anno hiemps gravissima erat, que homines afflixit et cuncta fere animalia extinxit. Eodem etiam anno comes Moravie partes boreales Anglie et episcopatum Dunelmensem in principio famis flamma et gladio destruxit. Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxii<sup>o</sup> Robertus rex Scocie cum manu robusta primo die mensis julii Angliam est ingressus, eam usque ad Stanmore cum comitatu Lancastrie pro maiore devastans. Post cuius regressum Eadwardus rex Anglie intravit Scociam cum magno exercitu equitum et peditum ac navium multitudine copiosa xii die mensis augusti, et usque villam de Edinburgh pervenit querens conflictum habere et congressum belli cum rege predicto Scocie. Sed rex Scocie pro tunc belli congressum prudenter declinans, omnia animalia et cetera victualia que vesci licet ab ipsius exercitu callide movit. Qui post xv dies urgente famis inedia, quia propter aeris intemperiem de navibus non potuerunt <Angli> habere necessaria, ad propria rediit confusus. Unde propter propria cariagia ad edendum non quesierunt preter unum claudum taurum, qui cum ceteris armentis amoveri non potuit; propter cuius conquestum perdiderunt militem cum suis. Unde quidam miles Anglie <comes videlicet de Waran><sup>b</sup> dicebat quod tauri caro erat nimis cara. Quo tunc apud carbonarias de Tranent etiam accidit quod quidam claudus rusticus carbonarius cum uncinata sude attraxit ad se militem, qui multa redempcione ditavit rustici pauperiem. Spoliatis tamen tunc in reditu Anglorum et predatis monasteriis Sancte Crucis de Edenburgh et de Melros atque ad magnam desolacionem perductis. In ipso namque monasterio de Melros dominus Willelmus Peblez eiusdem monasterii prior, unus etiam monachus tunc infirmus, duo conversi facti ceci in

<sup>a</sup> De aeterno transitu hostili regum Scocie et Anglie in utrorum regno for De morte ... Scocia CA

<sup>b</sup> phrase om. CA

*The death of St Thomas of Lancaster; and the journey of the  
king of Scotland into England, and from England to Scotland*

In 1321 Sir Thomas earl of Lancaster was captured at Boroughbridge by Andrew de Harclay, handed over to the king of England, and punished by decapitation at Pontefract on 16 January. He was buried there, and it is said that very many miracles occurred at his tomb. At the time when the said earl of Lancaster was being captured, the earl of Hereford was killed, and many other nobles of England who were supporters and friends of the aforesaid earl were condemned to the most shameful of deaths for his sake. In the same year the winter was very severe, which was a sore trial to men and killed off nearly all their animals. Also in the same year the earl of Moray destroyed with fire and sword the northern parts of England and the diocese of Durham at the beginning of the famine. In 1322 King Robert entered England on 1 July with a powerful force, laying it waste for the greater part down to Stainmore along with the county of Lancaster. After his return Edward king of England on 12 August entered Scotland with a great army of cavalry and infantry and an ample fleet of ships, and came to the town of Edinburgh in search of a quarrel and fight with the said king of Scotland. But the king of Scotland sensibly avoided such an engagement for the time being, and cunningly moved away from the path of Edward's army all the cattle and other foodstuffs which they might have consumed. As starvation loomed after fifteen days, because bad weather made it impossible for the English to obtain what they needed from their ships, Edward returned home in confusion. On account of their transport difficulties they did not find more than one lame steer to eat, which could not be driven away along with the rest of the cattle, and in its acquisition they lost a knight and his men. In this regard a certain English knight (namely the earl of Warenne) said that the beef was too dear. Then at the Tranent coalmines it also happened that a certain lame serf coalminer with a hooked stick drew a knight towards him, who by paying a large ransom relieved the serf's poverty. Nevertheless as the English returned home the monasteries of Holyrood at Edinburgh and Melrose were despoiled and looted, reduced to the point of utter desolation. For in that monastery at Melrose sir William Peebles the prior of that monastery, and one monk who was infirm, and two blind lay brothers were killed by the same Englishmen in their dormitory,

[1322:  
16 Mar.]  
[22 Mar.]

1321-2  
[1322: Jan.]

1 July

12 Aug.

dormitorio eorundem ab eisdem Anglis sunt interfecti, et plures  
monachi letaliter vulnerati. Corpus dominicum super magnum altare  
fuit projectum ablata pixide argentea in qua erat repositum. 35  
Monasterium de Driburgh igne penitus consumptum est et in  
pulverem redactum. Ac alia pia loca quamplurima per predicti regis  
violenciam ignis flamma consumpsit, quod Deo retribuente | eis in  
prosperum non cessit. Eodem anno primo die mensis octobris rex 40  
Robertus Angliam hostiliter ingressus, ipsam usque Eboracum  
spoliatis monasteriis oppidis et villis quamplurimis igni succensis  
penitus | devastavit. Cui rex Anglie Eadwardus ii<sup>usc</sup> apud Biland  
occurens cum magna potencia tam stipendiariorum de Francia et aliis 45  
pluribus locis mercede conductorum quam ipsius regni indigenarum  
in medio regni sui, non sine magna strage suorum et confusione non  
modica, apud locum preminatum in fugam conversus est. De cuius  
exercitu Johannes de Britannia, Henricus de Sowley et alii nobiles  
non pauci ad monasterium Rievallis fugientes ibidem capti sunt, et  
infinita postmodum pecunia sunt redempti. Sicque rex Scocie cum 50  
suis leti potiti victoria ingenti cum gaudio et honore ad propria  
redierunt. Eodem anno primo die mensis octobris Andreas de Erthlay  
capitur et prodicione convictus capite punitur.

fo.273v

G ii.,279

c underlined C; de Carnarfan CA

## 5

*Rex Scocie mittit nuncios ad Franciam pro renovacione lige et  
ad Romanam curiam; et nascitur rex David*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxiii mittuntur ambassatores per regem Scocie  
Robertum ad tractandum et renovandum amicitias et confederacio-  
nes<sup>a</sup> inter reges Francie et Scocie prius initas, et perpetuo robore  
reformandas pro se et suis successoribus, perpetuis temporibus  
duraturas, et eciam pro unitate et concordia habenda cum Romana 5  
ecclesia, que ad suggestionem adversariorum contra regem et regnum  
aliqua fuit mota. Quibus omnibus feliciter expeditis tam in  
Romana curia quam in Francia ipsi nuncii ad propria prospere sunt  
reversi. Eodem anno natus est in Dunfermelyne David rex futurus,  
cuius nativitas gaudium intulit universo regno. Unde versus: 10

Milleque trecentos viginti tres dabis annos,  
marcius et luce quintam mensis dabit in se.

a + antiquas CA

and many monks were fatally wounded. The Body of Christ was flung  
on to the high altar when the silver pyx in which it was kept was stolen.

40 The monastery of Dryburgh was entirely destroyed by fire and  
reduced to ashes. And the fiery flame consumed very many other holy  
places as a result of the said king's violence, which with God as the  
avenger did not turn out auspiciously for them.

On 1 October of the same year King Robert entered England with 1 Oct.  
45 hostile intent, and laid it utterly waste as far as York, after despoiling  
monasteries and putting very many towns and villages to the torch.  
When Edward II king of England met him at Byland with a large [14 Oct.]  
force, made up both of mercenaries brought at a price from France  
and many other places and of natives of that kingdom, he was routed  
50 at the aforesaid place in the middle of his kingdom, not without great  
slaughter among his men and amid considerable confusion. Among  
those of his army who fled to the monastery at Rievaulx John of  
Brittany, Henry de Sully and not a few other nobles were made  
prisoner there, and later ransomed for very large sums of money. And  
55 so the king of Scotland and his men returned home amid joy and [2 Nov.]  
honour, happy to have obtained a great victory.

In the same year on 1 October Andrew de Harclay was imprisoned,  
and on being convicted of treason was punished by decapitation. [1323:  
3 Mar.]

## 5

*The king of Scotland sends envoys to France to renew the  
alliance, and to the Roman court; and King David is born*

In 1323 ambassadors were sent by Robert king of Scotland to [1325:  
negotiate a renewal of the friendship and [old] alliances between the 20 Apr.]  
kings of France and Scotland which had been entered into previously.  
The alliances were to be renewed on a lasting basis on behalf of  
5 themselves and their successors, intended to last for ever. The  
embassy was also to achieve unity and accord with the Roman  
church, which at the urging of adversaries had in some way been  
roused against the king and the kingdom. When all this had been  
satisfactorily achieved both at the Roman court and in France, these [1326-8]  
10 envoys returned home successful.

In the same year David the future king was born at Dunfermline, at [1324:  
whose birth the whole kingdom rejoiced. Hence these lines: 5 Mar.]

You will grant one thousand, three hundred and twenty-three  
years,

Hoc anno domini dat Scotis gracia Christi  
 in Dunfermline, quo proles est data bina,  
 felicem David quem Robertus generavit 15  
 rex. Hic firmavit dubios et corda levavit.  
 Ergo gaudete, Scoti, nullumque timete;  
 tute ridete, spem firmam semper habete;  
 nam consternata manet Anglia, spe viduata,  
 plangendo fata, pro prole pia modo nata. 20  
 Vita sibi grata detur, rogo, famaue lata.

De eiusdem nativitatis secundum B[ernardum] abbatem de  
 Abirbrothoc:

M semel et c ter bis x si junxeris i ter,  
 in quinta mensis marcii novus affuit ensis; 25  
 natus in orbe David qui Scotos letificavit.  
 Rex noster Scotus Robertus robore totus  
 ante suam mortem genuit similem sibi fortem.  
 Filius hic regis, post patrem, lumina legis  
 diriget, augebit, populum probitate fovebit. 30  
 |Iste manu fortis Anglorum ludet in ortis,  
 vel faciat pacem Deus inter regna tenacem.

G ii,280

De eiusdem ipsius nativitate per quendam monachum de  
 Abirbrothoc:

M semel et c ter x bis sed et i adhibe ter,  
 in martis trino nonas, prestante superno 35  
 rege, puer natus fuit atque David vocitatus.<sup>b</sup>  
 Quem prece devota poscebat concio tota  
 regni Scotorum princeps ut posset eorum  
 post patrem fieri, regnum populumque tueri. 40  
 Prefatum David rex Robertus generavit:  
 cuius habet nomen, det ei Deus illius omen.

Hoc anno Anglici petunt treugas a rege Scocie, et ob novi huius partus  
 congratulacionem conceduntur ad annum duraturum.

<sup>b</sup> nominatus D

15 and the month of March will give its fifth [day] with light to  
 itself.  
 In this year of the Lord the grace of Christ gives to the Scots  
 in Dunfermline, where a two-fold offspring has been given,  
 fortunate David, whom King Robert has fathered.  
 20 He has heartened the doubters and raised their spirits.  
 Rejoice therefore, Scots, and have no fear,  
 you are safe to laugh, always steadfast in your hope;  
 for England remains in confusion, deprived of hope,  
 bewailing the fates regarding the gentle offspring recently  
 25 born.  
 May he be granted a pleasant life, I pray, and widespread  
 fame.

Bernard abbot of Arbroath writes on the same man's birth:

30 If you add one thousand, three hundred, twice ten and three,  
 on the fifth [day] of the month of March a new sword arrived;  
 David was born in the world, to the delight of the Scots.  
 Our Scottish king, Robert, still in the prime of life  
 has fathered before his death a man brave like himself.  
 This son of the king, following his father, will direct the eyes  
 35 of the law,  
 will increase their sight, and cherish his people with  
 integrity.  
 This man will play at combat in the gardens of the English,  
 or else may God make a lasting peace between the kingdoms.

40 A certain monk of Arbroath writes about the same man's birth:

Reckon up one thousand, three hundred, twice ten and three,  
 on 5 March by provision of the Heavenly King  
 a boy was born and called David.  
 The whole assemblage of the kingdom of the Scots demanded  
 45 with devout prayers  
 that he become their prince after his father,  
 and watch over the kingdom and people.  
 King Robert fathered the said David:  
 may God give him the authority of the man whose name he  
 50 bears.

This year the English sought a truce from the king of Scotland, and  
 this was granted to last for a year on account of the rejoicing over this  
 new birth.

## 6

*De spirito Guidonis*

Scriptis frater Johannes Goby domino Johanni xxii<sup>o</sup> summo pontifici sub attestacione sigilli communis civitatis Alesci quoddam quod sequitur mirabile prope curiam Romanam, de quo stupor magnus exortus est in partibus; mira[n]tur ecclesia dominus papa et cardinales, de quodam spiritu cuiusdam boni hominis qui decesserat, cuius spiritus frequenter auditus est, et non tantum in secreto, sed presentibus tam religiosis quam laicis in multitudine copiosa; et non tantum semel vel bis, sed etiam pluries, quia tociens venit ad locum ubi manere consuevit. Ideo facte sunt sibi interrogaciones per viros religiosos et fidedignos. 'Et quomodo', inquit, 'respondit et copiam responsionis ipsius, vestre sanctitati transmitto. Ad secreciora vero que de misteriis fidei sunt, est interdicta sibi potestas ut debet respondere c'. Semper conservet vos Christus ad regimen ecclesie sue c'. Sequitur:

fo.274

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxiii in festo Natalis Domini ego frater Johannes Goby Ordinis Pre- | dicatorum prior in conventu de Alesco in provincia Provincie rogatus per meliores homines de Alesco ut irem ad domum Guidonis de Corvo. In qua quidem domo per octo dies integros a die defuncionis sue quedam vox audita fuerat per multos et meliores homines de Alesco. Licet invitatus ierim, tamen ut probarem an esset ficticium an illusio demonis illuc ivi, assumptis mecum tribus fratribus de conventu, scilicet fratre Johanne Gonofossi lectore philosopho, fratre Deodato Duranti, et fratri [?] G. Radin. Et preter istos iverunt mecum plus quam centum seculares, scilicet dominus de Alesco, Guillelmus de Cadoena, G. Carcosi c', et multi alii quos ex nomine non agnoscebam. Cumque venissemus ad dictum hospiciu[m], ad maiorem evitacionem, ficticii scrutati fuimus diligentissime totum hospiciu[m] et etiam tegulas; et non solum illud, sed etiam omnia hospicia convicina.<sup>a</sup> Et in omnibus hospiciis perscrutatis posuimus meliores homines de villa custodes, probos et bonos viros, et eiecimus omnes inhabitantes. In duobus vero locis dicti hospicii magis periculosus pro ficcionibus | posuimus meliores homines de villa, scilicet super solarium situatum supra cameram ubi audiebatur vox predicta, necnon et juxta quoddam medium asserum. Et ne forsitan uxor dicti defuncti posset nobis aliquam fraudem facere, ordinavimus

G ii,281

a corrected from convicinia C; convicinia D

## 6

*The Ghost of Guy*

Friar John Gobi wrote to the supreme pontiff the Lord John XXII a letter attested by the common seal of the city of Alès about an extraordinary happening near the Roman court, regarding which great astonishment arose on various sides; and the church in the persons of the lord pope and cardinals was amazed about the ghost of a certain good man who had died, but whose spirit was frequently heard, not only in some secluded place, but when both religious and laity were present in sizeable numbers. And this happened not just once or twice, but even several times, in fact as often as it came to the place which had been its home. And so questions were put to it by trustworthy men of religion. 'And how he answered,' Gobi says, 'with a copy of his answer, I send on to your Holiness. On the more secret matters indeed which concern the mysteries of the faith, he is forbidden the opportunity of replying, etc. May Christ preserve you as ruler of his church, etc.' Here follows [the account]:

At Christmas 1323, I Friar John Gobi, prior of the convent of the Order of Preachers at Alès in the province of Provence, was requested by the leading men of Alès to go to the house of Guy de Corvo. For in that house over the eight whole days since his death a voice had been heard by many of the leading men of Alès. Although I would have gone unwillingly, yet I went there in order to prove whether it was a fraud or a devilish apparition, taking with me three friars from the convent, namely Friar John Bonafous the philosophy lecturer, Friar Theodore Durant and Friar [William Ralph de Millau]. And besides these there went with me more than one hundred laymen, namely the lord of Alès, William Cadoine, G. Carcosi etc., and many others whom I did not know by name. When we came to the said lodging, we made a most careful search of the whole lodging and even [under] the the roof-tiles, the better to avoid fraud, and we searched not only that house, but all the neighbouring lodgings also. And in all the lodgings that had been searched we posted leading men of the town as guards, upright and good men, and we put out all the residents. Indeed at two places inside the said lodging where there was particular danger of fraud, we posted leading men of the town, namely on the roof of the upper room above the chamber where the aforesaid voice was heard, and also next to one of the partition walls. And to prevent the wife of the said dead man playing some kind of trick on us, we instructed that a good woman of

1323:  
25 Dec.



quod una bona et antiqua mulier jaceret in uno lecto cum predicta uxore defuncti. Clausis vero januis, ego interrogavi uxorem in quo loco<sup>b</sup> vox illa magis audiebatur; que respondit quod secundum estimationem suam in lecto quo mortuus fuerat. Et tunc ego cum tribus sociis meis, quibus cum sua lanterna accensa, sedimus super lectum dicti mortui. Verumptamen ego continue multum timens quod esset illusio demonis, acceperam, quando recesseram de conventu, sic secrete quod nullus sciebat nisi ego solus, corpus Christi, et cum devocione qua poteram mecum portavi, et hoc etiam socii mei nesciebant.

<sup>b</sup> lecto D

## 7

*De eodem*

Cum vero dixissemus novem lecciones mortuorum cum letania, in fine dicte letanie quedam res invisibilis transivit ante nos. Incepit ire versus lectum uxoris, et faciebat sonum ac si scopa ducta esset per solum. Tunc adhuc durante illo sono et stante coram nobis, predicta uxor mirabili modo incepit concuti et timere, ac etiam alta voce clamare 'Ecce! Ecce!' Nosque aliquantulum perteriti tacuimus; sed magister P. de Gurgeria introduxit uxorem, ut peteret quid esset. Illa vero interrogante an esset Guido de Corvo defunctus, statim quedam vox debilis quasi deserta respondit, tamquam in camere medio, quod sic. Et tunc ego<sup>a</sup> timore deposito cum sociis meis accessi ad locum in quo secundum estimationem meam vox illa loquebatur, et audivimus eam, ita quod clare percipimus eam esse in medio nostri. Ego autem, muniens me signo crucis, interrogavi eum si cognosceret me. Qui respondit quod sic. Tunc frater Johannes Gonofossi socius meus interrogavit eum si ipsum agnoscebat; respondit quod non. Et cito factus est concursus magnus omnium circa nos. Et, cunctis astantibus et audientibus, conjuravi eum sic: 'Adjuro te creaturam Dei, per potenciam eius infinitam, per eius sapienciam ineffabilem, per eius bonitatem immensam, ac per virtutes omnes Sanctissime Trinitatis quibus omnia creavit, per misterium sancte Incarnacionis, per meritum sue Passionis benedictissime, per victoriosam et gloriosam eius Resurreccionem, et per omnes ordines sanctorum angelorum, ac per omne illud quod ex divina virtute potest te plus astringere, conjuro te et astringo te ut non recedas de isto loco quousque veraciter et sine omni falsitate responderis michi de omnibus hiis de quibus volo interrogare.' Qui respondit: 'Bene, faciam.' Et tunc ego interrogavi cum an esset

<sup>a</sup> + cum del.C

mature years should lie beside the aforesaid wife of the dead man in the same bed. Once the doors had been closed, I questioned the wife about the place where that voice was most clearly heard. She replied that in her estimation it was in the bed in which he had died. Then I with three companions, each of us with a lighted lantern, sat on the bed of the said dead man. Even so, being continuously very fearful that it was a devilish apparition, I took the Body of Christ with me when I left the convent, so secretly that no one knew about it except myself alone, and carried it with me as devoutly as I could; and of this my companions also had no knowledge.

## 7

*The same*

When indeed we had said the nine lessons for the dead with litany, at the end of the said litany some invisible thing crossed in front of us. It began to go towards the wife's bed, and made a sound as if a broom was being swished across the floor. Then while that sound continued just in front of us, the said wife in an extraordinary manner began to be agitated and fearful, and also to shout in a loud voice 'Look! Look!' And we were very frightened and remained silent; but Master Peter Bruguière brought the wife forward to find out what it was. When indeed she was asked whether it was the dead Guy de Corvo, at once a voice that was feeble as if it was lonely replied apparently in the middle of the room that it was so. And then I put fear aside and went with my companions to the place where in my estimation that voice was speaking, and we heard it in such a way that we clearly perceived that it was in our midst. I then fortified myself with the sign of the cross and asked him if he knew me. He replied that he did. Then Friar John Bonafous my companion asked if he knew him; he replied that he did not. And soon there was a big gathering of everybody around us. And with everyone standing by and listening, I appealed to him in this way: 'I charge you as one of God's creatures, by his infinite power, by his unutterable wisdom, by his boundless goodness, and by all the virtues of the most holy Trinity by which he created everything, by the mystery of the holy Incarnation, by the merit of his most blessed Passion, by his most victorious and glorious Resurrection, and by all the orders of holy angels, and by everything that by divine virtue can restrain you more – I appeal to you and oblige you not to leave this place until you answer me truly and without any kind of deception regarding all the matters on which I wish to question you.' He answered: 'All right, I shall do so.' And then I asked him whether he was a good spirit or a bad one. He replied that he was a good spirit. Then as part of a plan now as

fo.274v

G ii,282

bonus spiritus vel malus. Qui respondit quod bonus spiritus erat. Item conjurando nunc ut in omnibus sequentibus questionibus quantum poteram interrogare, an esset spiritus qui sine defectu finaliter haberet beatitudinem | [ac atti-]ngeret<sup>b</sup> ad salvacionem. Respondit quod sic. 30  
Item interrogavi eum quid esset, et respondit: 'Quidam spiritus qui faciebat et recipiebat eum purgatorium suum.' Frater: 'Quare ibi plus quam in | alio loco?' Respondit quod ibi commiserat peccatum. Frater: 35  
'Quod fuerat illud peccatum?' Respondit quod offensa matris sue. Frater: 'Si peccatum offensionis parentum erat magnum apud Deum?' 35  
Respondit quod maximum, et mirabilis offensa Dei erat. Frater: 'Si pateretur penam suam in communi purgatorio vel particulari?' Respondit quod in particulari, scilicet in illo hospicio in quo pro supradicto peccato debebat morari duobus annis, nisi sibi suffragia et beneficia subvenirent. Frater: 'Que beneficia plus subveniebant?' 40  
Respondit quod misse et post inter<sup>c</sup> alias oraciones vii psalmi penitenciales. Frater: 'Quam penam pateretur?' Respondit: 'Flamme.' Frater: 'Quomodo spiritus incorporeus poterat pati flammam corpor-  
eam?' Respondit quod homo fiebat per potenciam et voluntatem Dei.

<sup>b</sup> D; lac.C<sup>c</sup> + et del.C

## 8

*De eodem*

Interrogavi eum frater: 'An bonus angelus vel Diabolus duxisset eum ad locum sue pene.' Respondit quod bonus. Frater: 'An illa die essent facta aliqua suffragia pro eo?' Respondit quod sic. Frater: " 'Qui erant illi qui sibi bona fecerant?' Respondit: 'Tu et alii sacerdotes qui pro me celebrabant.' Frater: 'Dicas michi, de quo celebravi?' Respondit: 'De 5  
Spiritu Sancto.' Tunc ego in ista responsione non perfecte ipsum intelligens, dixi: 'Mentiris, nam licet in missa mea duas oraciones dixerim, tamen principale officium fuit de mortuis.' Verumptamen illi qui astabant dixerunt quod mortuus bene responderat, quod virtute Spiritus Sancti, cuius in missa memoriam feceram, sua pena multum fuerat alleviata, quamvis ego hoc perfecte non intellexerim prima facie. Frater: 'Quot misse poterant eum juvare, et de pena illa expedire?' Respondit: 'Centum.' Frater: 'Si indulgencie pro me acquisite poterant sibi proficere, si ego me eis expoliarem et cum induerem?' Respondit 10  
quod sic. Et tunc ego expoliavi me, quantum poteram, de omnibus indulgenciis conquisitis per unum annum et dedi sibi. Frater: 'Si in punctu mortis erat horribilis concursus demonum?' Respondit quod sic. Frater: 'Si demones haberent fidem de Trinitate?' Respondit quod habebant credulitatem. Frater: 'Si peccata confessa replicabantur in 15

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C

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in all the subsequent questions to interrogate him as best I could, [I asked] whether he was a spirit who without a blemish would in the end have bliss and attain salvation. He replied that it was so. I then asked him who he was. He replied: 'A spirit serving and suffering his Purgatory.' The friar: 'Why here rather than elsewhere?' He replied that it was here that he had committed his sin. Friar: 'What was that sin?' He answered that it was an offence against his mother. The friar asked whether the sin of offending parents was a great one in God's eyes. He replied that it was a very great one and an extraordinary offence against God. The friar asked whether he was suffering his punishment in Purgatory along with others or by himself. He replied that it was in a Purgatory particular to himself, that is in that lodging, where he was due to remain for two years for the aforesaid sin, unless intercessions and benefits brought him relief. The friar asked what benefits gave him most relief. He answered that masses did, and after that the seven penitential psalms among other prayers. The friar asked what punishment he was suffering. He replied: 'The flames.' The friar asked how an incorporeal spirit could suffer corporeal flame. He answered that man was formed by the power and will of God.

## 8

*The same*

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The friar questioned him whether it was a good angel or the Devil that had brought him to his place of punishment. He replied that it was a good one. The friar asked whether on that day any intercessions had been made for him. He replied 'Yes'. The friar asked who they were who had helped him. He replied: 'You and the other priests who celebrated on my behalf.' The friar: 'Tell me, for whom have I celebrated?' He replied: 'For the Holy Spirit.' Then not fully understanding him in this answer, I said: 'You lie, for although I uttered two prayers in my mass [for the Holy Spirit], still the principal office was for the dead.' Even so those who were standing nearby said that the dead man had answered well, that thanks to the Holy Spirit, whom I had recalled in the mass, his punishment had been much reduced, although I did not fully understand this at first. The friar asked how many masses could help him and release him from that punishment. He said: 'One hundred.' The friar asked whether indulgences obtained for himself can help him, and whether he may give them up and convey them to him. He answered 'Yes'. And so I gave up as many as I could of all the indulgences I had acquired over a year, and gave them to him. The friar then asked whether at the moment of death there was a horrific gathering of demons. He answered 'Yes'. The friar asked whether the demons had faith in the Trinity. He replied that they did have this as a belief. The friar asked whether sins that have been

morte?' Respondit quod sic, illa scilicet de quibus satisfactum non erat. 20  
 Frater: 'An immediate post mortem haberent scienciam de rebus  
 naturalibus?' Respondit quod sic. Et tunc ego dixi: 'Quare ergo, ex quo  
 tu habes talem scienciam, non loqueris michi literaliter?' respondit:  
 'Non possum.' Cui ego: 'Quare non potes?' Respondit quod voluntas  
 Dei non est; et statim subjunxit: 'Rogo vos ut dimittatis me, et me 25  
 amplius non vexetis.' Ego vero adhuc dubitans quod esset malus  
 spiritus qui vexaretur ex presencia corporis Christi quod mecum  
 portabam, conjuravi eum sic: 'Adhuc conjuro te per virtutem illius qui  
 te creavit, et sub cuius dominio est omnis spiritus, ut dicas michi si ego 30  
 porto vel habeo aliquam virtutem seu aliquod donum super me.'  
 Respondit: 'Ita, corpus Christi.' De quo omnes mirabantur, et ex tunc  
 omnes conjurationes quas sibi feci, feci in virtute corporis | Christi  
 quod presencialiter tenebam. Item interrogavi eum in virtute corporis  
 Christi: 'Quid eius corpus ageret contra demones?' Respondit quod 35  
 summe terrebat eos. Frater: 'Quare non veniebas ad religiosos vel ad  
 alias personas que eum possent juvare plus quam uxor sua?' Respondit  
 quod non poterat, quia Deus volebat. Frater: 'Quare veniebas plus ad  
 uxorem tuam quam ad aliam personam?' Respondit quod plus eam  
 diligebat. Frater: 'Quare tunc eam sic terrebas et dimittebas eam sic 40  
 desolatam, cum illa esset condicio mali spiritus?' Respondit: 'Ego non  
 possum sibi nocere. Ipsa autem scit causam desolacionis sue.'<sup>b</sup> Frater:  
 'Si ex tempore quo mortuus fueras, sciebas aliquem esse dampnatum  
 vel salvatum?' Respondit quod de hoc non permittebatur loqui a Deo.  
 Frater: 'Quid plus juvabat in punctu mortis?' Respondit quod meritum 45  
 Passionis Christi et Virginis Marie et aliorum sanctorum. Frater: 'An  
 sentis alleviacionem aliquam ex presencia corporis Christi?' Respondit  
 quod sic, et demonis' afflictionem. Et tunc ego dixi: 'In virtute ergo  
 corporis Christi presentis, precipio tibi ut sequaris me et Christum  
 benedictum, cuius virtute liberaberis a penis Purgatorii.' Respondit:  
 'Libenter.' Et ego incepti eum inquirere, an fuisset in vita ante mortem 50  
 confessus et perfecte contritus, et aliqua alia de virtute confessionis, et  
 quare melius ipse quam alius apparebat. Et cum respondere inciperet,  
 ego volens probare an sequeretur corpus Christi, incepti ire versus  
 portam, et ipse sequebatur.

G ii,283

<sup>b</sup> sui C<sup>c</sup> D; demones C

confessed are brought up again at the time of death. He answered that  
 this was so [only] in the case of those for which satisfaction had not  
 been given. The friar asked whether after death they had knowledge of  
 the natural world. He replied 'Yes'; and then I said: 'Why then, since  
 you have such knowledge, do you not speak to me intelligibly?' He  
 replied: 'I cannot.' I asked him: 'Why is this?' He replied that it was not  
 God's will; and added at once: 'I ask you all to let me go, and to trouble  
 me no more.' But I still had my doubts that he was an evil spirit who  
 would be upset by the presence of the body of Christ that I was carrying  
 with me, and so I appealed to him thus: 'I still appeal to you by virtue of  
 Him who created you, and under whose dominion is every spirit, to tell  
 me whether I am carrying or hold on my person any virtue or any kind  
 of gift.' He answered: 'Yes, the Body of Christ.' At this everyone was  
 amazed, and from then on all the appeals which I made to him, I made  
 by virtue of the Body of Christ which was [really] present. Likewise I  
 asked him by virtue of the Body of Christ: 'What can His body do  
 against demons?' He replied that it utterly terrified them. The friar:  
 'Why did you not appear to churchmen or other persons who could  
 help [you] more than your wife can?' He answered that he could not,  
 because that was God's wish. The friar: 'Why did you appear more to  
 your wife than to another person?' He replied that he loved her more.  
 The friar: 'Why then did you frighten her in this way and leave her  
 desolate, since that was characteristic of an evil spirit?' He answered: 'I  
 cannot harm her. But she knows the reason for her desolation.' The  
 friar: 'From the time of your death, did you know whether any  
 particular person was damned or saved?' He answered that on this  
 matter he was not permitted by God to speak. The friar asked what was  
 most helpful at the moment of death. He replied that it was the merit of  
 Christ's Passion and of the Virgin Mary and the other saints. The friar:  
 'Do you derive any easing of your burden from the presence of Christ's  
 body?' He replied that he did, and that [as a consequence] the Devil was  
 suffering. Then I said: 'Therefore by virtue of the Body of Christ here  
 present I order you to follow me and the blessed Christ, by whose virtue  
 you will be freed from the pains of Purgatory.' He answered:  
 'Willingly.' And I began to enquire of him whether he had when alive  
 made his confession before death and was fully repentant, and about  
 some other aspects of the virtue of confession, and why it was he who  
 had appeared rather than someone else. And when he began to reply, I,  
 wishing to prove whether he would follow the Body of Christ, began to  
 move towards the door, and he followed. 60



*De eodem*

Et quia aliter non poteram transire nisi coram lecto uxoris, ipsa advertens quod sibi spiritus appropinquabat, inde fuit ita subito perterita quod ibi cecidit quasi mortua. Et sic omnes propter eam | impediti non potuimus intelligere quid ad premissa responderet. Cum hoc mulier cepit stridere dentibus suis, et ad modum mulieris furibunde altissime clamare; ad quam concurrunt<sup>a</sup> omnes ad videndum exitum huius casus. Tunc prior ad spiritum: 'In virtute Passionis Christi quero a te causam huius perturbacionis uxoris tue.' Respondit: 'Ipsamet scit; causam pete ad ea.' Que ad petita nichil respondit. Post hoc omnibus silentibus cepit mulier palpitare membra sua et voce magna dicere: 'Domine Jhesu Christe, adjuva me in isto labore quo graviter sum vexata.' Quod audiens, prior interrogavit a spiritu causam. 'Interroga', inquit, 'eam, si scire vis.' Ad quam prior: 'O bona mulier, indica michi huius tristicie tue causam.' Tunc ipsa, quasi in extasi facta, nichil respondebat ei. Tunc prior cum impetu animi sui dixit ad spiritum: 'Adjuro te, creatura Dei, per virtutem vulnerum et corporis Jhesu Christi, et per lac et lacrimas matris eius, ut nunc michi dicas huius rei veritatem.' Respondit quod pro quodam enormi peccato quod hic commisimus, de quo ambo sumus confessi, sed illa adhuc non satisfecit; ideo modo satisfaciat. Ad quem prior: 'Indica michi in Dei nomine, ut per me alii conjugati poterunt premuniri ne faciant idem vel simile.' Respondit quod hoc non vult Deus, quod idem peccatum deveniat ad aures hominum, quod ab aure Dei deletur | per confessionem. 'Nam Deus oblitus est illud quoad culpam, sed non quoad penam; ideo michi et sibi nunc dat penam. Tamen dicas, prior, conjugatis et predica semper ut melius inter se teneant regulas matrimonii. Sunt enim diversi casus in quibus peccant conjugati; et nisi melius se abstineant, Deus capiet inde gravem vindictam. Hec enim fuit causa principalis quare Deus misit me loqui tibi, ut hec omnia ad cautelam forent aliorum.' Et extunc de nocte illa nil plus audivimus. Postmodum vero in vigilia Epiphanie, ad maiorem certitudinem de predictis habendam, ivi iterum illuc, et duxi mecum tres fratres; et in presencia horum qui intererant diximus officium defunctorum. Quo dicto, pertransivit quedam res invisibiliter coram nobis, faciendo consimilem sonum quem in prima apparicione fecerat. At uxor defuncti muniens se signo crucis, portansque secum evangelium Sancti Johannis, ac dicto 'Verbum caro factum est', licet multum timeret, tamen ad informacionem nostram dixit ei: 'Conjuro te per beatissimam

<sup>a</sup> concurrerunt D*The same*

And because I was not otherwise able to cross over except in front of the wife's bed, she noticed that the spirit was approaching her, and on that account suddenly became so frightened that she fell down as if dead. All of us were so diverted on her account that we could not grasp how he replied to the foregoing questions. At this the woman began to whistle with her teeth, and to shout out very loudly like a woman distraught; and everyone gathered round her to see what happened next. Then the prior said to the spirit: 'By virtue of Christ's Passion tell me the reason for your wife's distress.' He replied: 'It is she who knows; seek the reason from her.' She made no response to questions. Then with everyone silent the woman began to suffer convulsions and to say in a loud voice: 'Lord Jesus Christ, help me in this torment by which I am sorely distressed.' On hearing this the prior asked the spirit for an explanation. 'Ask her', he said, 'if you wish to know.' The prior addressed her: 'Good woman, tell me the reason for your misery.' But she, apparently sunk in a trance, made him no response. Then the prior vehemently said to the spirit: 'I charge you as one of God's creatures, by virtue of the wounds and body of Jesus Christ, and by the milk and tears of his mother, to tell me now the truth of this matter.' He answered: 'It is because of a certain heinous sin which we have committed here, regarding which we have both confessed, but she has not yet made amends; may she therefore make amends now!' The prior spoke to him: 'In the name of God give me the details, so that through me other married couples can take heed not to do the same or something similar.' He replied that God did not wish it, because the same sin might come to the ears of men which through confession has been removed from God's attention. 'For God has forgotten that sin as a fault, but not so far as punishment is concerned; therefore he is now awarding the punishment to me and her. Nevertheless, prior, you may tell married couples and preach always that they should behave better within the bonds of matrimony. For there are various situations in which married couples sin; and unless they make a better success of abstaining from them, God will as a consequence exact a heavy punishment. This indeed was the main reason why God has sent me to speak with you, so that all this will be a warning to others.' And thereafter during that night we heard no more.

But later on the eve of Epiphany I went there again to obtain a better understanding of these matters, taking three friars with me; and in the presence of those who made up the company we said the office for the dead. When this had been said, some kind of thing crossed invisibly in

Passionem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, in cuius custodiam pono  
animam et corpus meum, ut in aliquo non noceas michi, sed dicas si tu  
es spiritus Guidonis de Corvo quondam mariti mei.' Respondit quod  
sic. Tunc prior conjuravit spiritum si credebat Filium Dei veram  
carnem humanam accepisse pro redemptione humani generis remanente  
integra inviolateque virginitate gloriose Virginis. Respondit  
quod sic. Post huiusmodi multos dialogos, et commendacionem  
beneficiorum sancte matris ecclesie exhibitorum animabus purgandis,  
et qualiter de die ille spiritus paciebatur in Purgatorio, et in nocte in illo  
particulari loco, et tandem eiusdem anima recommissa ab omnibus  
inperscrutabili misericordie Dei, lecius quodammodo licentiam  
petens, tamquam<sup>b</sup> sibilus aure levis insufflavit omnes et evanuit. Et qui  
ista viderunt testimonium perhibuerunt. Quibus Romana ecclesia  
assentivit, affirmans quod sancta et salubris est cogitacio pro defunctis  
orare ut a peccato solvantur.

<sup>b</sup> -quam interlin.C

## 10

*De spiritibus post mortem apparentibus et quod periculosum  
homini se demonibus commendare*

Nemo igitur miretur, nec in dubium vertat, quoniam ex permissione  
Dei post mortem spiritus hominum diversimodi apparent, sicut  
Gregorius in *iiii*<sup>to</sup> Dialogorum manifeste insinuat; sed vulgus et  
agrestes homines sepe sunt illusi maligni spiritus machinamento, qui  
eis interdum apparent, fingentes se esse spiritus carorum suorum. Et  
ideo maxima cautela adhibenda est huiusmodi fantasticis apparicio-  
nibus, que sunt de reliquiis infidelium gentilium et poetarum. Hec  
huic operi insero,

pro eo quod Macrobius ad probandum animas e celo lapsas inducit  
auctoritatem responsi Delphici, scilicet 'Nothos elithos'. Et hanc esse  
hominis agnitionem sui dicit, si exordia prima respexerit, ut ex  
consciencia sue nobilis originis virtutes induat, quibus eo, unde  
descenderat, reascendat. Eodem loco accipienda est Virgillii auctoritas  
de eroybus, quos apud inferos relegavit, quos dicit | 'noscere solem  
suum et sidera'; qui etiam res leviores quas vivi exercuerant eos post  
mortem exercere testatur. Hec autem opinio falsitatis inde, nisi fallor,  
sumpsit exordium; sicut ait Helinandus quod anime defunctorum,  
peccatorum suorum penas luentes, multis apparere solent in eo habitu

G ii, 285

front of us, making the same sound as he had made on his first  
appearance. But the wife of the dead man fortified herself with the sign  
of the cross, and took the gospel of St John with her, with its saying  
'The Word became flesh'. Although very frightened, on our instruc-  
tions she said to him: 'I appeal to you by the blessed Passion of our  
Lord Jesus Christ, under whose protection I place my soul and my  
body, that you do not harm me in any way, but say whether you are the  
spirit of Guy de Corvo my late husband.' He replied that he was.  
Then the prior appealed to the spirit [to say] whether he believed that  
the Son of God had truly taken human flesh for the redemption of the  
human race, while the virginity of the glorious Virgin remained intact  
and inviolate. He replied 'Yes'. After much dialogue of this kind, and  
recommendation of the benefits delivered by holy mother church to  
souls in Purgatory, and [explanation of] how that spirit was suffering in  
[common] Purgatory day by day, and in that particular place at night,  
at length the spirit of the same man which had been sent back through  
the mercy of God that is inscrutable to everyone, at length sought  
permission with a certain air of great joy, and like the whistling of a  
light breeze, blew over everyone and vanished. And those who saw  
those things have borne witness to them. The Roman church has given  
its approval to them, affirming that it is a holy and beneficial plan to  
pray for the dead so that they are freed from the bonds of sin.

## 10

*Spirits that appear after death; and that it is dangerous for a  
man to entrust himself to demons*

No one therefore should be surprised or have any doubts arising from  
the fact that by God's permission men's spirits make appearances  
after death in various ways, as Gregory clearly explains in the fourth  
book of his *Dialogues*; but common people and country-dwellers have  
often been fooled by the tricks of spiteful spirits, which from time to  
time appear to them pretending to be the spirits of their loved ones.  
Therefore the greatest care must be employed with fantastic  
apparitions of this kind, which arise from the mortal remains of  
infidels, pagans and poets. I introduce these remarks to this work

because Macrobius, as proof that spirits have fallen from Heaven,  
brings in the authority of the Delphic answer, namely: 'Know thyself.'  
And he says that a man's knowledge of himself consists in this, namely  
to have looked back to his first beginnings, so that through his  
recognition of his noble origin he may clothe himself with those virtues  
which will help him to ascend again to the place from which he has  
fallen. In the same area of debate the authority of Virgil regarding  
heroes ought to be accepted, when he banished them among those in  
the underworld, saying that 'they know their own sun and stars'; he

in quo prius vixerant, id est rustici in rusticano, milites in militari, sicut  
 vulgus asserere solet de familia Hellichini, de qua Henricus Aureliensis  
 episcopus referre solebat rem valde mirabilem, quam ipse audierat ab  
 ipso qui viderat, scilicet a Johanne Aurelianensis ecclesie canonico.  
 'Burchardus', inquit, 'archidiaconus cognomento de Pinsato iturus  
 erat Romam. Rogavit enim me (dictum Johannem) ut quendam  
 clericum Natalem nomine domus mee euchonomum ei socium | darem,  
 quia cautulus erat in rei familiaris custodia, bonus dispensator,  
 prudens et fidelis, quod rarissime in dispensatoribus invenitur. Volebat  
 ergo idem Burchardus hunc habere socium itineris sui, non tam ideo  
 quod eum diligeret, quam quia pecunie sue ut avarissimus valde  
 timeret. Ego autem tam nobili persone, et archidiacono meo, non potui  
 hoc negare. Precepi ergo Natali clerico meo ut cum eo iret, et ei  
 tamquam michi in<sup>a</sup> omnibus obediret. Quod ille tamquam invitatus  
 annuit, timens mores Burchardi cuius avariciam non ignorabat.  
 Inieramus autem ego et Natalis fedus quoddam secretissimum, quod  
 uter ex nobis prius moreretur intra xxx dies, si posset, ad socium suum  
 rediret, nichil ei in apparitione sua terroris incuciens, sed blande eum  
 commonefaciens et de statu suo certificans. Cum autem iam prope  
 Romam essent, accidit quodam die ut prefatus Burchardus cum Natali  
 clerico rationem poneret de cotidianis expensis, et de magna summa  
 minutule singulos nummos et obulos exigeret, qui in quos usus  
 abissent. Natalis autem, qui tam minutas rationes reddere michi non  
 consueverat, quippe cui ego tamquam michi credebam, iratus adversus  
 virum nobilem sordidissime providencie cum in reddenda ratione  
 deficeret,<sup>b</sup> quod auditu quoque horrendum est, demonibus se commen-  
 davit. Eodem autem die cum quandam aquam transvaderent, Natalis  
 submersus est. Sequenti vero nocte proxima, cum in lecto meo  
 quiescerem vigilans, et coram me lumen fulgeret in lampade, quia  
 semper nocte consuevi tenebras horrescere, ecce Natalis clericus meus  
 astitit, cappa indutus pluviali (sicut michi videbatur) pulcherima  
 coloris plumbei. Ego autem nichil omnino territus, et eum optime  
 recognoscens, cepi quasi gratulans de tam maturo eius reditu  
 Transalpino ad eum dicere: "Natalis, bene veneris. Numquid iam rediit  
 archidiaconus?" "Non," inquit, "domine, sed ego solus redii iuxta  
 constitutum; mortuus enim sum. Nolite ergo timere. Ego nullum  
 timorem vobis inferam, sed precor ut succurratis michi; ego enim in  
 magnis tormentis sum." "Cur?" inquam. "Satis enim honeste vixisti  
 apud me." "Domine," inquit, "verum est; bene quidem michi esset nisi  
 hodie, subita preventus ira, me demonibus commendassem. Rogo  
 autem vos ut quoscumque potueritis moneatis, ut hoc numquam  
 faciant. Qui enim se commendat demonibus, dat eis potestatem super  
 se, sicut et ego miserimus feci. Unde potestatem habuerunt ut me  
 statim submergerent; et propter hoc solum torqueor. Nam bene  
 confessus eram de omnibus peccatis meis, et in nullam recideram."<sup>d</sup>  
 Tunc ego: "Quomodo tam pulcrum capam habes si | in tormentis es?"  
 "Domine," inquit, "hec capa, que tam pulcra vobis videtur, pondero-

a interlin.C  
 b + se del.C

c corrected from inquit [?] C  
 d corrected from cecideram C

testifies also that the frivolous activities which they pursued when  
 alive they follow after death. But, unless I am mistaken, this false  
 opinion has taken its origin from here (as Helinand says), because the  
 souls of the departed as they suffer the penalties of their sins  
 customarily appear to many in the same clothes which they they wore  
 when alive previously, peasants in rustic guise, knights in knightly  
 guise, as people tend to say about Hellequin's rabble.

Henry bishop of Orleans often mentioned an extremely extra-  
 ordinary thing about them, which he had heard from an eye-witness,  
 namely a canon of the church of Orleans called John. 'An archdeacon  
 called Burchard de Pisy', he said, 'was about to go to Rome. He asked  
 me, John, to give him a certain clerk called Noel who was my  
 household steward as his companion, since he was careful in watching  
 over the finances of the household, a good steward, prudent and  
 faithful, which is a quality very rarely found in stewards. Therefore the  
 same Burchard wished to have this companion on his journey, not so  
 much because he liked him, as because being very miserly he was  
 extremely fearful about his money. But I could not refuse so noble a  
 person, who was also my archdeacon. I therefore instructed my clerk  
 Noel to go with him, and to obey him in all things as he would me. This  
 he promised to do somewhat unwillingly, for he had fears about  
 Burchard's character, being not ignorant of his greed. Noel and I  
 therefore entered into a highly secret agreement, that whichever of the  
 two of us died first would return to his friend within thirty days if  
 possible. He would not strike terror into the other by his appearance,  
 but gently attract his attention, and give assurances about his  
 condition.

Then when they were already near Rome, it happened one day that  
 the aforesaid Burchard was reckoning up with the clerk Noel for some  
 daily expenses, and in connection with a large sum made paltry  
 demands about the pennies and half-pence, which had disappeared in  
 some transactions. But Noel, who was not used to rendering such  
 detailed accounts to me, for I trusted him as myself, became angry at a  
 nobleman [exercising such] penny-pinching supervision when he was at  
 fault in rendering account, and (which is also horrific to hear)  
 committed himself to the demons. But on the same day when they were  
 crossing some water, Noel was drowned. On the immediately following  
 night when I was resting awake on my bed, and a light shone in the  
 lampstand in front of me (for I was usually frightened of the dark at  
 night), there stood Noel my clerk, wearing a very handsome rain-cloak  
 (as it seemed to me) the colour of lead. But I was not at all frightened,  
 for I recognised him clearly; and as if rejoicing over such a timely return  
 on his part from beyond the Alps, I began to say to him: "Your return  
 is welcome, Noel. Has the archdeacon already returned?" "No, sir," he  
 said, "but I alone have returned according to our agreement, for I am  
 dead. Have no fear on this account. Don't let me frighten you; but help  
 me, I beg you, for I am in great torment." "Why?" I said. "You have  
 lived an honest enough life with me." "That is true, sir," he said. "All  
 was well with me until today, when I was overcome by sudden anger  
 and committed myself to the demons. I therefore ask you to warn  
 whomsoever you can never to do this. For a man who commits himself

sior et gravior est michi quam turris Pinariensis, si michi superposita foret. Pulcritudo autem ista spes est venie quam habeo, propter confessionem quam feci, si tamen michi succurratur." Cui ait: "Certe", inquam, "ego tibi succurram quantumcumque potero; sed obsecro ut dicas michi si es deputatus in illa milicia quam dico Helliugini." Et ille: 70  
 "Non, domine; illa milicia non vadit, sed nuper ire desiit, quia penitenciam suam peregit. Corrupte autem dictus est a vulgo Eliquinus pro Karliquinus. Fuit enim Karolus quintus qui peccatorum suorum longam egit penitenciam, et nuper tandem per intercessionem beati Dionisii liberatus est. Sed rogo vos ut misereamini mei." Et hec dicens, 75  
 cum fletu evanuit.'

e interlin. above vobis del.C

## 11

*Aliud exemplum ad idem*

Hec idcirco dixi ut per hoc elucescat unde sumpsit initium Virgilianus error de animabus defunctorum, quas heroas appellant, dicens eorum habere eandem curam equorum et curruum et armorum post mortem quam habuerant dum vivebant. De qua re certissimum referrebat exemplum Hellebandus, Henrici quondam archiepiscopi Remensis 5  
 cubicularius. Dicebat enim: 'Dominus meus archiepiscopus mittebat me ad Attrebatum. Dum autem circa meridiem apud quoddam nemus appropinquassemus, ego et famulus meus qui me precedebat celerius equitans ut michi pararet hospicium, audivit ille tumultum magnum in nemore, quasi multiplices et varios equorum fremitus, armorum sonitus, et velut voces multitudinis impetu proruentis in bellum. Expavescit ergo ipse, et equus eius continuo regressus est ad me. A quo cum quererem quare reverteretur, respondit: "Equus meus non fuste nec calcaribus cogi potest ut precedat. Ego etiam ipse adeo 10  
 territus sum, ut omnino procedere non audeam; mira enim vidi et audivi; nemus enim istud defunctorum animabus et demonibus plenum est. Audivi autem eos clamare et dicere: 'Iam habemus prepositum de Area; in proximo autem habebimus archiepiscopum Remensem.'" Ad quod ego respondi: "Signum crucis nostris frontibus imprimamus et secure proce-| damus." Cum ergo processissem et ad 20  
 nemus pervenissem, iam umbre precesserant; et tamen voces quasdam

fo.276

a per- interlin.C

70 to the demons gives them power over him, as, wretch that I am, I have done. Thus they have had the power to drown me at once; and it is just on this account that I am being tortured. For I had made a good confession of all my sins, and I had returned to none of them." Then I said: "How is it that you are wearing a fine cloak if you are in torment?" 75  
 "Sir," he said, "this cloak which seems so fine to you is heavier and more of a burden to me than the tower of Parma would be if it were put on top of me. But its beauty is my hope of pardon to which I cling, on account of the confession which I have made, if only help can be brought for me." I said to him: "Certainly I shall help you as much as I can; but please tell me if you have been assigned to the troop of knights whom I call the Hellequins." He replied: "No, sir; that troop is no longer here, but recently stopped coming because it has finished its penance. But he is incorrectly called Eliquinus by the people instead of 80  
 Karliquinus. For it was Charles V who served a long penance for his sins, and lately has been freed through the intercession of blessed Denis. But I ask you to have pity on me." And with these words he disappeared lamenting.' 85

## 11

*Another exemplum on the same theme*

I have mentioned these matters for this reason that by this means it may become clear how Virgil's error about the dead souls whom they call heroes arose, when he said that they had the same concern for horses and chariots and weapons after death as they had when alive. 5  
 Hellebaud, the chamberlain of Henry the late archbishop of Rheims, used to relate a very definite exemplum of this. He used to say: 'My lord the archbishop sent me to Arras. While we were approaching a certain wood about noon, that is I and my servant (who was riding ahead of me [1173] to prepare a lodging), my servant heard a great disturbance in the wood, like the snorting of many different horses, the clash of arms, and the voices of a crowd rushing with a charge into a fight. He was on this account terrified, and his horse immediately returned towards me. When I asked him why he was coming back, he replied: "My horse cannot be made to go forward by the whip or the spurs. I myself am also so terrified that I absolutely do not dare go forward; for I have seen and heard astonishing things; for this wood is full of dead souls and demons. I have indeed heard them shout and say: 'We now have the provost of Arques; next we shall have the archbishop of Rheims.'" To this I answered: "Let us mark the sign of the cross on our foreheads, and proceed in safety." When therefore I had gone forward and arrived at the wood, the ghostly figures had already gone ahead; nevertheless I heard some confused voices, the clashing of arms, and the snorting of horses; but I could neither make out the ghosts nor understand the voices. Then when we returned, we found the archbishop already at the point of death, and he did not survive these voices fifteen days.' 25

confusas audiui, et fragores armorum et equorum fremitus; sed nec umbras videre, nec voces intelligere potui. Cum autem redissemus, iam archiepiscopum invenimus in extremis, nec post has voces diebus xv supervixit.<sup>25</sup> Unde conicitur cum ab illis spiritibus raptum, a quibus auditum fuerat rapiendum. Hinc apparet quales equi sunt illi super quos aliquando videntur equitare. Sunt enim demones se in equos transformantes, quorum sessorum sunt anime miserrime peccatis onerate, tamquam armis quibusdam et clipeis honestate,<sup>b</sup> sed revera propriis sceleribus in formis talibus onustate juxta illud propheticum: 'Descenderunt in infernum cum armis suis', id est cum membris suis que fecerunt arma iniquitatis peccato, nolentes ea facere arma justicie Deo. Certum est autem equum animal esse superbum et contumax, contencionis et belli cupidum, ferventem ad coitum, et in libidine prepotentem. Demones igitur in equos transformati signant sessorum suos se huiusmodi sceleribus oblectasse. Talis erat equus super quem ascendit infelix ille Masticonensis sacrilegus, raptor decimarum et spoliator personarum ecclesiasticarum. De quo refert abbas Cluniacensis, quod cum quadam die solemniter in proprio palacio cum suis sederet satellitibus, bibens vinum in jocunditate de vasis ecclesie expoliatis, repente ignotus homo insidens equo nigerimo per ostium palatii ingressus, cunctis videntibus et mirantibus, usque ad ipsum pervenit, dicens se velle ei colloqui, imperans ei ut surgeret et se sequeretur. Qui invisibili potencie non valens resistere, surrexit et usque ad portam palatii processit, ubi equum paratum invenit. Quem jussus statim ascendit, cuius habenas alter accipiens, velocissimo cursu per aera cunctis videntibus ferre cepit. Ille autem miserabiliter clamans 'Succurrite, cives, succurrite', totam civitatem commovit. Omnes autem cum currentem per aera conspexerunt, quamdiu naturali oculorum acie potuerunt. Sicque tandem subtractus visibus hominum, factus est eternus socius demonum. Nunc ad annalia redeamus.

G ii, 287

<sup>b</sup> corrected from honestate C<sup>c</sup> D; celeribus C

## 12

*Quomodo regina Anglie conduxit stipendiarios et incarceravit maritum suum regem et c'*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc xxvi domina Elizabeth regina Anglie conduxit mercede stipendiarios quamplures de diversis mundi partibus. Que capto rege Eadwardo ii<sup>o</sup> marito suo et carceri mancipato, Hugonem de Spensa cum patre suo patibulo suspendi jussit et demembrari. Et ob causam huius sedicionis unus episcopus London' suspenditur; 5 comites vero et barones plures et nobiles passim morte turpissima condemnantur. Eodem anno Eadwardus iii<sup>us</sup> post Conquestionem tunc xv annorum patre carceri mancipato in regem Anglie coronatur

Hence it is conjectured that he was taken away by these spirits, from whom we had heard that he was to be taken. From this it is clear what kind of horses they were on which they [i.e. the souls of the dead] were sometimes seen to ride. For they are demons transferring themselves into horses, whose riders are the most wretched of souls burdened by sins, as if adorned with some weapons and shields, but are in truth burdened by their own crimes in taking this kind of form according to the prophecy: 'They have descended into Hell with their weapons', that is with their bodies which they have put at sin's disposal as implements for doing wrong, not wishing to put them at God's disposal as implements for doing right. It is indeed certain that the horse is a proud and stubborn animal, eager for strife and fighting, impetuous in a crowd, and driven by a powerful lust. Demons therefore that have been transformed into horses indicate that their riders have delighted in crimes of this kind.

Such was the horse that was mounted by that profane man from Mâcon, who stole tithes and despoiled ecclesiastical persons. The abbot of Cluny mentions him, [relating] that when one feast day he was sitting with his followers in his own palace, cheerfully drinking wine from vessels plundered from the church, an unknown man suddenly entered the gate of the palace riding a pure black horse; and while all who saw it were astonished, he went right up to him, saying that he wished to speak with him, and ordering him to get up and follow him. Unable to resist an invisible power, he rose and moved to the palace gate, where he found a horse ready. Responding to an order he immediately mounted it, while the other man held its reins, and while everyone watched began to make an extremely fast passage through the air. As he shouted out in his wretchedness 'Help me, citizens, help me', he roused the whole city. But everyone saw him rushing through the air as long as they could with their natural eyesight. And so at length he was taken away from men's sight, and became the eternal associate of demons. Now let us return to our annals.

## 12

*How the queen of England hired some mercenaries and imprisoned her husband the king, etc.*

In 1326 the Lady [Isabella] queen of England hired at a price a great number of mercenaries from various parts of the world. Once she had captured King Edward II her husband and put him in prison, she ordered Hugh Despenser and his father to be hanged on a gibbet and 5 dismembered. As a result of this insurrection one bishop was hanged at London, and many earls and barons and nobles everywhere were condemned to a most shameful death.

1326: [Sept.-Nov.]

In the same year Edward, the third since the Conquest, who was



invitus in festo Purificacionis.<sup>a</sup> Annus eciam iste ultra memoriam tunc vivencium ubique terrarum fertilis in omnium rerum et victualium habundancia fuit copiosus. Anno eodem apud Cambuskineth totus clerus, comites et barones ac universi nobiles Scocie una cum populo ibidem congregato<sup>b</sup> David filio et heredi regis Roberti de Brois de fidelitate et homagio adjurati sunt, et eciam Roberto Senescalli nepoti regis predicti in casu quo idem David sine prole in fata decederet, in presencia domini regis Roberti de B[rois], ubi eciam Andreas de Moravia dominam Christianam sororem ipsius regis duxit in uxorem.

Anno sequenti Anglici mittunt nuncios ad regem Scocie similes se velle super firma pace habenda tractare; sed sepe ad invicem convenientes nichil profecerunt. Tandem detecta eorum fraude, Scoti cum manu valida partes boreales Anglie intraverunt xvii kal. iulii ipsam flamma et gladio devastantes. Eodem anno mensis octobris comes de Moravia, Jacobus de Douglas cum multis nobilibus | Scocie armata manu Angliam invadunt, et post plura dampna Anglis illata in quodam arcto loco nomine Werdal simul fixere tentoria. Quibus ex opposito et quasi in exitu itineris agmina Anglorum numero plures quam centum milia in circuitu Scotorum sunt collocata. Ubi octo diebus exercitus se mutuo cotidie videntes, et cotidie mutuis cedibus | se affligerunt. Tandem vero Scoti ut prudentes bellici captata hora seipsos salvandi, pluribus hostium morte prostratis per nocturnos circuitus, et captis plurimis Anglicis et Hannonibus, sani et incolumes ad propria revertuntur in previgilia Sancti Laurentii. <[Eodem anno quinto idus aprilis obiit n]obilis<sup>c</sup> bellator Walterus Stewart gener regis Roberti de Broys [et pater regis Roberti ii.]<sup>c</sup> Anno<sup>d</sup> domini m ccc<sup>o</sup> xxvii vii kal. novembris obiit domina Elizabeth regina mater regis David [et sepul-]ta<sup>e</sup> in choro<sup>e</sup> de Dunf<sup>e</sup> juxta regem Robertum sponsum suum.> Eodem anno post Scotorum regressum de Anglia<sup>f</sup> paucis interjectis diebus rex Scocie castrum de Norham et cito post castrum de Alnewik vicissim obsessit. Et in eadem obsessione apud Norham Willelmus de Monte Alto miles, Johannes de Clapam et Malisius de Dobery cum aliis propria inhercia interfecti sunt.

Eodem anno xvii die marcii mittuntur ambassatores a<sup>g</sup> rege Anglie ad regem Scocie apud Edynburgh ad ordinandum et tractandum super firma et perpetua pace. Ubi post diversos tractatus et multa et varia guerrarum utriusque regni discrimina, reges predicti super pace indissolubili et perpetua observanda ad invicem concordati sunt, prestitis super hoc juramentis majorum et digniorum utriusque regni, in animas utriusque regis jurancium ad observandum fideliter omnia et singula perpetue duratura. Que in suis instrumentis hinc inde super

a + Nostre Domine CA  
b una ... congregato om. CA  
c D; lac. C  
d + sequenti id et CA

e + monachorum CA  
f de Anglia interlin. C  
g interlin. C

then aged fifteen, once his father had been put in prison, was against his own wishes crowned king of England on the feast of the Purification. This year also there was fertility and plenty everywhere in the abundance of all products of the earth and foodstuffs, more so than in the memory of those then alive.

In the same year at Cambuskenneth the whole of the clergy, the earls and barons and all the nobles of Scotland with all the people gathered there were sworn in fealty and homage to David the son and heir of King Robert de Bruce, and also to Robert Steward the said king's grandson if it happened that the same David was to die childless. This was done in the presence of the lord king Robert de Bruce. At the same time Andrew de Moray married the Lady Christian, the sister of the king.

In the following year the English sent envoys to the king of Scotland, who pretended that they wanted to negotiate over the establishment of a lasting peace; but although they often met, they achieved nothing. At length when their deception had become clear, the Scots invaded the northern parts of England with a strong force on 15 June, and laid it waste with fire and sword.

In the same year in the month of October the earl of Moray and James de Douglas with many of the nobles of Scotland invaded England with an armed force, and after inflicting much damage on the English pitched their tents together in a restricted space called Weardale. Opposed to them and blocking their way the troops of the English were positioned around the Scots to the number of more than one hundred thousand. There for eight days the armies watched each other daily, and daily afflicted each other with mutual slaughter. But at length the Scots, clever fighting men as they were, seized the hour for saving themselves, inflicted death on many of their enemies during patrols overnight, made very many of the English and Hainaulters captive, and returned home safe and well on the day before the eve of St Laurence.

In the same year on 9 April the death occurred of the noble fighting man Walter Stewart, the son-in-law of King Robert de Bruce and father of King Robert II. In 1327 on 26 October the Lady Elizabeth, the queen and mother of King David, died and was buried in the choir at Dunfermline next to her husband King Robert.

In the same year only a few days after the return of the Scots from England the king of Scotland in his turn besieged the castle of Norham, and a little later the castle of Alnwick. In that same siege at Norham the knight William de Mowat, John de Clapham and Malise de Doverly and others were killed by their own fault.

In the same year on 17 March ambassadors were sent by the king of England to the king of Scotland at Edinburgh to arrange and negotiate a firm and perpetual peace. There after various negotiations and many different crises threatening war for each kingdom, the said

1327:  
[1 Feb.]

1326:  
[15 July]

1327

15 June  
[July-Aug.]

[Aug.]

9 Aug.

[1326:]  
9 Apr.  
1327:  
26 Oct.

[Aug.-]  
Sept.

1328:  
17 Mar.

forma pacis confectis sub certis articulis plenius continentur. <De hiis  
treugis dictum est:

M semel et c ter bis x jungas simul i ter,  
in ciclo tali suffertur ab exicali  
guerrarum peste; capiuntur et undique treuge.  
Denos et ternos creduntur stare per annos,  
interea pacem D[eus] addat in orbe tenacem.>

Et ut pax vera esset non solum inter eos sed eciam perpetue inter suos  
successores et regna, rex Anglie Eadwardus de Wyndesore pro se et  
successoribus suis regibus Anglie resignavit omni juri et clameo veris  
vel pretensis que habuit vel habere poterit in vel ad regnum Scocie |  
<huiusmodi sub tenore:

fo.277

G ii,289

<sup>h</sup>Univeris presentes literas inspecturis Eadwardus Dei gracia rex Ang-  
[lie],<sup>i</sup> dominus Hibernie et dominus Aquitanie salutem in Domino  
sempiternam. Cum nos nonnullique predecessores nostri reges Anglie  
jura regiminis domini seu superioritatis regni Scocie conati fuerimus  
obtinere, ob hocque motarum dira guerrarum discrimina Anglie et  
Scocie regna diucius afflixissent, nos attendentes cedens occisiones  
scelera ecclesiarum destrucciones et mala innumerabilia que huius-  
modi occasione guerrarum regnicolis utriusque regni multipliciter  
contingebant, bonaque quibus regnum utrumque mutuis compendiis  
habundaret perpetue pacis stabilitate connexum, ac per hoc contra  
conatus noxios rebellare vel repugnare valencium interius vel exterius  
majore firmitate securum, volumus et concedimus per presentes pro  
nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris quibuscumque de communi  
consilio et consensu prelatorum et procerum, comitum et baronum et  
communitatum regni nostri in parlamento nostro, quod regnum  
Scocie per suas rectas marchias prout temporibus bone memorie  
Alexandri regis Scocie ultimo defuncti fuerunt habite et conservate  
magnifico principi domino Roberto Dei gracia regi Scotorum illustri  
confederato et amico nostro karissimo suisque heredibus et successoribus,  
divisim in omnibus a regno Anglie, integrum liberum et quietum  
remaneat in perpetuum, absque qualicumque subjeccione, servitute  
clameo et demanda. Et si quod jus nos vel antecessores nostri in regno  
Scocie retroactis temporibus pecierimus vel pecierint quoquo modo,  
prefato regi Scocie, heredibus et successoribus suis renunciamus et  
dimittimus per presentes. Omnes autem obligationes, convenciones et  
pacta initas vel inita qualitercumque cum nostris predecessoribus  
quibuscumque, quibuscumque temporibus super subjeccione regni  
Scocie vel incolarum eiusdem per quoscumque reges vel incolas  
clericos vel laicos ipsius regni Scocie, pro nobis, heredibus et  
successoribus nostris remittimus penitus et omnino. Et si que litere vel  
carte munimenta vel instrumenta reperiantur de cetero ubicumque  
super huiusmodi obligationibus convencionibus et pactis confecte vel

<sup>h</sup> enlarged capital U as at start of a  
chapter C

<sup>i</sup> D; lac.C

55 kings reached a mutual agreement on the keeping of an indissoluble  
and perpetual peace. Oaths were sworn on this by some important  
worthy men of both kingdoms, who swore on the souls of each king to  
observe faithfully all and sundry of the clauses which were to last for  
ever. These are more fully set out in precisely defined articles in their  
60 instruments which were drawn up on both sides regarding the form of  
the peace.

On this truce it has been said:

Join together one thousand, three hundred, twice ten, and one  
three,  
65 at such a cycle of time there is suffering from the deadly  
disease  
of warfare; and on both sides a truce is obtained.  
It is expected to last for thirteen years;  
meanwhile may God grant in addition lasting peace in the  
70 world.

1323:  
[30 May]

And so that the peace might be a true one, not only between them but  
also perpetually between their successors and kingdoms, Edward de  
Windsor king of England for his own part and for his successors as  
kings of England resigned all right and claim, true or false, which he  
75 had had or could have in or to the kingdom of Scotland in the  
following terms.

To all who will inspect this letter Edward by the grace of God king of  
England, lord of Ireland and lord of Aquitaine, offers everlasting  
greeting in the Lord. Whereas we and some of our predecessors as  
kings of England have tried to secure rights of rule, lordship or  
superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, as a result of which  
abominably dangerous wars have been provoked and have long  
disturbed the kingdoms of England and Scotland, we have taken note  
of the slaughter, killings, crimes, destruction of churches and countless  
evils which in many ways have fallen on the inhabitants of both  
kingdoms in connexion with wars of this kind, and of the advantages  
with which each kingdom would abound to their mutual gain once they  
are linked to the stability of lasting peace, and once they are by these  
means secure on a stronger basis against the evil attempts of powerful  
men to rebel or resist either internally or externally. Therefore we wish  
and grant by this letter for us, our heirs and all our successors, with the  
common counsel and consent of the prelates and magnates, earls and  
barons, and communities of our kingdom in our parliament, that the  
kingdom of Scotland within its correct boundaries as they existed and  
were maintained in the time of the late Alexander the last king of  
Scotland of worthy memory shall remain for ever with the magnificent  
prince Sir Robert, by the grace of God king of the Scots our illustrious  
ally and dearest friend, and his heirs and successors, distinct in every  
way from the kingdom of England. It shall be entire, free and at peace,  
without any kind of subjection, servitude, claim or demand. And if  
there is any right which we or our ancestors in times past have sought in

[1328:  
1 Mar.]

confecta, pro cassis irritis inanibus et vacuis habeantur nulliusque esse volumus valoris vel momenti. In cuius rei c'.>/

95

fo.276v  
G ii,290

Pro cuius resignacione et eciam dampnis per regem Scocie Robertum et suos regi et regno illorum<sup>k</sup> illatis dictus rex Scocie<sup>l</sup> dedit | eidem xxx milia marcarum in pecunia numerata. Et ut premisse pacciones majoris firmitatis robur optinerent, premissus rex Anglie sororem suam nomine Johannem de Turribus David filio Roberti regis Scocie 100 et heredi tradidit in uxorem.

j This addition occupies the top half of the opposite page within the main text frame (fo.277). Attention is drawn to it by a caret and drawings of hands in the margins pointing to it. The remainder of the chapter is back on fo.276v.

k Anglorum CA  
l Robertus de consensu regni sui trium statuum for Scocie CA

12a

[De secunda tallia regis Roberti Brois]

fo.277

Hec sequens tallia deberet situari post primam talliam que composita est per regem Robertum Broys ut supra libro xii, que eciam facta fuit anno tercio ante istam. Sed propter mortem domini Eadwardi Brois regis Hibernie, anno quo interfectus fuit composita est hec ordinacio de communi consensu trium statuum, super tuicione et defensione 5 jurium et libertatum regni, et super violatoribus dicte ordinacionis, ac eciam super diffinicionem successionis ad regnum.

In nomine Sancte et Individue Trinitatis Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti amen. Anno ab Incarnacione domini m° ccc° xviii° dominica die proxima post festum Sancti Andree apostoli cum continuacione 10 dierum subsequencium, serenissimo principe domino Roberto Dei gracia rege Scotorum illustri suum plenum parliamentum apud Sconam tenente cum prelati, comitibus, baronibus et ceteris de communitate regni sui, communi consensu omnium et singulorum predictorum inter cetera ipsius regni negocia pro communi utilitate et securitate ipsius regni ibidem contrectata et ordinata, ordinatum fuit in forma que sequitur: videlicet quod ipsi omnes et singuli tam clerici quam laici predicto domino regi et heredibus suis tamquam regi suo et domino liegio parebunt in omnibus, quilibet secundum statum suum et 15 condicionem, et fideliter pro viribus eidem assistent pro tuicione et defensione jurium et libertatum regni memorati contra omnes mortales 20

the kingdom of Scotland in any way, this we by this letter renounce and discharge to the said king of Scotland, his heirs and successors. We remit utterly and entirely on behalf of ourselves, our heirs and successors all obligations, agreements and pacts agreed in any way 105 with any of our predecessors at any time regarding the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland or the inhabitants of the same by any kings or inhabitants of that kingdom of Scotland, whether clerics or laymen. And if any letters or charters, muniments or instruments are found anywhere in future which have been made in connexion with such 110 obligations, agreements and pacts, they are to be regarded as cancelled, void, dead and empty, and we wish them to be of no value or moment. In [testimony] of this etc.

In return for this act of resignation and also as compensation for damages inflicted by Robert king of Scotland and his men on the English king and kingdom, the said king of Scotland made a cash 115 payment to him of thirty thousand marks. And to strengthen the aforesaid agreements more strongly, the said king of England gave his sister called Joan of the Tower as wife of David the son and heir of 120 Robert king of Scotland.

12a

[King Robert Bruce's second tailzie]

The following tailzie ought to be placed after the first tailzie which was composed by King Robert Bruce (see above Book XII), which was drawn up three years before this one. But following on the death of Sir Edward Bruce king of Ireland, this ordinance was composed in 5 the year in which he died with the common consent of the three estates, touching on the protection and defence of the rights and liberties of the kingdom, on violators of the said ordinance, and also on a definition of the succession to the kingdom.

In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, amen. In 1318 on the Sunday immediately after the feast of St 10 Andrew the apostle and the days that followed, while the most serene prince Sir Robert by the grace of God the illustrious king of Scots was holding his full parliament at Scone with the prelates, earls, barons and others from the community of his kingdom, by the common consent of 15 all and sundry of these it was ordained in the form which follows among other business of that kingdom that was considered and ordained there for the common advantage and safety of that kingdom: namely that all and sundry, both clerics and laymen, will obey the said lord king and his heirs as their king and liege lord in everything, each 20 according to his state and condition, and will assist him faithfully with all their strength in the protection and defence of the rights and liberties

1318:  
3 Dec.



cuiuscumque potencie, quacumque potestate, auctoritate seu dignitate premineant. Et quod si quis in posterum, quod absit, istius ordinacionis violator extiterit, eo ipso tamquam regni proditor et criminis lese majestatis reus in perpetuum habeatur. Item ordinatum fuit, et unanimes consensu omnium et singulorum predictorum concordatum, quod si contingat, quod absit, predictum dominum regem sine herede masculo de corpore suo legitime procreato superstitie et permanente diem claudere extremum, Robertus filius domine Marjorie bone memorie filie dicti domini regis ex nobili viro domino | [Walt-Jero<sup>a</sup> Senescalco Scocie marito suo legitime procreatus<sup>b</sup> eidem domino regi tamquam heres suus proximior et legitimus in ipso regno plenarie succedat. Cui omnes supradicti de regno parebunt in omnibus et fideliter assistent sicut de persona domini regis superius est expressum. Cuius quidem Roberti vel alterius heredis de corpore domini regis procreati, si tempore decessus dicti domini regis minoris etatis extiterit, tutelam sive curam ac totius regni et populi custodiam de consensu unanimes omnium et singulorum de communitate nobili viro domino Thome Ranulphi comiti Moravie ac domino Mannie, et ipso comite forsitan medio tempore deficiente, quod absit, nobili viro domino Jacobo domino de Douglas idem dominus rex assignavit, quousque communitati regni vel majori ac saniori parti visum fuerit ipsum | Robertum vel alium heredem ipsius domini regis ut premittitur ad regni et populi regimen posse sufficere. Quam quidem assignacionem tutele, cure et custodie predicti dominus comes et dominus Jacobus tota communitate expresse probante in se susceperunt, prestito ad hec ab eisdem tactis sacrosanctis evangelis ac sanctorum reliquiis magno juramento, quod predictas tutelam, curam et custodiam bene<sup>c</sup> fideliter et diligenter ad utilitatem ipsius heredis<sup>d</sup> et regni ac totius cleri et populi gerent, administrabunt, facient et manutenebunt, jura et consuetudines regni clero et populo fideliter observando, et ab aliis pro viribus observari faciendo. Preterea cum aliquibus preteritis temporibus a quibusdam, licet minus sufficienter in dubium fuisset revocatum quo jure successio in regno Scocie si clara forsitan non extiterit decidi deberet ac terminari, in eodem parlamento per clerum et populum declaratum extitit ac diffinitum quod per consuetudinem in inferioribus feodis seu hereditatibus in regno observatam, cum in successione regni aliqualis consuetudo actenus non fuit introducta, minime debuit seu in futurum debeat dicta successio terminari;<sup>e</sup> sed quod proximior masculus tempore mortis regis ex linea recta descendente, vel masculo deficiente proximior femella ex eadem linea, vel illa linea penitus deficiente proximior masculus<sup>f</sup> ex linea collateralis, attento jure sanguinis quo ipsi regi defuncto jus regnandi competeat, regi de cuius successione agi forsitan contigerit sine contradiccione seu<sup>g</sup> impedimento quocumque in regno succedere debeat, quod juri imperiali satis consonum esse

<sup>a</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>b</sup> + superstitie ... Waltero repeated and del.C

<sup>c</sup> + et del.C

<sup>d</sup> + regis CA

<sup>e</sup> + In eodem par del.C; see above l.60

<sup>f</sup> + tempore ... descendente repeated and del.C

<sup>g</sup> + more contracted form of impedimento del.C

of the said kingdom against all mortals however mighty, by whatever power, authority or dignity in which they may be pre-eminent. And that if anyone in future (may it not be so!) proves to be a violator of this ordinance, he by that act is to be regarded for ever as a traitor to the kingdom and guilty of the crime of lese-majesty. Likewise it was ordained, and agreed with the unanimous consent of all and sundry aforesaid, that if it happens (may it not be so!) that the said lord king comes to the end of his life without a male heir generated legitimately from his body surviving and remaining, Robert the son of the Lady Marjorie of worthy memory the daughter of the said lord king legitimately fathered by the noble man Sir Walter Steward of Scotland her husband is to succeed the same lord king fully as his nearest legitimate heir in that kingdom. The above-mentioned of the kingdom will obey him in all things and give him faithful assistance, just as has been expressed above regarding the person of the lord king. If at the time of the said lord king's death this Robert or some other heir generated from the lord king's body proves to be a minor, the lord king has committed the custody, charge and guardianship of the whole kingdom and people with the unanimous consent of all and sundry of the community to the noble man Sir Thomas Randolph earl of Moray and lord of Man, and if that earl happens meantime to die (may it not be so!) to the noble man Sir James lord of Douglas, until it seems to the community of the kingdom or its larger and wiser part that this Robert or other heir of the lord king as aforesaid can satisfactorily rule the kingdom and people. The said lord the earl and Sir James have undertaken this commitment of custody, charge and guardianship with the express approval of the whole community, and they have sworn a great oath about this, putting their hands on the sacred gospels and the relics of saints, that they will perform, administer, carry out and maintain the said custody, charge and guardianship well, faithfully and diligently for the advantage of the heir himself, the kingdom and all the clergy and people, faithfully observing the rights and customs of the kingdom for the clergy and people, and with all their strength making other people observe them. Furthermore since sometimes in the past some people (though not many) have expressed doubt regarding the rules by which the succession to the kingdom of Scotland should be decided and defined if perhaps it was uncertain, it was declared and defined in the same parliament by the clergy and people that the said succession ought never in the past nor in the future be defined with reference to the custom observed in the kingdom regarding inferior fiefs and inheritances, for no custom of any sort had as yet been introduced regarding the succession to the kingdom; but that when a king dies, the nearest male in the direct line of descent, or if a male was not available the nearest female in the same line, or if that line is entirely lacking then the nearest male in the collateral line, ought to succeed the king in the kingdom, with concern for the right line by blood by which the right to rule applied to the dead king, the succession to whom will hopefully be achieved without challenge or any kind of obstacle, because it will be thought to be sufficiently in accordance with imperial law. The bishops, abbots, priors and other clergy (following the form of oath laid down for them by law), and also the earls, barons,

censetur. Ad premissa vero omnia et singula fideliter sine dolo, fraude, ficcione sive malo ingenio futuris temporibus observanda, episcopi, abbates, priores et ceteri de clero in forma jurandi eis a jure statuta necnon comites, barones, milites, liberetenentes et ceteri de communitate, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis et sanctorum reliquiis, magnum sacramentum prestiterunt, et in testimonium premissorum sigilla sua huic scripto apposuerunt c'.

## 13

*De desponsacione regis David et morte patris eius*

Anno domini m° ccc° xxviii xvii die mensis julii David filius et heres<sup>a</sup> regis Roberti de Brois desponsavit sororem Eadwardi de Wyndesor filiam Eadwardi de Carnarvan paulo ante defuncti apud Berwicum, presente Elizabeth matre puelle tunc regina Anglie, cum gaudio ineffabili totius populi utriusque regni. Sed quantum glorificavit se tunc Scocia et in deliciis fuit, tanta immissa sunt ei luctus et tormenta, que in corde suo dicebat: 'Sedeo ut regina, et vidua non sum, et luctum non videbo.' Ideo in una die venient plage eius mors et luctus.

O res quam fragilis, quam fallax gloria mundi;  
quam cito mundanus dulcor amarus erit.

G ii, 292

Deducant oculi tui, O desolata Scocia! lacrimas per diem et noctem et non taceant; quoniam contricione magna contrita es, audita morte ducis tui et aurige inclitissime memorie regis domini Roberti, firmissimo robere referti, totius vecordie inexperti, antemurale tuum contra Anglicorum insultus fuisse comperti, multi doloris multaque<sup>b</sup> amaritudinis calicem recepisti;<sup>c</sup> quia si cognovisses et tu antequam scires dolores priusquam ad te dolor iste pervenerit, satis in vivo monstares quantum in mortuo lugeres.<sup>d</sup> Satis itaque notavit affectus in habito quod sequeretur tristitia in amisso. Magno itidem ad ima labente, mors nimis effera auribus tuis intonuit. O Scocia! Sunamitis orphana derelicta! O mors! Quam amara est memoria tua, populo pacem habenti in substanciis<sup>e</sup> suis! Commovisti Scociam et conturbasti eam, solidum eius fulcimentum in regem suum contrivisti, rectum ominis ordinem et firmam, ut creditum fuit, eius compaginem nimio tremore concussisti. Ab oriente jubar radians in excelsum prosiluit. Sed cum profusis radiis in eminenti stare et irradiare putabatur, subito obfuscato lumine condescendit. Sed demum

<sup>a</sup> filius et heres S, CA; et heres filius C, D  
<sup>b</sup> ad cuius occasum immensi doloris incogitateque for firmissimo ... multaque CA

<sup>c</sup> hausisti CA  
<sup>d</sup> interlin. over dolores del. C  
<sup>e</sup> deliciis CA

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knights, freeholders, and others of the community (by placing their hands on the sacred gospels and holy relics) have sworn to keep all and sundry of the aforesaid faithfully in future without deceit, dishonesty, pretence or evil contrivance; and in testimony of all this they have attached their seals to this document, etc.

## 13

*The marriage of King David and the death of his father*

On 17 July 1328 David, the son and heir of King Robert de Bruce, married the sister of Edward of Windsor, the daughter of Edward of Caernarfon who had died a little earlier, at Berwick. [Isabella] the girl's mother, who was then queen of England, was present, and it was an occasion of unutterable joy among all the people of both kingdoms. But however much Scotland then was exalted and favoured, by the same amount were lamentations and torments sent against her, who said in her heart: 'I sit as a queen, and I am not a widow, and I shall not see grief.' Therefore all in one day will arrive her plagues, death and grief.

What a fragile and false thing is the world's glory!  
How quickly will the sweetness of this world become bitter!

Scotland, how forsaken you are! Your eyes fill with tears day and night and are not at rest. Seeing that you are worn down with a great load of grief on hearing of the death of your leader and helmsman, the king Sir Robert of most illustrious memory, a man possessing to the full the most powerful strength, unfamiliar with every kind of folly, whom you had come to know as your defensive wall against the attacks of the English, you have received a cup full of great sorrow and great bitterness. For if you had realized in advance, and this sorrow had penetrated your senses before you experienced that sorrow, then you would have adequately shown while he was still alive how much you would grieve for him when he was dead. So affection displayed towards him when we had him with us indicated that sadness at his death would ensue. Likewise when this great man sank to the depths, the savage loss inflicted by his death thundered in your ears. Alas, poor Scotland, the abandoned orphan of the Shunammite! Death! How bitter is your memory, while the people have peace so far as worldly goods are concerned! You have disturbed Scotland and thrown her into confusion, you have destroyed her solid prop in the person of her king, you have struck with too great a shock the lawful order of authority and (as it was believed) her stable

pallescentibus radiis rarifactum in occidentem repente occidit. Heu  
confusum! O durus et durior casus! Heu! quid perdidit Scotia? Quid  
invenit? Perdidit vitam quam credidit,<sup>f</sup> et invenit mortem quam non  
preteriiit. Misera condicio, gravis dolor, sed et grave dampnum! Quod  
autem dico, nescis modo, scies autem postea, quando formidabis  
jugiter tota die a facie furoris eius qui te tribulabat et paraverat ad  
perdendum. Anno igitur domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxix vii idus junii obiit pie  
memorie Robertus de Brois rex Scotorum invictissimus apud Cardros  
anno regni sui xxiii,<sup>g</sup> princeps in omni strenuitate conspicuus,  
actuum probitate preclarus, ceteris regnicolis animositate et subtili  
ingenio prepollens, regnum suum ab hostium circumquaque formi-  
[dine]<sup>h</sup> viriliter tuendo, precipue Anglicorum, quos in diebus suis  
subjectos habens de sui reg-[ni]<sup>h</sup> | finibus procul pellendo expugnabat.  
Iste enim in tanta virium fortitudine regem et gentem Angligenam/  
debellabat, quod cum eo pacem habere solum pre timore regnis  
ceteris pretendebant. <Sed ut fingit poeta:>

<sup>k</sup> Lupus languebat, monachus tunc esse volebat;  
sed cum convaluit,<sup>l</sup> qualis<sup>m</sup> ut ante fuit.

<Ad idem:"

Dum fero langorem, fero religionis amorem;  
expers langoris non sum memor huius amoris.>

Sepultus est rex apud monasterium Dunf<sup>r</sup> in medio chori debito cum  
honore. De quo dicitur:

M semel et ter c bis et x que novem superadde;  
de Brois Robertus bonus est de funere certus.  
Bis deca rex Scotis regnavit quatuor annis.  
Litera D normam primam tenet ante Columbam;  
pulchram per formam Dunfermelyn dat sibi tumbam.  
Cecidit in Cardros rex noster milicie flos.  
Qui bene rexit nos; ducat Deus ad superos.

<sup>f</sup> qua vigit for quam credidit CA

<sup>g</sup> + vii idus junii del.C

<sup>h</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>i</sup> text moves to top of fo.278, with  
instruction verte folium sequens in margin  
at foot of fo.276v C

<sup>j</sup> + dum vixerat CA

<sup>k</sup> + Quam [?] del.C

<sup>l</sup> + lupus del.C

<sup>m</sup> lupus CA

<sup>n</sup> Unde quidam in persona lupi for Ad  
idem CA

structure. From the east a radiant star has burst forth into the  
heavens. But just as it was thought to be remaining aloft and shining  
35 forth with its rays poured forth, suddenly its light was obscured and it  
sank down. But in the end when it had become thin and its rays had  
grown pale, it suddenly sank into the west. What confusion! What a  
harsh, too harsh a fate! Alas! What has Scotland lost? What has she  
found? She has lost the life [of a man] she trusted, and has found a  
40 death which she has not got over. A wretched situation, a heavy  
sorrow, and also a serious loss! What I am saying, however, you do  
not understand now, but you will understand later, when you will be  
continually afraid all the time when facing the fury of him who has  
been oppressing you and has planned your ruin.

45 On 7 June 1329 Robert de Bruce the wholly invincible king of Scots  
of pious memory died at Cardross in the twenty-fourth year of his  
reign. He was a prince who was outstanding in vigorous action of  
every sort, distinguished for the honesty of his dealings, who  
surpassed others of his subjects in boldness and shrewdness, and in  
50 defending his kingdom in manly fashion from the fear of enemies on  
every side, especially the English, whom in his time he made subject  
and subdued, driving them far from the borders of his kingdom. For  
this man vanquished the king and people of England with such  
courage and forcefulness that they established a pretended peace with  
55 him only out of fear for their other kingdoms. But as the poet  
suggests:

When the wolf was sick, he then wanted to be a monk;  
but when he recovered, he wanted to be as before.

On the same theme:

60 While I was weary, I inclined towards love of religion;  
now that I am free of weariness, I have no memory of this  
love.

The king was buried in the monastery at Dunfermline in the middle of  
the choir with due honour. It is said of him:

65 Add one thousand, three hundred, twice ten and nine;  
good Robert de Bruce assuredly had his funeral [in that year].  
He reigned as king for the Scots for twice ten and four years.  
The letter D contains the first rule before Columba;  
by a beautiful allegory Dunfermline provides him with a tomb  
70 Our king, the flower of chivalry, died at Cardross.  
He ruled us well; may God lead him to Heaven.

## 14

*Epitaphium eius*

"Brois, probitas patrie, jacet in tellure Robertus,  
 princeps leticie, pius, audax, undique certus;  
 qui Pares in specie fuit Hector in ense repertus;  
 rex rosa milicie, Socrates, Cato, Maro disertus.  
 Hic Priami natus, hic Achilles dux Danaorum,  
 Ajax laudatus, et Ulixes ingeniorum;  
 hic Macedo gratus, Arthurus gemma virorum,  
 alter sensatus Machabeus dux populorum.  
 Hic pius Eneas, Pompei plena potestas;  
 mitis hic Andreas, Jonathe miranda potestas.  
 Oras Creteas facit hic Saturnus honestas;  
 que perit Egeas abit ymber, floruit estas.  
 Hic Cesar Julius, sub spe forma Simeonis.  
 Karolus eximius rex, cum sensu Salomonis.  
 Legifer hic Gaius, et dux sub amore Didonis.  
 Jason corde, Sejus probus, audax fons Eliconis.  
 Hic vis Sampsonis, hic sanguis Bartholomei,  
 firma fides Simonis, et thuriber theca Sabei.  
 Hic decor in donis, regalis progenici;  
 sub Jove Junonis, clarissima stella dici.  
 Deperdi doluit jus regni Scotigenarum;  
 ocia postposuit, pro dulci sumpsit amarum.  
 Frigora sustinuit, cubuit per lustra ferarum;  
 nec refici renuit cum fructu glandiferarum.

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## 14

*His epitaph*

Robert Bruce, [the symbol of] the integrity of his country lies  
 in the earth,  
 the prince of delight, upright, bold, dependable in all respects;  
 he was considered to be like Paris in appearance, like Hector  
 in warfare;  
 the king was the rose of chivalry, as fluent a speaker as  
 Socrates, Cato and Maro.  
 He was born of Priam, he was like Achilles the leader of the  
 Greeks,  
 as praiseworthy as Ajax, and as Ulysses the man of wiles;  
 as well loved as the Macedonian, and like Arthur the jewel  
 among men,  
 he was another intelligent Maccabee, the leader of peoples.  
 He was as conscientious as Aeneas, his strength was as  
 extensive as that of Pompey;  
 he was as gentle as Andrew, his strength as wonderful as  
 Jonathan's:  
 this Saturn adorns the shores of Crete;  
 the rainstorm which crossed the Aegean goes away, summer  
 has come into bloom.  
 He was a Julius Caesar; in the hope he aroused he was an  
 allegory of Simeon.  
 He was a distinguished King Charles, with the understanding  
 of Solomon.  
 He was a law-maker like Gaius, and a leader in thrall to  
 Dido.  
 A Jason at heart, an upright Sejus, a bold spring of Helicon.  
 He had the strength of Samson, the blood of Bartholomew,  
 the steadfast faith of Simon, and a censor of a Sabacan  
 [perfume].  
 He was seemly in his giving, and of royal pedigree,  
 a very bright daystar under Juno's Jupiter.  
 He grieved that the right to the kingdom of the Scots was  
 lost;  
 he laid leisure activities aside, and took on the bitter for the  
 sweet.  
 He suffered cold, he slept in the haunts of wild beasts;  
 and he did not refuse to revive himself with the fruit of oak  
 trees.

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In Christo statuit sibi spem pro jure tuendo;  
in dumis latuit, laticem non vina bibendo.  
Acer aper [?] patuit cum fortibus aggrediendo;  
sic fieri meruit rex, hostica tela terendo.

Dum pugil iste ferit, cadit undique turba malorum;  
ulnera seva serit in ferrea terga virorum;  
bellica tela terit, furit ensis in agmen equorum;  
hic cadit, iste perit, rex retro fugit eorum.

G ii,294

Hic rex Scotensis prefert sua signa decenter;  
in turmis densis penetrat bellando potenter.  
Laudibus immensis valuit super hoste potenter;  
rex redit Anglensis, cecinit nostra lira recenter.

Post Biland potitur, victoria leta paratur;  
turba ruens rapitur, occisio multiplicatur.  
Treuga gravis capitur, pax fallax associatur;  
rex reverens moritur; post funera his revocatur.  
O dolor in populo! dolor! O dolor heu geminatur!<sup>b</sup>  
Fletus inest oculo, confusio multiplicatur.  
In regni rotulo qui regum flos reputatur  
in luteo loculo modo vermibus esca paratur.

Ipse fuit radians jubar in tenebris oculorum,  
et splendor varians redolencia germina florum;  
in populo spacians speculum, rosa, regula morum,  
manna sacrum, sacians dulcedine corda suorum.

Hic rex eximius armilla fuit brachiorum,  
anulus egregius, et inauris in aure proborum;  
torques exterius circumdans colla virorum,  
iam jacet inferius, sine ciclade turris honorum.

Quid mundi precium? Quid honor? Quid gloria rerum?  
Quid regni solium? Quid gratus odor specierum?  
Quid valet ingenium? Certe, si dixero verum,  
culminis officium nichil est in fine dierum.

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He put his hope in Christ for the guarding of his rights;  
he hid in the thorn bushes, drinking water rather than wine.  
He was exposed like a savage wild boar when attacking his  
enemies;  
thus he won the right to be made king, disabling the weapons  
of his enemies.

While this fighter strikes, a crowd of evil men fall dead on all  
sides;  
he spreads severe wounds on the iron-clad backs of men;  
he disables weapons of war, his sword ranges wildly against a  
body of horses;  
one falls, another dies, their king retreats.

This Scottish king brings up his standards in good order;  
when fighting he powerfully penetrated where the throng was  
thickest.  
Amid boundless praise he powerfully prevailed over the  
enemy;  
the English king went home, our lyre has recently celebrated  
it.

After he is master of Byland, a welcome victory is prepared;  
the fleeing crowd is hurried along, killing is multiplied.  
A solemn truce is obtained, a false peace is agreed;  
the modest king dies; after his funeral there is a going back on  
these things.

Oh, the grief among the people! Grief! Alas, grief is doubled!  
Weeping is in the eye, anxiety is multiplied.  
In the roll of the kingdom he who is regarded as the flower of  
kings  
is being stored up as food for worms in a mud-covered coffin.

He himself was a radiant light in the darkness of the eyes,  
his brilliance making varied the fragrant buds of the flowers,  
a mirror, walking among the people, a rose, a rule for  
conduct,  
sacred food for the soul, satisfying their hearts with sweetness.

This distinguished king was a bracelet for the arms,  
a splendid ring, and an ear-ring in the ear of the upright;  
a necklace surrounding the outside of men's necks,  
he already lies below, without the robe of a tower of honours.

What of worldly reward? What of honour? What of material  
things?  
What of the throne of kingly splendour? What of the pleasant  
perfumes of splendours?  
What is the worth of skill? Certainly, if I speak true,  
exalted office means nothing at the end of one's days.

<sup>b</sup> ingeminatur for heu geminatur CA

Scocia, plange pie, trahe suspiramen amorum  
ingenua voce, regem memorando decorum.  
Solem justicie pete rectorem superiorum,  
ut sibi leticie bona prestat in arce polorum.

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<Aliud breve epitaphium:

Hic jacet invictus Robertus rex benedictus.  
Qui sua gesta legit repetet quot bella peregit.  
Ad libertatem perduxit per probitatem  
regnum Scotorum. Nunc vivat in arce polorum.>

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*Quomodo heraldus preconizavit regem Robertum*

Huius regis incliti Roberti universas laudes congerere, diutinosque labores, insidias et inedia, persecuciones et discrimina, bellorum opiniones perstringere,<sup>a</sup> si quis in uno volumine Latine<sup>b</sup> contenderet, eciam si sciret, moram cum tedio legentibus generaret. Lectorem igitur qui de eius ammirandis probitatibus et gestis bellicis saginari desiderat, ad librum Broisaicum quem in materna lingua pulcre et prosaice edidit Barbarius remitto. Unam tamen brevem narrationem ipsius strenuitatis, tractus<sup>c</sup> desiderio ut legencium votis occurrere possit, in compendio huic operi inserere non diffugio. Pene semper regales epulas comitatur vana voluptas, et effrenis animi jocunditas. 10 Nam dum corpus in refeccionis delectacione resolvitur, cor ad inane gaudium relaxatur. Accidit hoc una dierum in regem Anglie Eadwardum de Carnarvan, qui cum grande festum fecisset optimatibus et terre sue satrapis, dum vinum in crateris splenderet et cor- | da<sup>d</sup> 15 conviviarum letificasset, in suo solacio quesivit ab herello suo *Le<sup>e</sup> Roye Robert* | nuncupato, viro utique discreto et sensato, tocius Anglie propterea <hiellorum> rege nominato et effecto, qui suo iudicio tunc viventes tres milites probaciores in armis et probiores essent. Cui reverenter *Le Roye Robert* obstipo capite et genu flexo sic respondit: 'Certe, princeps prepotentissime, inscius sum tam eminenti 20 proposicioni de facili satisfacere; verumptamen iudicio meo, et ut scivero sic breviter respondeo. Henricus imperator, ut cognovi, sua probitate probata non sine bellicis actibus conquesivit sibi successive imperii tres coronas; et post hoc cum magna strenuitate diebus quibus

fo.278v

G ii,295

<sup>a</sup> describere CA  
<sup>b</sup> Latini C,D,CA  
<sup>c</sup> proba strenuitate tractus anhelo for

strenuitatis tractus CA  
<sup>d</sup> scribe resumes single-column style C  
<sup>e</sup> interlin.C

85 Scotland, mourn dutifully, draw out the long sigh of love  
with your native voice, mindful of a king of seemly qualities.  
Seek from the Sun of Justice, the Ruler of the Heavens,  
that He furnish him with the good things of happiness in  
Heaven.

Another brief epitaph:

90 Here lies the invincible blessed King Robert.  
Whoever reads about his feats will repeat the many battles he  
fought.  
By his integrity he guided to liberty  
the kingdom of the Scots. May he now live in Heaven.

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*How a herald proclaimed King Robert*

If anyone was to try to collect everything praiseworthy about this famous King Robert, and give a brief account of his lengthy exertions, ambushes and austerities, pursuits and disasters and rumours of wars in one book in Latin (even if he knew [that language]), he would hold back and bore his readers out of weariness. I therefore refer the reader who wants to be fed an account of his admirable integrity and achievements in war to the book on Bruce which Barbour has compiled in beautiful prose in our native tongue. Nevertheless I am not avoiding the inclusion in this work of one short story about his vigour, since I am impressed by the need to meet the wishes of my readers.

Almost always empty pleasure and delight for the unbridled spirit accompanies royal feasts. For while the body is set free in the pleasures of eating, the heart is made dissolute through empty enjoyment. This happened one day to the king of England Edward de Caernarfon, who, when he was holding a great feast for the magnates and army commanders of his land, while the wine was glistening in the bowls and had gladdened the hearts of the guests, as a way of amusing himself he asked his herald called Robert the King [of Arms] – a man 20 who was undoubtedly discreet and intelligent, who had besides been nominated and appointed king of all the heralds of England – who in his judgment were the three knights then living who were the most tested and worthy fighters. Robert the King [of Arms] with bowed head and bended knee answered him respectfully thus: 'Certainly, 25 most powerful prince, I do not know how to give satisfaction easily on such a difficult theme; but I answer briefly thus according to my judgment and knowledge. The Emperor Henry, as I understand, acquired for himself the three crowns of the Empire in succession by



advixerat statum suum imperiose atque gloriose regebat. Dominus 25  
 eciam Egidius de Argentine tante fuit virilitatis et audacie insignis  
 belliger, quod contra<sup>f</sup> Sarracenos tres vicissim conflictus peregit. In  
 quorum quolibet duos paganos vicit, affirmans quod non fuerat  
 altum unum militem Christianum duos canes ethnicos evincere et  
 expugnare. Tercius<sup>g</sup>, inquit prece, 'non minoris probitatis expers, 30  
 nobilis scilicet Scocie rex Robertus, quem prioribus, si auderem,  
 equiparare bene possem; qui quantus fuerit invicte virtutis bellator  
 juxta commune et<sup>e</sup> popolare judicium, meum non est<sup>e</sup> opus corrogare  
 preconium.' Cumque hec audientes milites et magnanimes regi 35  
 Eadwardo astantes dissecabantur cordibus suis, et exclamantes voce  
 magna continuerunt aures suas, et impetum fecerunt unanimiter in  
 eum, eo quod in tantum appreciabatur Brois ut duobus premissis  
 compararetur, dicentes quod nedum ipse, sed nec ullus umquam  
 Scotus ad equalitatem<sup>g</sup> inferioris eorum in armis commendari  
 debuisset. O invidia, subjecto proprio semper inimica et in proprium 40  
 auctorem reciproca! Nam qui alii laudato invidet, sibi quidem  
 ignominiam facit; illi autem cui invidet gloriam parat. Heraldus  
 autem eorum importunis clamoribus et tumultuosis derisionibus  
 aliquantulum succensus, a rege petiit auditum, qui mox imperavit  
 silentium, ad quem prece geniculans ait: 45

<sup>f</sup> + tre del.C

<sup>g</sup> paritatem CA

## 16

*De eodem*

'Rex in eternum vivat qui michi simplici auditum dari<sup>a</sup> imperat.  
 Audenter dico quod nullus herellus in se debite avisatus debet  
 quicquam coram rege indicare, nisi ad finem sui veredicti cum corpore  
 suo<sup>b</sup> ad manutenendum et defendendum huiusmodi suum dictum  
 contra illud improbare conantes paratum se reddat<sup>c</sup> hoc probare.' Et 5  
 conversus ad milites dixit: 'O tirones belligeri gemmis et auro<sup>d</sup>  
 vestibus et armis depicti! Vidistis, ut estimo, prout ego vidi, vel certe si  
 tam perspicaciter vidissetis quemadmodum ego vidi, huius animosis-  
 simi regis Roberti non semel sed sepius in bellis ferocissimis scutum  
 divulgum, galiam conquassatam, ruptam lanceam, ebetem ense, 10  
 loricam perforatam et faciem vulneratam, cedentis nichilominus et

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C  
<sup>b</sup> + paratus del.C

<sup>c</sup> + si oporteat CA  
<sup>d</sup> aurifrigiis CA

his proven integrity and not without warlike acts; and afterwards he  
 30 ruled his state as long as he lived with great vigour in a powerful and  
 glorious manner. Sir Giles de Argentan also was a distinguished  
 fighter of such manliness and audacity that he carried off three fights  
 against Saracens in turn. In each of these he killed two pagans,  
 affirming that it was not a particularly notable deed for one Christian  
 35 knight to overcome and subdue two pagan dogs. The third<sup>g</sup>, said the  
 herald, 'possesses no less integrity, that is the noble Robert king of  
 Scotland, whom (if I may be bold) I could well rank as the equal of the  
 others; inasmuch as he has been a fighter of invincible courage  
 according to the common popular estimation, it is not up to me to  
 40 assemble accounts of his praiseworthy deeds.' And when the knights  
 and valiant men standing around King Edward heard this, they were  
 struck to the heart, and shouting loudly they stopped listening, and  
 together attacked him because Bruce was being judged so highly that  
 he was being compared with the first two. They said that let alone he,  
 45 but no Scot ever, ought to be commended to the level of their inferior  
 in arms. Envy! You must always be at variance with your own subject,  
 and rebound on your author. For a man who is jealous of the praise  
 given to another brings disgrace indeed on himself; he is providing  
 glory for the man whom he envies. Enraged to some extent by the  
 50 threatening cries and the rowdy scorn of these men, the herald sought  
 a hearing by the king, who soon commanded silence, and on bended  
 knee the herald said to him:

## 16

*The same*

'May the king live for ever for instructing that I, naïve as I am, be  
 given a hearing. I say boldly that no herald with due care for his own  
 interests ought to announce anything before the king unless at the end  
 of his sworn statement he holds himself ready to prove it by  
 5 maintaining and defending with his body his statement of this kind  
 against those who try to refute it.' And turning to the knights he said:  
 'You valiant soldiers wearing garments and arms embroidered with  
 jewels and gold! You have seen, I reckon, as I have seen, and certainly  
 if you have looked as attentively as I have looked, the shield of this  
 10 most spirited King Robert shattered not once but often in the fiercest  
 of battles, together with his helmet smashed, his lance broken, his  
 sword blunted, his coat of mail pierced, and his face wounded, as he  
 nevertheless kept on killing and following up his enemies, routing and  
 pursuing them, striking them down and making them prisoner, and

insequentis, fugantis et persequentis, occidentis inimicos suos et comprehendentis, et donec deficerent, non revertentis; diceretis haud dubium huiusmodi rimulas<sup>e</sup> et rupturas<sup>f</sup> si haberetis visum oculatum,<sup>g</sup> sibi cedere debere ad | maximam gloriam et ornamentum.<sup>h</sup> Sed omitto 15 talia, divertens me ad alia; et dico quod licet prius hunc inclitum regem Robertum duobus premissis imperatoris scilicet et milite in ordine postposui, nunc tamen et notanter quin etiam excellenter ipsis ipsum<sup>h</sup> antepono. Hoc etiam adjecto, quod postquam rationes meas assignavero, si quis michi compar comparere velit et dicere quod 20 injuste<sup>i</sup> preconizavero, secundum leges armorum querelam viriliter defendam; aliter vel deficiam, et in penam vecorditer succumbam. Quod Deus avertat ne michi sic contingat! Verum est utique<sup>j</sup> quod excellens Henricus imperator diris pugnis et preliis coronas suas laudabiliter conquisivit; verumtamen secum semper adhesit in 25 preliando | maxima pars imperii. Sed rex Scocie Robertus interdum fuit et in tantum constrictus et necessitate comp[ulsus]<sup>k</sup> quod in toto regno suo secum non remanserunt quinque homines in suis temptationibus sine titubatione constantes.<sup>l</sup> Eo quamquam tunc habuit sibi inimica <sup>iiii</sup><sup>o</sup> regna ingencia, Angliam scilicet et Walliam, Hiberniam et Scociam. Sed ipse tunc pauper comes de Karrik sui solius experta 30 providencia, fortitudine industriosa, probitate et milicia hec omnia brevi spacio confudit, regnum suum optinuit, et nunc expulsis viriliter cunctis suis inimicis in prosperitate et pace conquiescit. Incepit etenim, O rex,<sup>m</sup> inquit,<sup>n</sup> 'inclitissime, guerrare et pro jure regni sui laborare in diebus patris vestri, principis in orbe terrarum metuendis- 35 simi, et hucusque feliciter continuavit. Necnon, et ut citra displicenciam loquar, in plano bello vobis ante et per annum assignato, non obstante potencia vestra militari satis et incredibiliter numerosa, ipse admodum cum paucis non diffugiit,<sup>o</sup> sed instetit. Et quid vestre regie 40 majestati ibi acciderit, vos ipse indicetis. Sepius etiam preter hoc cum paucioribus devicit nostrorum magnas et multitudines metuendas. Propter quod debet excellencius appreciari quam ille qui cum validiore manu vel equali victorias vendicavit. Quamvis insuper 45 nobilis miles Egidius de Argentyn magna probitate refulsit, non tamen rector in multitudine vel multorum fuisse expertus est gubernacione. Sed rex Robertus, tamquam<sup>p</sup> pugil invictus, non solum probatissimus in armis sed et pro ipsius industriosa gubernacione non dico<sup>p</sup> uni regno sed, si vis sibi ad hoc competeret, prefici potuerit et

e -s interlin.C  
f sanum conceptum for visum oculatum CA  
g laudem et honorem for gloriam et ornamentum CA  
h regem CA  
i + regem CA  
j et dividico [?] for utique CA

k D; lac.C  
l + Iste etenim numerus valde erat exiguus ad expellendum emulos et regnum sibi debitum conquirendum CA  
m inquit, 'O rex for O rex,' inquit CA  
n diffugit CA  
o -quam interlin.C  
p dico interlin. over solum del.C

15 not turning back until they surrendered; you would doubtless say, if you had the sight of your eyes, that these cracks and breakages [of his weapons] ought to add to his great glory and distinction. But I omit such things, moving rather to other matters; and I say that although previously I ranked this famous King Robert after the two aforesaid 20 men (that is the emperor and the knight), now however I rank him emphatically and indeed outstandingly before them. I add this also, that if after I have explained my reasons anyone who is my equal in status wishes to come forward and say that I have made an unjust pronouncement, I shall manfully defend the suit according to the laws 25 of arms; otherwise I shall be failing in my duty, and I shall like a fool incur the penalty. May God prevent this happening to me! It is absolutely true that the excellent Emperor Henry won his crowns in a praiseworthy manner in terrible fights and battles; nevertheless he always had the greatest part of the empire on his side when in battle. 30 But Robert king of Scotland was at times so confined and reduced by his difficulties that in his whole kingdom there were not five men who remained faithful to him in his trials without wavering. [This number was very small for expelling his rivals and seeking the kingdom that was his due.] This was despite the fact that he then had four large 35 kingdoms as his enemies, that is England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland. But poor earl of Carrick as he was then, he confounded all of these in a short time by the proven foresight of himself alone, by his active bravery, his integrity and military skill, he obtained his kingdom, and now he has in manly fashion expelled all his enemies, 40 and relaxes in prosperity and peace. For he began, most renowned king,' he said, 'to wage war and to work for his right to his kingdom in the days of your father, that prince who was the most to be feared in the whole world, and has continued successfully until now. And also (if I may speak without arousing displeasure) when engaged with you 45 in open battle before and throughout one year, despite the fact that your military power was much larger in numbers to an incredible extent, he did not entirely disperse with a few men, but made a stand. And what happened to your royal majesty there, you yourself will reveal. Also he has often besides that occasion been victorious with 50 fewer men over large and terrifying multitudes of our men. On this account there ought to be clearer appreciation of the extent to which it is he who has claimed victories over a stronger or equal force. Although in addition the noble knight Giles de Argentan shone with great integrity, he was not experienced in controlling a large army or 55 as the commander of many troops. But King Robert, invincible fighter that he was, was not only highly tested as a fighter, but also in view of his diligent command of himself will rightly be able to take charge, not in my opinion of one kingdom, but (if he thought himself equal to this) of the universal Roman empire. Hence it is my 60 conclusion that since he is superior to Henry in military skill and to

merito Romano imperio universo. Unde pro conclusione diffinio, 50  
quod ex quo excessit Henricum in milicia et Egidium in cura, antelate  
recommissionis titulo competere sibi poterunt preconia pociora.' Hec  
iste. Propter quod quidam sic ait:

Dic tres Robertos armis mundi meliores:  
Scotum, Cecilicum reges, comitem Morianum.

55

## 17

*Quomodo Thomas Ranulphi custos Scocie effectus est, et  
justiciam undique executus est*

G ii, 297

Mortuo, ut premisimus, et sepulture tradito rege magnifico Roberto,  
sicut prius constitutum erat in tallia, cura regni regiminis versa est in  
dominum Thomam Ranulphi comite Moravie, qui ad hoc gardianus  
Scocie habebatur; et ita studiose et invariabiliter regnum regebat et  
justiciam exercebat,<sup>a</sup> quod a prima regni legislacione non legitur 5  
quemquam eundem in huiusmodi excessisse. Nam pro lege statuit  
quod quicumque eques viator opus haberet equo<sup>b</sup> descendere et ad  
ostilagium vel alibi declinare, vel quicumque operis facere, frenum  
celle affigeret; et si casu frenum furaretur, vicecomes<sup>c</sup> schire equiti  
precium solveret, cui ad proximum regis scaccarium pre ceteris illud 10  
vel allocaretur, vel certe solveretur. Similiter inter cetera statuta  
laudabilia reipublice profutura statutum fuit quod quilibet husban-  
dus vel agricola secure dimitteret cum aratro eiusdem ferramenta;  
quod si casu furaretur, vicecomes precium persolveret, et sibi ut supra  
resolveretur. Hoc audito, quidam agrestis rusticus lucrando gracia 15  
cupidus, ferramenta sui proprii aratri furatus est, que in proxima  
petaria abscondit, querelam deponens<sup>d</sup> vicecomiti de spoliacione sui  
aratri; qui mox rustico duorum solidorum fecit solucionem, curiam  
convocavit, et de furto strictissimam fecit<sup>e</sup> inquisitionem. Qui<sup>f</sup>  
vicecomes mox instructus de vero, rusticus rapitur<sup>g</sup> pro latrocinio, 20  
convictusque ac confessus interiit suspendio; et sic dum sitiret<sup>h</sup>  
lucrum,<sup>i</sup> pervenit ad laqueum. Paulo post apud Galweiam in villa de  
Wigton sibi<sup>j</sup> tenenti iter justiciarie occurrit quidam,<sup>k</sup> auriculando  
insinuans quomodo eo tunc fugatus fuit a quadam caterva malignan-  
cium proximam silvam lucubrancium, se ut certis signis ostendit, ac 25

a corrected from exercuebat C  
b ipsum CA  
c + illius CA  
d deponent CA  
e + inquisicio del. C  
f Dehinc CA

g capitur D, CA  
h avide sitivit for sitiret CA  
i + iusto Dei iudicio CA  
j eidem Thome Ranulphi for sibi CA  
k CA; quidem C

Giles in taking command, on the strength of my preferred recommen-  
dation the greater praises will be due to him.'

Hence someone has said:

65 Name the three Roberts who are the best warriors in the  
world:  
Robert king of Scots, the king of Sicily, and Count Morian.

## 17

*How Thomas Randolph was made guardian of Scotland, and  
he executed justice everywhere*

As we have said already, once the magnificent King Robert was dead 1329: June  
and buried, as had previously been arranged in a tailzie, the  
responsibility for the government of the kingdom fell on Sir Thomas  
Randolph earl of Moray, who was regarded as guardian of Scotland  
5 for this purpose; and he ruled the kingdom and executed justice so  
devotedly and even-handedly that we do not read of anyone  
surpassing him in this direction from the first establishment of the  
law. For he issued a law that [if] any rider on a journey has occasion to  
dismount and turn aside to an inn or elsewhere, or to perform any  
10 kind of task, he may attach his bridle to his saddle; and if it happens  
that the bridle is stolen, the sheriff of the shire is to pay the price to the  
rider, and at the next audit at the royal exchequer the sheriff is either  
to be given an allowance for this payment with priority over other  
items, or at any rate to be repaid. Similarly among other praiseworthy  
15 statutes which would benefit the country it was laid down that any  
husbandman or peasant might safely leave out the ploughshare with  
his plough; but if it happens to be stolen, the sheriff is to pay the price,  
and be repaid as above. On hearing this a certain country bondman  
who was greedy for gain stole his own ploughshare, which he hid in  
20 the nearest peat-bog, while bringing his complaint before the sheriff  
about the theft of his plough. The sheriff quickly paid two shillings to  
the bondman, then convened his court and conducted a very  
thorough enquiry into the theft. The sheriff soon learned the truth; the  
bondman was arrested for theft, and once he had been convicted and  
25 had confessed, he met his death by hanging. And so while he was  
thirsty for money, he obtained the noose.

Soon afterwards while he was on tour in Galloway as justiciar  
holding court in the town of Wigtown, a man came to Randolph  
reporting in a whisper that he was then a fugitive from a band of  
30 criminals whose lights were shining in a nearby wood, and who (as he  
indicated by certain signs) were lying in wait to kill him and others of

alios regis liegios viatores ad occidendum insidancium. Qui statim sine strepitu misit armatorum manum validam, omnes illos sicarios insperate captivantem, ac gardiano Scocie tunc iudici presentantem. Qui coram assisa | accusati, inventi sunt omnes scelerati, et propterea 30  
morti condemnati. Consequenter justiciariam suam usque Invernes continuavit, ubi delatum est iudici quendam a casu in curia justicie inventum nuper de Romana curia revertentem, qui<sup>l</sup> pro interfeccione sacerdotis arrestatus, et de effusione sanguinis regalis liegii accusatus; quamvis sufficienter ostensum est ipsum fore absolutum a culpa, 35  
tamen oportuit eum plecti pro offensa, et tanto pena graviore quanto in Christum Domini manus sacrilegas non veritus est immisisse. Presbitricida propterea perimitur, et sanguis eius super caput proprium revertitur, justiciaque iusti iudicis utrobique attollitur. Et nec mirum si iudex secularis vindicet presbitricidium, cum etiam iudex ecclesiasticus persequitur hoc delictum. Legimus enim quod in 40  
diocesi Pictavensi quidam miles sacerdotem interfecit, qui ab episcopo Johanne de Molendinis eius ordinario peciit instanter absolvi. Sciens autem huiusmodi casum episcopus<sup>m</sup> reservatum fore dompno apostolico, ad Romanam curiam eum transmisit, ubi absolucionem impetravit; et reversus attulit episcopo literam innotescentem eundem fore absolutum, et quod non restabat, nisi quod 45  
episcopus injungeret sibi penitenciam salutarem; qui ipsum in carcere mori<sup>n</sup> permisit, sic contestans coram Deo et hominibus quod eidem pro commisso<sup>o</sup> penitenciam salutarem injunxit.

l interlin.C

m interlin.C

n aqua tristicie et pane doloris tenuiter

depastum defungi for mori CA

o + juxta inundatum apostolicum CA

*De eodem, et de bono iudice et malo; ac de morte eius per prodicionem Anglorum*

Ab isto itinere premisit officarium suum coronatorem ad Helidonan cum armata manu ad athachandum legis transgressores juxta dictamentum rotulorum. De quibus quinquaginta fugientes insequitur officialis; et quia arrestari contempserunt, a persequentibus jugulantur, et eorum capitibus palis et sudibus affixis ante adventum 5  
iudicis ad Helidonan parietes<sup>a</sup> poliuntur, que<sup>b</sup> horridum spectaculum intuentibus prebuerunt. Consimilibus justicie operibus insistens, hic justiciarius cuiusquam precibus non flectitur, non donis corrumpitur,

a + taliter CA

b quod CA

the king's subjects on the road. Randolph at once quietly sent a strong detachment of armed man to make all those murderers captive while they were off their guard, and then to bring them to the guardian of 35  
Scotland for judgment. When they had been accused before an assize, they were all found guilty, and therefore condemned to death. Subsequently he continued his justiciar's tour to Inverness, where it was brought before the judge that in a case in a court of justice a man had been found to have recently returned from the Roman court, who 40  
had been arrested for killing a priest, and accused of spilling the blood of one of the king's subjects. Although it was sufficiently proved that he had been absolved for his sin, nevertheless he ought to be punished for his offence, and with all the heavier a penalty in that he had not been afraid to lay sacrilegious hands on one of the Lord's anointed. 45  
For this reason a priest-murderer is killed, and his blood is upon his own head, and the justice of a just judge is honoured on both sides. And it is not surprising if a secular judge punishes the killing of a priest, since even an ecclesiastical judge seeks restitution for this offence. For we read that in the diocese of Poitiers a certain knight 50  
killed a priest, and then at once sought absolution from his ordinary, Bishop John de Melun. But knowing that a case of this kind was reserved to the Apostolic Lord, the bishop sent the man to the Roman court, where he sought absolution. On returning he brought to the bishop a letter notifying that he had been absolved, but that he was 55  
not at peace until the bishop had imposed a salutary penance on him. He allowed the man to die in prison, so bearing witness before God and men that he had imposed a salutary penance on the man for his action.

*The same; a good judge and a bad one; Randolph's death by English treachery*

While on this journey he sent his official coroner on ahead to Eilean Donan with an armed force to arrest lawbreakers in accordance with enrolled indictments. This official pursued fifty of them; and because they resisted arrest, they were slaughtered by their pursuers; and the 5  
walls were adorned with their heads fixed to poles and sticks before the judge's arrival at Eilean Donan, which presented a grim spectacle for onlookers. By pressing on with similar acts of justice, this justiciar was not influenced by anyone's prayers, nor corrupted by gifts, nor even was he led astray by fear, hatred or affection to deviate from the 10  
truth. Nowadays modern judges do not act in this way, when they delay or overturn a judgment out of greed, and do not conclude

nec eciam ut a vero deviet<sup>c</sup> timore, odio vel amore pervertitur. Nunc  
 non<sup>d</sup> sic iudices moderni iudicant,<sup>e</sup> qui cupiditatis causa aut differunt 10  
 iudicium, aut pervertunt; qui nec finiunt in iudicio cepta parcium  
 negocia, quousque eorum qui causantur exhauriant marsupia. De  
 qualibet loquitur Blesensis in epistola: 'Officium officialium hodie est  
 jura confundere, lites suscitare, transacciones rescindere, dilaciones 15  
 innectere, suppressere veritatem, fovere mendacium, questum sequi,  
 vendere equitatem, exaccionibus inhiare, versucias concinnere.' Sic  
 certe<sup>f</sup> hodie fit iudicium, sicut fingitur<sup>g</sup> in poetria quod leo semel  
 tenuit curiam bestiarum, debuitque unaqueque seipsam proclamare  
 de culpis suis coram leone. Asinus ait: 'Sequebar,' inquit, 'domine, 20  
 aliquando plaustrum plenum feno, et cum feni manipulus cecidisset  
 de plastro,<sup>h</sup> accepi<sup>i</sup> et comedi.' Cui leo: 'Male,' inquit, 'errasti, et  
 contra legem et fidelitatem fecisti. Debebas enim ei qui perdidit  
 reddidisse,<sup>k</sup> quia quicquid invenisti, et non reddidisti, rapuisti.' Igitur  
 de precepto leonis asinus ad mortem verberatur.<sup>l</sup> Accedit lupus et ait:  
 'Domine, circumivi aliquando greges ovium et armenta bovum, et 25  
 aliquando rapui agnum tenerum<sup>m</sup> et strangulavi, aliquando pinguem  
 vitulum quando eum attingere poteram, quandoque ovem,<sup>n</sup> quando-  
 que edum.' Cui<sup>o</sup> leo, eo quod ante lupus solitus erat ei mittere de  
 pinguioribus xenia: 'Dimittes,' inquit, 'karissime consanguinee, talia  
 ponderare; nimis strictam habes conscienciam; naturale est tibi sic 30  
 facere, et nemo faciens id quod natura dictat peccat.<sup>p</sup>' Sic a falso  
 iudice lupus justificatur rapax, et asinus verberatur<sup>q</sup> innocuus. Hoc  
 est dictu,<sup>r</sup> Barabas latro dimittitur, et innocens Christus crucifigitur.

Aliter fecit Cambises rex Persarum, qui juxta Esdram fuit Arfaxes  
 vel Assuerus filius Ciri rex Persarum, qui, ut scribit Helinandus, de 35  
 more habuit omni anno regnum suum circumire, et inquirere si  
 utrobique iusticia servaretur. Inventoque uno iniquo | iudice, qui  
 iusticiam vendidit et munera recepit, rex ipse pro tribunali sedens  
 hunc injustum iudicem excoriari fecit, et sedem iudicalem pelle sua  
 fecit cooperiri, et de sepo ventris sui candelam effici et infra lanternam 40  
 includi, et sedi superponi; ac in eadem sede posuit filium iudicis, qui  
 illud officium hereditarie possidebat, et huiusmodi tenorem super  
 caput iudicis scribi mandavit:

fo.280

G ii,299

Sede sedens ista iudex inflexibilis sta.  
 A manibus reseces munus, ab aure preces.  
 Stet racio tecum, ne te faciant ita cecum

45

- |   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
| c | veniet CA  | j | + Dimittes, inquit, karissime del.C      |
| d | interlin.C   | k | + Igitur d del.C                         |
| e | O quantum iudices nostri moderni<br>discant ab eodem for Nunc ... iudicant<br>CA | l | vapulat CA                               |
| f | utique CA  | m | D,CA; teneram C                          |
| g | fingit CA  | n | + et CA                                  |
| h | multum quidem esuriens for de plastro<br>CA                                      | o | + quia del.C                             |
| i | + illum CA   | p | putat nisi quia prohibitum for peccat CA |
|   |  | q | transverberatur CA                       |
|   |  | r | Quasi diceret for Hoc est dictu CA       |

business between parties that has come to trial until the purses of the  
 litigants have been emptied. [Peter of] Blois speaks of this in a letter:  
 'The role of officials today is to upset the laws, to stir up lawsuits, to  
 15 annul agreements, to devise delays, to suppress the truth, to en-  
 courage falsehood, to follow profit, to sell justice, to attend closely to  
 exacting money, to practise cunning.' Thus without doubt is justice  
 done today, just as it is visualized in poetry that a lion once held a  
 court of the beasts, and everybody was bound to confess his faults  
 20 before the lion. An ass spoke: 'Sir,' he said, 'I was following  
 sometimes a waggon full of hay, and when a handful of hay had fallen  
 from the waggon, I took it and ate it.' The lion said to him: 'You have  
 gone badly astray, and acted against the law and loyalty. For you  
 ought to have made restitution to the man who has had a loss; for  
 25 anything which you have found and have not returned you have  
 stolen.' Therefore by order of the lion the ass was beaten to death. A  
 wolf approached and said: 'Sir, I have sometimes prowled round  
 flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, and sometimes I have snatched a  
 tender lamb by the throat, and sometimes a plump calf when I could  
 30 reach it, sometimes a sheep, sometimes a kid.' Because the wolf had  
 previously been in the habit of sending him presents from the fattest  
 of these, the lion said to him: 'My dear kinsman, give up weighing  
 such matters; you have too stringent a conscience; it is natural for you  
 to act in this way, and no one who acts as nature dictates is a sinner.'  
 35 Thus by a false judge the rapacious wolf was vindicated and the  
 blameless ass was beaten. This is to say that Barabbas the robber was  
 set free, while the innocent Christ was crucified.

Cambyses [II] king of the Persians (who according to Esdras was  
 Artaxerxes or Assuerus son of Cyrus king of the Persians) acted  
 40 otherwise. As Helinand writes, he was accustomed to go round his  
 kingdom every year, and to enquire whether justice was being  
 maintained on all sides. And when a single prejudiced judge was  
 found, who sold justice and accepted gifts, the king himself in his  
 judicial capacity had this unjust judge flayed, and the judge's seat  
 45 covered with his skin; then he had a candle made from the fat of his  
 belly, enclosed in a lantern, and placed on the seat; and he sat on that  
 seat the judge's son who had a hereditary right to that office, and  
 ordered the following lines to be written above the judge's head:

The judge sitting on this seat must remain inflexible.  
 50 May you remove gifts from your hands, entreaties from your  
 ear.  
 May reason be your companion, lest gifts and a series of  
 entreaties  
 make you so blind that in fact you do not have regard for  
 what is right and fair.  
 55 Law is dead so long as the judge's palm has been greased.



dona vel ordo precum quin jus tucaris et equum.  
Lex est defuncta, dum iudicis est manus uncta.  
Sint tibi lucerna lux, lex, pellisque paterna,  
qua resides natus, pro patre sponte datus.  
Quatuor ista, timor, odium, dileccio, census,  
sepe solent iudicium rectos pervertere sensus.

50

In tanta tranquillitate<sup>s</sup> et pace dum vixerat dictus comes Moravie  
custos Scocie, per *iiii*<sup>or</sup> scilicet annos post <et ante> mortem regis  
regnum rexerat, ut abhinc usque ad hodiernos dies non recolitur  
felicis gubernari. Ecclesiam namque exaltavit et eius libertatem  
conservavit, nobiles letificavit, plebeos gratificavit, et insolentiam  
Anglorum superbiam potenter humiliavit. Propter quod, invidie  
stimulis<sup>t</sup> agitati, sic procuraverunt, quod per quendam Angligenam  
religiosum fratrem apud aulam suam de Wemis festive conviventem  
impocionaverunt.<sup>u</sup> Post quod paululum supervixit,<sup>v</sup> <et xiii die  
augusti obiit apud Muskilburgh>.<sup>w</sup> | <Falsus iste frater, arbitrans se  
placabile obsequium regi prestitisse, gaudenter retulit ei quod custos  
Scocie erat in januis mortis constitutus quia, inquit, quamvis venter  
eius ferreus sive ereus fuisset, de necessitate oporteat eum crepere.  
Letati admodum inimici congregaverunt exercitum ad invadendum  
regnum, sibi in proximis subiciendum, ut putabant. Rumore huius  
adaucto, pervenit ad aures custodis quod Anglici<sup>x</sup> expeditionem  
accelerarent, qui, quamvis quasi ad mortem infirmatus, et pocione  
mirabiliter inflatus, probitatis audaciam propterea non amisit; sed  
sub omni celeritate bellatores collegit, et usque ad Colbrandspeth, ubi  
castrametatus est, quasi infirmitatis oblitus, fere-[tro tamen evectus]<sup>y</sup>  
pervenit. Audientes hoc inimici ultra quam credi potest admirati sunt;  
et ad habendam huius rei noticiam missus est a rege [Anglie he-]  
rellus.<sup>y</sup> Quem cum custos audivit adventasse, in ostio papilionis fecit  
se locari in decenti cathedra paliis aureis contexta; et ipse festive  
ornatus, cum cordata multitudine forcium constipatus, preconem  
jussit suo conspectui presentari, qui genuflexo salutavit custodem,  
hilarem ut potuit vultum, et vehementia venenose impocionis  
rubicundum pretendentem. Cui post aliquantulam confabulationem  
ait custos: 'Estimamus utique quod ad explorandum exercitum  
nostrum [advenistis. Bene quidem; | sed]<sup>y</sup> revertamini domino vestro  
regi, qui nunc, ut precipimus, cum potencia valida prope est, nostri ex  
parte exponentes quod in crastino tali loco qui medius est, nobis  
obviare dignetur, ut vel sic saltem finem antiquate guerre impona-  
mus.' Quo dicto, fecit haroldum amoveri, [cui]<sup>y</sup> misit totum suum

fo.279v

fo.280

<sup>s</sup> +justicia CA  
<sup>t</sup> +agigi del.C

<sup>u</sup> intoxicaverunt CA

<sup>v</sup> + Nam postquam ille maledictus frater  
impocionaverat cum fugam iniit; et regem  
Anglie, cum quo tunc erat Eadwardus de

Balliolo, apud Marchias adivit. CA  
<sup>w</sup> this marginal addition entered here C,R;  
placed after crepere l.65 below D; moved  
to replace die quo supra l.96-97 below CA  
<sup>x</sup> inimici CA  
<sup>y</sup> D; lac.C

May you as successor to your father have the lantern and  
your father's skin,  
which you sit on as his son, as your light and law.  
Fear, hatred, love and money – these four  
often commonly distort judgment and right sentiments.

60

While the said earl of Moray was alive as guardian of Scotland  
amid such tranquility and peace, he ruled the kingdom for four years  
both before and after the king's death, so that from then until now no  
one can recall it being governed more successfully. For he boosted the  
church and preserved its liberty, he delighted the nobles and pleased  
the common folk, and effectively humbled the insolent pride of the  
English. On this account, stirred by stings of jealousy, they arranged  
for a certain English friar to poison him as he was celebrating a feast  
in his hall at Wemyss. He lived for a little while after this, and died at  
Musselburgh on 13 August. This false friar, thinking that he had done  
a service that was pleasing to the king, gladly reported to him that the  
guardian of Scotland was waiting at the gateway of death because, he  
said, even if his belly had been made of iron or bronze, he would by  
necessity have had to break wind. Absolutely delighted, the enemy  
gathered an army together to invade the kingdom with a view to  
subjecting it to them in a short time. Once reports of this had grown, it  
came to the guardian's ears that the English were speeding up this  
expedition. Although the guardian was weak almost to death, and  
amazingly swollen by the poison, he did not for this reason lose the  
audacity which was based on his upright character; rather he collected  
some fighting men with all speed, and came to Cockburnspath, where  
he pitched camp, apparently oblivious of his illness, yet carried on a  
litter. When the enemy heard this they were astonished beyond belief;  
and a herald was sent by the king of England to make an assessment  
of the situation. When the guardian heard that he had arrived, he had  
himself placed at the door of his tent on an appropriate chair decked  
with golden coverings. Arrayed in festive garb himself, and sur-  
rounded by a shrewd crowd of brave men, he ordered the herald to be  
presented to his gaze. On bended knee he greeted the guardian, who  
was making a pretence of a cheerful face as best he could, flushed as  
he was from the strength of the poisoned drink. After a short  
conversation the guardian said to him: 'Without doubt we reckon  
that you have come to reconnoitre our army. All right; but you  
should return to the king your lord, who, we understand, is now  
nearby with a powerful force, and explain [to him] on our behalf that  
tomorrow we shall be ready to meet him somewhere between us, so  
that in this way at all events we may put an end to our old contest.'  
Saying this, he had the herald removed, sending to him all the  
accountrements with which he had been clothed as he sat on his chair.  
The herald gratefully accepted these precious doublets worth much

1332:  
[20 July]

100



ornatum quo cathedra sedens erat redimitus, qui gratanter preciosa illa dupplicia, multo auro valencia, recepit, [et ad regem]<sup>y</sup> suum illico festinavit, dicens: 'Sic et sic locutus est custos, quo nusquam recolo me vidisse validorem<sup>z</sup> | militem, nec [iudicio meo valenciorem.<sup>aa</sup>] <sup>y</sup> 90 Quo audito rex animo turbatus confestim fratrem<sup>bb</sup> inquiri fecit,<sup>cc</sup> qui abhinc nusquam comparuit; sed et rex cum dedecore ad Angliam abenas reflexit. Interim vero morbus nimium custodem invasit, qui, audiens quod rex Anglie cum suis retro abierunt, fecit se statim ad villam regiam <de Edinburgh> transportari; sed cum pervenisset ad Muskilburgh, perceptis salutaribus sacramentis, feliciter die quo supra in Domino obdormivit,> et Scociam in magno merore<sup>dd</sup> reliquit. Humatus apud Dunfermelyn<sup>ee</sup> anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> 32<sup>o</sup>. 95

z valenciorem CA  
aa animosiorum CA  
bb + intoxicantem CA

cc + custodem CA  
dd rumore D  
ee + ante altare capelle Nostre Domine CA

19<sup>a</sup>

*Quomodo Jacobus de Douglas disposuit se Jerusalem afferens<sup>b</sup>  
secum cor regis et de nephando Twynam Lourison*

Dum itaque<sup>a</sup> inclitus rex in extremis agens legacionem faceret, inter cetera legavit suum cor mitti Jerosolimis, et recondi apud Sepulcrum Domini. Ad cuius lacionem elegit Jacobum de Douglas in omnibus guerris suis athletam fidissimum.<sup>d</sup> Qui dum se<sup>c</sup> expeditioni pararet, huiusmodi casus accidit<sup>f</sup> in civitate Glasguensi, quod quidam 5 venerabilis vir magister <Willelmus> Hekfurd nomine, officialis major eiusdem, excessus non dissimulans, sed acrius puniens, maxime adulterorum, prohibiciones et processus fulminavit contra quendam robustum virum, non multum parentela generosum, sed morum<sup>g</sup> satis degenerem et adulterii labe maculatum,<sup>h</sup> Twynam Lourison nuncupatum. Qui habens in conjugem pulcrum et pudicam sociam, impudice 10 se nimium ingessit amplexibus diversarum, non tantum simplicium, sed et conjugatarum mulierum. Adulter iste sepe in iudicio conventus, et licet de facinore convictus emendam promiserat, in facinus tamen sepius recidivat. Quod attendens officialis, zelum reformandi infelicem habens, et considerans quod huiusmodi impunitati eius foret 15 occurrendum, et<sup>i</sup> ne tractu temporis impunita malicia convalescat,

a corrected from xviii C  
b efferens D  
c + ante hoc CA  
d strenuissimum CA  
e + post mortem regis CA

f contigit evenire for accidit CA  
g C,D; moribus CA  
h respersum CA  
i interlin.C

gold; and at once hurried to his king saying: 'The guardian has said such and such; I do not recall ever having seen a more vigorous knight than him, nor in my judgment a more powerful one.' On 105 hearing this the king was agitated, and immediately ordered that the friar be sought; but he from then on was never seen again. The king for his part turned back to England in disgrace. Meanwhile the guardian became extremely ill. Hearing that the king of England and his men had gone away back, he immediately had himself conveyed 110 towards the royal town of Edinburgh; but after arriving at Musselburgh he received the sacraments of salvation, and was happy to die in the Lord on the date mentioned above. He left Scotland plunged into grief, and was buried at Dunfermline in 1332 [before the altar in the Lady Chapel].

## 19

*How James de Douglas prepared to go to Jerusalem taking the king's heart with him; and the scoundrel Twynam Lourison*

Accordingly, as the renowned king was approaching his last, he 1329 arranged for the disposal of his property; and among other things he bequeathed his heart to be sent to Jerusalem and buried at the Holy Sepulchre. He chose James de Douglas to carry it, the most loyal 5 champion in all his wars. [After the king's death] while he was making his preparations for this expedition, the following event happened in the city of Glasgow.

A certain venerable man called Master William Eckford, the principal official there, whose practice it was not to cover sins up, but 10 to punish them sharply (especially in cases of adultery), thundered his prohibitions and legal processes against a certain lusty fellow called Twynam Lourison, whose family was not well-connected, and whose character was quite degenerate, defiled as he was with the stain of adultery. Though he had a beautiful and modest partner as a wife, he 15 shamelessly thrust himself excessively into the embraces of various women, not only single women, but also married ones. This adulterer was often prosecuted in court, and though on being convicted of his fault he had promised amends, he nevertheless often relapsed. The official took note of this, and with unlucky zeal for securing reform 20 thundered a sentence of excommunication against the man guilty of contempt, considering that something of this kind needed to be done to deal with the way that he was escaping punishment, and to prevent malice that was unpunished from gaining strength with the passage of

G ii,301

fo.280v

sentenciam excommunicacionis in contemptorem fulminat. Sed de  
 correccione stultus deterior effectus, quodam die/ cum certis suis  
 complicibus ipsum officialem ad villam de Are equitantes ex insidiis 20  
 prorumpens arrestavit; a quo inhumaniter tractus, et demum ligatis  
 manibus pro vita sua conservanda compulsus lenoni magnam  
 summam pecunie <ducentas videlicet librarum<sup>k</sup>> exsolvere. Hoc  
 audito, dominus de Douglas viagium suum distulit, ambronem hinc 25  
 inde fugientem inquit, et tam acriter eum insequitur, donec  
 compulsus est regnum relinquere et | Franciam petere. Ubi/ adivit  
 Eadwardum de Balliolo,<sup>m</sup> eumque in huiusmodi verba allocutus:  
 'Ecce,<sup>n</sup> domine mi, rex Scocie, iam est tempus regnandi,<sup>o</sup> quia venit  
 tempus, quod quidem si pertransieris, infelicissimus hominum  
 predicaberis. Ecce Robertus Brois occupator regni tui defunctus est, 30  
 et filius<sup>p</sup> eius parvulus est. Custos Scocie Thomas Ranulphi solus<sup>q</sup>  
 superest, Jacobus de Douglas ad Terram Sanctam profectus est; nec  
 restat alius in regem promovendus. Si igitur consilio meo acquiescere  
 volueris, regni tui sceptro facillime poteris. An non audivisti de  
 internicione nobilium in Nigro Parlamento? Generacio eorum tibi 35  
 astabit; manum<sup>s</sup> validam armatorum tibi in auxilium rex Anglie  
 accomodabit. Accelera et perge; cor tuum erige, amicos tuos consule  
 et arma capesce.' | Huiusmodi verbis Eadwardus stimulatus, misit  
 manum suam ad forciam, et ad Angliam profectus est, pro subsidio  
 regis in executione sui propositi habendo. Qui utique/ ante instigacio- 40  
 nem<sup>u</sup> Twynam numquam proposuit movere bellum contra Scociam.  
 O igitur quantum malum comitatur adulterium!

j	+ ipse CA		regnandi tibi instat for iam est tempus
k	C,D; libras CA		regnandi CA
l	Quo concito for Ubi CA	p	+ unigenitus CA
m	+ filium et heredem Johannis ex regis CA	q	interlin. over modo del.C
n	Salve CA	r	+ preter te solum CA
o	domine Dominus noster quam admirabile	s	+ quoque CA
	si consilio meo acquieveris erit nomen	t	+ ut creditur CA
	tuum in universa terra quia tempus	u	+ istius CA

20

*De morte Jacobi de Douglass et coronacione  
 regis David*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>o</sup> xxx rex Hispanie cum nobili Jacobo de Douglas,  
 ferente secum cor regis Roberti, vii kal. septembris, congregatis  
 exercitibus de diversis mundi partibus in subsidium Terre Sancte  
 confluentibus, debellaverunt soldanum et suos Saracenos innumeros.  
 Quibus tandem feliciter devictis et in fugam conversis, pluribus ex illis 5  
 prius interfectis, et eorum spoliis distributis, dictus rex cum suo

time. But the foolish man was made worse on account of this  
 25 correction, and one day he burst out of hiding with a number of  
 accomplices and seized the official himself as he was riding to the town  
 of Ayr. After being dragged along heartlessly by Lourison, his hands  
 were tied, and to save his life he was in the end compelled to pay the  
 seducer a large sum of money, namely two hundred pounds.  
 30 When the lord of Douglas heard this, he postponed his journey,  
 searched for the fugitive lecher in all directions, and pursued him so  
 keenly that he was compelled to leave the kingdom and make for  
 France. There he approached Edward de Balliol, and spoke with him  
 as follows: 'See, my lord, king of Scotland, it is now time for you to  
 35 reign; for the time is coming, and if you pass it by, you will be called  
 the most unfortunate of men. See, Robert Bruce who occupied your  
 kingdom is dead, and his son is a boy. Thomas Randolph the  
 guardian of Scotland survives alone, for James de Douglas has set out  
 for the Holy Land, and there is no one else who may be advanced to  
 40 the kingship. If therefore you want to follow my advice, you will easily  
 seize the sceptre of your kingdom. Have you not heard of the  
 destruction of the nobility at the Black Parliament? Their families will  
 stand by you; the king of England will provide a powerful force of  
 armed men to help you. Hurry and get started; be of good heart,  
 45 consult your friends, and take up arms.' Spurred on by words of this  
 kind, Edward set his hand to deeds of valour, and set out for England  
 to enlist the help of the king in the execution of his purpose. There is  
 no doubt that Balliol never planned to start a war against Scotland  
 before he was urged to do so by Twynam. How great therefore is the  
 50 evil that accompanies adultery!

20

*The death of James de Douglas and the coronation of  
 King David*

In 1330 on 26 August the king of Spain and the noble James de 1330:  
 Douglas, who was carrying King Robert's heart, fought against a [25 Aug.]  
 sultan and his countless Saracens, after armies from various parts of  
 the world had gathered together to aid the Holy Land. At length they  
 5 had the good fortune to defeat the Saracens and put them to flight;  
 and after first killing many of them and distributing their spoils, the

exercitu rediit incolumis a conflictu. Sed, proth dolor,<sup>a</sup> dominus  
 Jacobus de Douglas de proprio exercitu<sup>b</sup> paucissimos secum retinuit.  
 Et hoc alium soldanum in insidiis latitantem minime latuit; qui cum  
 suis de latibulis exiens<sup>c</sup> bellum provocavit. Cuius<sup>d</sup> exercitum et vexilla  
 dictus Jacobus a longe cognoscens, statim, ut erat imperterritus,  
 ipsos<sup>e</sup> cum suis<sup>f</sup> alacer est aggressus. Ubi interfectis pluribus  
 Sarracenis, ipse Jacobus cum suis, pro Christo agonizans, ibidem  
 feliciter diem clausit extremum. Cum quo dominus Willelmus de  
 Sanctoclaro et Robertus Logan milites, aliique<sup>g</sup> plures nobiles<sup>h</sup>  
 Scotigeni finem vite dederunt. Iste nobilis Jacobus diebus suis fortis  
 malliator fuit Anglicorum, cui Dominus tantam gratiam in vita sua  
 contulit, ut ubique locorum de Anglicis triumpharet. Cuius actus  
 strenuos liber continet<sup>i</sup> Broisaicus. De quo quidam sic ait:<sup>j</sup>

Jure juventutis Jacobus iota justificavit;  
 Actibus astutis aras almas adamavit.  
 Curis commissis carum concernite cesum;  
 Ossibus omissis opus ostentatur obesum.  
 Bellona bachatur, bustis breviando beatos;  
 | Virgula vertatur, vindex vexans veneratos.  
 Sedes suscepit sublimes sorte sacratas;  
 Dies decepit dulas dampnando dolatas.  
 Extitit electus egros escans epulantes;  
 Douglas dilectus dominus domuit dubitantes.  
 Optulit ornatos opifex oditus odoris;  
 Viribus unatos validos virtute valoris.  
 Grandia gestavit, gratum granum geminavit;  
 Lucida laudavit, loca languida letificavit.  
 Arduus audaces animos ardentem amavit;  
 Servos servavit sacro sermone sagaces.

Nobilis hic vixit, in Christo cor bene fixit,<sup>k</sup>  
 ut scriptor dixit, miles similis sibi vixit,  
 salva pia guerra fuerat bene Scotica terra;  
 hostes projecti Jacobi pro robore lecti,  
 non fuit in mundo sibi par valitudo rotundo,  
 milicie talis equitis fortis borealis.  
 Gestis discretus, largus, virtute repletus,  
 in populo letus, prudens, sapiensque facetus,  
 hostes Angligenas vicit probitate proborum,  
 gentes Scotigenas muniens probitate virorum.

<sup>a</sup> + ille nobilis bellator CA

<sup>b</sup> + rediit incolumis del.C

<sup>c</sup> + Christianos ad CA

<sup>d</sup> + precipue CA

<sup>e</sup> et in Domino confisus cuius causam egit  
 et bellum ipsos ethnicos et paganos for  
 ipsos CA

<sup>f</sup> + admodum paucissimis CA

<sup>g</sup> alii- interlin.C

<sup>h</sup> quamplures valentes for plures nobiles

CA

<sup>i</sup> + Barbarii CA

<sup>j</sup> rest of fo.280v is written in double column  
 C

<sup>k</sup> + ut scriptor dixit in Christo cor bene  
 fixit / nobilis hic vixit in Christo cor bene  
 fixit del.C

said king and his army returned from the battle unharmed. But alas!  
 Sir James de Douglas kept with him very few men of his own force.  
 And this was not unobserved by another sultan who was hiding in  
 ambush. He came out of his hiding place with his men and offered the  
 challenge of battle. Recognizing his force and standards from afar,  
 the said James, fearless as he was, immediately and eagerly attacked  
 them with his own [tiny] force. After many Saracens had been killed,  
 James himself had the good fortune to end his last day with his men  
 there as a martyr for Christ. With him the knights Sir William de  
 Sinclair and Robert Logan, and many other nobles of Scottish birth  
 laid down their lives. This noble James was in his day a powerful  
 hammerman of the English, on whom the Lord conferred such grace  
 during his life that he triumphed over the English everywhere.  
 20 [Barbour's] book on Bruce contains his brave deeds. Somebody said  
 this about him:

By dint of his youthful vigour James put right the last jot [of  
 the law];

by his wise acts he showed that he loved the gentle altars.

25 Behold this dear man slain because of the duties entrusted to  
 him;

his bones being lost, his labour is revealed as rendered null  
 and void.

30 The war goddess rages, cutting short the blessed by death;  
 let her rod be turned aside, which vengefully troubles those  
 who have been revered.

James has attained the lofty abodes consecrated by Fate;  
 the day has cheated [us] by condemning battered acts of  
 devotion.

35 He has become one of the elect while giving food to the sick,  
 who are holding a feast;

Douglas as a well-loved lord tamed those with doubts.

As a craftsman he offered the beautiful scent of fragrance;

he offered sturdy men united in the strength of courage.

40 He performed great deeds and sowed in double measure a  
 seed that was pleasing;

he praised things of light, he gladdened places of gloom.

Himself a lofty spirit, he dearly loved bold spirits;

he kept safe his servants made wise by his hallowed words.

45 This man lived a noble life; he kept his heart fixed truly on  
 Christ;

as a writer says, he lived as a knight without compare.

The land of Scotland had been kept safe by his holy warfare;  
 James's enemies, chosen for their strength, have been laid

low.

There has not been his equal in strength in the whole round  
 world,

nor does this knight, so brave, have an equal among all the  
 knighthood of the North.

Flos armatorum, dum vixit, erat validorum,  
et bellatorum doctissimus ipse ferorum.  
Obsequio Christi finivit tempora vite,  
solvitur a tristi baratorum tormine rite.  
Nunc latet in limis, persolvens ultima primis,  
gaudet sublimis soliis cum rebus opimis.  
Anno milleno trecenteno perameno  
tricesimo pleno juncto, pro rege sereno  
cessit apud castrum Tibris Jacobus vale gesto;  
octavoque kalendas septembris memor esto.  
Ipsius ergo Deus Jacobi validi miserere;  
si qua labe reus fuerit, parcas sibi vere.

<Hic Jacobus in conflictibus xiii vicibus succubuit et devictus est, et  
victorias de A[n]glis<sup>m</sup> habuit lvii.><sup>n</sup> Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxxi<sup>o</sup> viii<sup>o</sup>  
kal. decembris inunctus est in regem David rex Scotorum, filius  
Roberti de B[rois], et coronatus apud Sconam a domino Jacobo Ben  
episcopo Sanctiandr', per bullam sanctissimi patris Johannis XXII ad  
hoc specialiter constituto. Ante quem nullus regum Scocie legitur  
fuisse inunctum<sup>o</sup> cum tali solemnitate et<sup>o</sup> coronatum. Qui juvenis rex  
viii annorum<sup>o</sup> Johannem Stewart comitem Angusie, Thomam Ranul-  
phi | filium et heredem recolende memorie domini Thome comitis  
Moravie et custodis Scocie, et alios quamplures nobiles de regno,  
precinxit baltheo militari. Unde quidam:

Scona novo more veneratur lege corona,  
que tantum cathedre gaudere solebat amore.  
Quo nacto flore Roberti regis amore,  
gaudebit decore David regnans meliore.  
Annis millenis trecentis ter quoque denis  
i si jungatur, David alta corona paratur.  
Crisogoni recte festo mediante novembre,  
presule prestante Jacoboque Johanne probante  
summo pontifice, mundo veniente pudice.  
Cingitur in luce Clementis militis ense,  
quem prestat comitis manus audax Moraviensis.  
quot David in Scona, si queras, sunt data dona;  
sunt tria quoque dona, gladius, sedesque, corona.

Eodem anno et die coronata est Johanna de Turribus regina.<sup>r</sup> Eodem  
anno v<sup>o</sup> idus decembris obiit Johannes Senescallus comes Angusie.<sup>s</sup>

*l* solvit D  
*m* D; lac.C

*n* this marginal passage is probably meant to  
be inserted here, though its matching caret  
is in fact after dona below l.80 C; passage  
is placed here D

*o* + short word completely del.C  
*p* interlin.C

*q* Romane ecclesie antistitis de ungendo et  
alia solemnita intermiscendo. Quo die for  
ad hoc ... annorum CA

*r* + Scocie, filia Eadwardi de Carnarvan et  
soror Eadwardi de Vyndesor regum  
Anglie CA

*s* + novus tiro CA

55 Discerning in his deeds, generous, full of virtue,  
taking delight in people, wise, intelligent and courteous,  
his English enemies he defeated by the prowess of his  
honourable deeds,  
60 strengthening the Scottish people with the prowess of good  
men.  
While he lived he was the flower of sturdy knighthood,  
and himself the most skilled of fierce fighters.  
He ended his life in the service of Christ;  
he is rightly released from the pains of Hell.  
65 Now he lies in the mire, paying his last debt to the first,  
enjoying the lofty thrones with abundance of all things.  
In the delightful year thirteen hundred  
with a full thirty years added, James died at Teba castle  
for his Serene King, having made his farewell;  
70 and it was on 25 August – remember it well.  
Therefore, God, have pity on this sturdy James;  
whatever sin he is guilty of, may you truly spare him.

This James was overcome and defeated in battle thirteen times, and  
won fifty-seven victories over the English.

75 In 1331 on 24 November David king of Scots, the son of Robert de  
Bruce, was anointed king and crowned at Scone by sir James Ben  
bishop of St Andrews, who had been specially authorised to do this by  
a bull of the most holy father John XXII. Before him no king of  
Scotland is said to have been anointed and crowned with this kind of  
80 ceremony. The young king, who was eight years old, girded with the  
belt of knighthood John Stewart earl of Angus, Thomas Randolph  
the son and heir of Sir Thomas the earl of Moray and guardian of  
Scotland of immortal memory, and many other nobles of the  
kingdom. Somebody [has written] this:

85 By law the crown is revered in a new fashion at Scone,  
which used to enjoy only desire for the throne.  
Now that this flower has been acquired by the desire of King  
Robert,  
David will rule with greater splendour.  
90 In the year thirteen hundred plus three decades  
with one year added to it David was provided with a high  
crown.  
In fact on the feast of Chrysogonus in the middle of  
November,  
95 with Bishop James bestowing and Pope John approving,  
and the whole world attending with decorum.  
He was girded on St Clement's Day with the sword of a  
knight  
which the hand of the bold earl of Moray provided.  
100 If you ask how many gifts were given to David at Scone,  
there were indeed three gifts – the sword, the throne, and the  
crown.

1331:  
24 Nov.

23 Nov.

## 21

fo.281

*De morte Thome Ranulphi custodis, et bello  
de Dupplyne*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxxii xiiii kal. augusti obiit nobilis Thomas Ranulphi comes Moravie et<sup>a</sup> custos Scocie. Post mortem cuius omnes magnates tam ecclesiastici quam alii apud Perth iiii<sup>to</sup> nonas augusti congregati, post plures altercationes et varias dissenciones Donaldum comitem de Mar unanimiter elegerunt in regni custodiam. Paulo ante hoc instigacione dicti<sup>b</sup> Twynam Lowrison adulteri<sup>c</sup> Eadwardus de Balliolo Angliam peciit, ubi diversos magnates tam Scocie quam Anglie invenit qui clamabant se injuste fuisse dispoliatos et exhereditatos de diversis terris et dominiis suis in Scocie existentibus. Quorum huiusmodi clamei principales fuerunt David comes de Atholia, Cominyenses, Talbotenses et Mowbreyenses, sed et Henricus de Bellomonte homo magni consilii et cordis exaltati. Ad cuius persuasum firmaverunt inter se nequam consilium, attendentes quod adhuc sanus et incolumis supererat<sup>d</sup> custos Scocie Thomas Ranulphi adversus Scociam expeditionem distulerunt, presertim quia dictus Henricus de Bellomonte sepius eis dicere solitus est quod mirum foret si<sup>e</sup> Omnipotens Deus (qui iusticias diligit et equitatem vidit vultus eius) permetteret tam justum iudicem equitatem sectantem Thomam videlicet Ranulphi posse de facili in guerra devinci vel in bello tradimento verius vili<sup>f</sup>, effecerunt ut quidam frater Anglicus religione corruptus dicto custodi familiaris capellanus sibi venenum in<sup>h</sup> vino propinaret. Quod et factum est ut supra. Quo comperto Eadwardus de Balliolo cum suis classem mari committunt. In quibus quingentos <vel vi<sup>c</sup>> | armatorum non excedunt, propter quod<sup>i</sup> ammirati sunt universi quomodo presumunt tantilli tam inconsternate regnum Scocie impetere. Ferunt tunc regem David fuisse novennem quando

G ii,304

a pater for comes Moravie et CA  
b ut premisimus infandus for instigacione CA  
c instigacione CA  
d superstes extiterat for incolumis supererat CA  
e sane sapientibus quod for si CA  
f bello superari. Propter quod dixerunt

impii apud se non recte cogitantes circumveniamus justum injuste quin contrarius est operibus nostris for guerra ... idcirco CA  
g + proth dolor CA  
h + pot del.C  
i + Scotorum CA

In the same year and on the same day Joan of the Tower was crowned queen. In the same year on 9 December John Stewart earl of Angus died. 9 Dec.

105

## 21

*The death of the guardian Thomas Randolph, and the battle  
of Dupplin*

In 1332 on 20 July the noble Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray and guardian of Scotland, died. After his death all the magnates, both churchmen and others, assembled in Perth on 2 August, and after many disputes and various arguments unanimously elected Donald earl of Mar to the guardianship of the kingdom. Shortly before, at the instigation of the said Twynam Lourison the adulterer, Edward de Balliol went to England, where he found various Scottish as well as English magnates who claimed that they had been unjustly robbed and disinherited of their various lands and lordships situated in Scotland. The principal parties in making this claim were David earl of Atholl, the Comyns, the Talbots and the Mowbrays, but also Henry de Beaumont, a weighty man in discussion and with an arrogant disposition. Persuaded by him they arrived at a shameful agreement among themselves: on the understanding that Thomas Randolph the guardian of Scotland was still safe and well, they postponed an expedition against Scotland, especially because the said Henry de Beaumont kept telling them that it would be strange if Almighty God (who loves justice and who has an eye for equity) allowed such a fair judge and pursuer of equity as Thomas Randolph to be easily defeated in war or in battle. And therefore they devised a new scheme, and (as the Italians say) 'since treachery is more honourable than vile war', they arranged for a certain English friar, the personal chaplain of the said guardian, a man who was corrupt in his faith, to give him poison to drink in his wine. And this was done as stated.

1332:  
20 July  
2 Aug.

When he heard about this, Edward de Balliol with his men put a fleet to sea. In these [ships] they did not exceed 500 or 600 armed men, and on this account everyone marvelled how so few men dared to attack so fearlessly the kingdom of Scotland. It is said that King David was then nine years old when Donald earl of Mar was elected guardian. On this day it was reported to him and the other magnates of the kingdom that Edward de Balliol had arrived in the Firth of Forth with his ship on 31 July; on 6 August he went ashore at Kinghorn. Alexander de Seton the son, who together with a few others opposed him face to face, died there on the same day with three

[31 July]  
2 Aug.  
6 Aug.

35



electus est Dovenaldus comes de Mar in custodem. Quo die nunciatum est sibi et ceteris proceribus regni Eadwardum de B[alliolo] cum suo navigio pridie kal. augusti in aqua de Forth applicuisse, qui viii<sup>o</sup> idus eiusdem mensis apud Kingorn terram peciit. Cui Alexander de Seton filius cum paucis in facie resistens eadem die cum tribus vel iii<sup>or</sup> ibidem occubuit. Dictus vero Eadwardus cum suis inde progrediens, visitato monasterio de Dunfermelyne, ad moram de Duplyne iii<sup>o</sup> idus eiusdem mensis <id est in vigilia Sancti Laurencii> pervenit. Ubi commisso gravi prelio ab aurora diei usque ad horam nonam, idem Eadwardus victor extitit, et genti Scotorum patuit ruina magna.

## 22

*Adhuc de eodem*

Pervolante in regnum rumore adventus dicti Eadwardi, mirantur audientes quid sibi protenderet, quod navigium suum miserat ad fluvium Thaynensem, ipso cum tam paucis terram repetente. Et continuo missis a custode ad omnes liberetenentes et alios defensibiles regis liegios, congregati sunt in magna multitudine. Congregavitque Patricius comes Marchiarum, cui<sup>a</sup> delegata fuit custodia regni a parte australi aque de Forth, habens secum xxx<sup>m</sup> armatorum. Comesque Dovenaldus custos a parte boreali eiusdem, habens totidem in ducatum,<sup>b</sup> expectat cum exercitu suo in villa de Perth et in locis circumvicinis adventum dicti Eadwardi; de quo exiit fama quod astrictus erat voto assilire dictam villam regiam de Perth et consequenter in Scona coronari, confidenciam habens, ut dicitur, a quibusdam de majoribus regni qualitercumque sibi auxilium exhiberi. Cognito autem a custode quod dictus Eadwardus cum omnibus suis tam equis quam hominibus castrametatus fuit infra acram molendinarii de Fortheviot, idem custos (comes videlicet de Mar) cum suis ex adverso, aqua de | Erne interveniente, tentoria fixit. Unde properantes acies et ad pugnam dispositas manifeste sese videre non poterant, quia die declinante nox aderat, in qua congregari non licuit. Custos quoque Scocie cum suis, quasi securi, non posuit de nocte vigiles, sed cum jocunditate vinum bibentes, propter paucitatem partis adverse eam parvipendio habuerunt, depromentes cantus, et dicentes quod Anglici caudati pro caudis vituperati.<sup>c</sup> De <caudis> eorum, ut dixerunt, funes sibi facerent, ad seipsos Anglos in crastino<sup>d</sup>

fo.281v

<sup>a</sup> australes Scotos, cui comiti for cui CA  
<sup>b</sup> ducatu CA

<sup>c</sup> + quia del.C  
<sup>d</sup> Anglos in crastino om. CA

or four others. The said Edward, however, proceeded from there with his men, visited the monastery of Dunfermline, and arrived at Dupplin Moor on the eleventh day of the same month (that is on the eve of St Laurence's Day). There a serious battle was fought from dawn to 3 p.m.; the same Edward emerged as victor, and the Scottish people were exposed to great destruction.

11 Aug.

## 22

*Still the same*

While the news of the said Edward's arrival was flying about the kingdom, those who heard it wondered what his intentions were, because he had sent his ship to the river Tay, and he was himself returning to the country with so few men. And immediately, following a message from the guardian to all freeholders and other vassals of the king that were able to bear arms, they assembled in a great multitude. Patrick earl of March, who had been entrusted with the guardianship of the region south of the Firth of Forth, arrived with 30,000 armed men; and Earl Donald, guardian of the region north of the same, who had command of the same number of men, waited with his army in the town of Perth and places nearby for the arrival of the said Edward. There was a rumour going round about Perth and then to be crowned at Scone, trusting, as was said, that some kind of help would be offered to him by some of the magnates of the kingdom. But when the guardian saw that the said Edward with all his following, both horses and men, had pitched camp on the property of the miller of Forteviot, the same guardian (that is the earl of Mar) with his men put up their tents on the other side, with the river Earn between them. Hence in their hurry they could not clearly see the lines prepared for battle because daylight was fading and night was upon them when they could not engage. Furthermore the guardian of Scotland and his men, as if they were safe, did not set up a night watch, but while cheerfully drinking wine, they expressed their contempt for the small numbers of the opposite side, singing songs and saying that the tailed English are a reproach because of their tails. They said that they would make ropes for themselves from the Englishmen's tails to tie them up on the following day. But, you

1332:  
10 Aug.



vinciendos. Sed, O gens Scotica, in armis satis strenua, sed stolidi et  
 25 superba, futurorum minus prescia, ambulans in magnis et mirabilibus  
 super te, non attendis ad sententiam Senece dicentis quod numquam  
 in solido stetit superba felicitas. Aderat eo<sup>e</sup> tunc prope comes  
 Marchiarum pernoctans in villa de Ochirardouer, de cuius | grandi  
 exercitu noticiam habens dictus Eadwardus, utrique exercitui inter-  
 30 medius, et tamquam piscis sagena circumseptus timuit valde. Certe<sup>f</sup>  
 melius est humiliter timere quam superbe fidere; et tucius est in actis  
 bellicis servando animi constanciam,<sup>g</sup> infirmum se homo recognos-  
 cere<sup>h</sup> ut fortis existat, quam fortis videri appetat et infirmus decidat.  
 Intempeste etenim noctis silencio, quando exercitus custodis fuerunt  
 35 ex adverso<sup>i</sup> maxima leticia perstreptentes, et vana exultacione<sup>j</sup>  
 vociferantes, dictus Eadwardus cum suis, edoctus clanculo ab uno de  
 nostris, vadum silenter pertransiit, et summo diluculo apud Gask et  
 Duplyne pervenit, ubi multi de nostris, sine vigili cubantes, tamquam  
 boves in macellis ab Anglis trucidantur. Cuius clamore horrido  
 40 exercitus custodis expectatus, et nimium propterea perteritus,  
 quibusdam fuge consulentibus, precessit<sup>k</sup> avide ad pugnam<sup>l</sup> Thomas  
 Ranulphi junior comes Moravie,<sup>m</sup> Murdaco comite de Menteith,  
 Roberto de Broys filio incliti regis Roberti, Alexandro Fraser, cum  
 aliis valentibus viris circiter<sup>n</sup> tricenis comitatus. Qui cum inimicis  
 45 <congregientes,> inito certamine, facta est magna cedes ex utraque  
 parte.

e interlin. C

f Et ut verum fateor for certe CA

g + et del. C

h corrected from recognoscat C

i + in maxima leticia in del. C

j interlin. over leticia del. C

k corrected from precesserunt C

l + novus tiro CA

m + paterne probitatis imitator CA

n numero CA

## 23

## De eodem

In tantum sese et in se alterutra pars impegit quod Anglici retrocedere  
 sunt coacti, si non acriori ira succensus dictus Dovenaldus custos,  
 cum innumera multitudo preter ordinem insequente tanquam  
 corpus hericium scutis, clavis, armis et lanceis, quasi squamis se  
 prementibus compactum, ut nec quidem inter eos procedere posset  
 5 spiraculum; nec valens impetum cohibere, volens nimium conflagrare<sup>a</sup>  
 cum Anglis, irrui in phalangem<sup>b</sup> dicti comitis,<sup>c</sup> ubi semper anterior

a magnopere for nimium conflagrare CA

b + sodaliticam CA

c + Moravie CA

Scottish people, brave enough in arms, but foolish and proud, with  
 30 little foresight for the future, walking among great and wonderful  
 things beyond your grasp, you do not heed the word of Seneca when  
 he says that success when accompanied by arrogance never rests on a  
 firm base.

At that time the earl of March was staying nearby, spending the  
 35 night in the town of Auchterarder. When the said Edward heard of his  
 great army, he was very afraid, being in the middle between the two  
 armies, and enclosed like fish in a net. Certainly it is better to be  
 humbly fearful than to be arrogantly confident; and it is safer when  
 undertaking a war for a man to preserve firmness of purpose, and to  
 40 acknowledge his weakness so that he may be courageous, than to seek  
 to appear courageous and die because of his weakness. For in the  
 silence of the dead of night, while on the other side the armies of the  
 guardian were noisily hilarious and shouting with vain boasting, the  
 said Edward, secretly guided by one of our people, quietly crossed  
 45 over a ford with his men, and at dawn reached Gask and Dupplin. 11 Aug.  
 There many of our people, who were sleeping without sentries, were  
 slaughtered by the English like cattle in the meat-markets. The  
 guardian's army was roused by the terrible din, and were extremely  
 frightened on this account. As some took to flight, Thomas Randolph  
 50 the younger, earl of Moray, eagerly led Murdoch earl of Menteith,  
 Robert Bruce son of the famous King Robert, Alexander Fraser and  
 other brave men of his following – around three hundred [in number]  
 – into battle. When they met with the enemy and the fight had begun,  
 great was the slaughter on both sides.

## 23

## The same

Each of the two sides hurled themselves against the other to such an  
 extent that the English would have been forced to retreat, had not  
 Donald the guardian been lit up with passionate rage, along with a  
 countless multitude following in disorder like the body of a hedgehog  
 5 constructed from shields, clubs, arms and lances which were pressing  
 against each other like scales, so that nobody among them could  
 breathe. Unable to hinder their rush and too eager to fight with the  
 English, he charged the company led by the said earl [of Moray]; there  
 those in front invariably went under, until death from suffocation was  
 10 so widespread that we have never read of such a lamentable and  
 unfortunate event as having happened in times long past. There the

G ii,306

fo.282

effectus est inferior, donec tam dolorosus invaluit ex suffocacione  
interitus, quod tam flebilis casus et infaustus a magnis retroactis  
temporibus nusquam legebatur <accidisse>. Ubi dictus custos Scocie  
precipitacione propria, cum dictis duobus comitibus, Broys eciam et  
Fraiser, cum<sup>d</sup> multis aliis nobilibus, baronibus et militibus et  
valentibus armigeris, necnon inferioris gradus non modica multitu-  
dine, non minus morte stupenda quam infelici perierunt. Quos utique  
non vis humana, sed ulcio prostravit divina. Quod in hoc patet quo  
multo plures ex collisione corporum, confricacione armorum, et  
prostracione equorum se invicem opprimencium, sine vulnere ceciderunt,  
quam qui telo vel gladio jugulati sunt. Captus est autem<sup>e</sup>  
Duncanus comes de Fiffe, et cum eo diversi nobiles et valentes,  
interfectis prius sub vexillo eius tricentis sexaginta loricatis, ita quod  
in toto numerati sunt | mortui et occisi hominum tria milia. Spoliis  
interfectorum Anglici non intendentes,<sup>f</sup> fugientes Scotos persecuti  
sunt, et ad villam de Perth divertunt, et eam sine resistencia<sup>h</sup>  
acquirunt. A qua, nonnullis sibi acquiescentibus, Duplyn campo  
quidam miles de Balliol' divertens, ad sumendum vindictam de Scotis,  
pro quodam suo caro consanguineo eodem die bello interempto,<sup>i</sup> cum  
asspexisset a longe tam immanem aggerem militum et equorum  
mortuorum, in confuso sic conglobatorum, necnon stridorem et  
gemitus morientium sanguine | proprio involutorum, oculos ad  
celum levavit, et genas fletu madidavit, dicens: 'Divertamus socii, et  
attendite quod<sup>k</sup> nimis crudele foret nobis' vindictam apponere quibus  
Deus vicem reddidit proprie superbie.' Inter hec procedente comite  
Patricio cum suo exercitu ad campum de Duplyne, obvium habuit  
unum armigerum letaliter vulneratum,<sup>m</sup> tenentem manibus propriis  
intestina et viscera a sella dependencia; per quem edoctus de victoria  
Anglis prosperata, campum peciit, et de congerie cadaverum ad  
tempus admirans, commilitones suos adhorsus est de Anglis expetere  
vindictam. Et ad nemus de Lambirkin properantes, de lignis et  
arborum ramusculis sibi singulas sarcinas et fasciculos ad obturan-  
dum foveas antemurales de Perth fecit componere, et ad villam cum  
sarcinis<sup>o</sup> accedere. Videntes autem opidani tamquam nemus pruino-  
sum sibi facere accessum, timuerunt valde. Disponentes tamen se ex  
adverso pro custodia ville, adventum exercitus nemorosi prestolantur  
attoniti. Tandem attendunt a supercilio descensus montis ville

<sup>d</sup> supra modum impetuosus propria  
precipitacione cum comitibus de Marra et  
Menteth una cum Brois et Fraser necnon  
for precipitacione ... Fraiser cum CA  
<sup>e</sup> + ibidem ex parte nostra CA  
<sup>f</sup> + viri CA  
<sup>g</sup> + propter metum exercitus comitis de  
Marchia CA  
<sup>h</sup> violencia cuiuscunque resistencia for  
resistencia CA

<sup>i</sup> perempto sed for interempto CA  
<sup>j</sup> + Attendite consodales speculum  
horribile spectaculum et CA  
<sup>k</sup> hinc quia for socii ... quod CA  
<sup>l</sup> crudeles censeremur for crudele foret  
nobis CA  
<sup>m</sup> + [ ] videlicet de Murraffe de  
Tulibard probably del.C; no space D, CA  
<sup>n</sup> propria CA  
<sup>o</sup> Cursellis CA

said guardian of Scotland perished in his own headlong rush, together  
with the said two earls, also Bruce and Fraser, and many other nobles,  
barons and knights and worthy men-at-arms, and also a sizeable  
15 number of lower rank. Their deaths were as astonishing as they were  
unfortunate. It was certainly not human power that felled them, but  
divine revenge. This becomes obvious in the fact that many more died  
without a wound in the collision of bodies, the friction of armour, and  
the stumbling of horses as they were crushed against each other, than  
20 were killed by a missile or sword. Duncan earl of Fife, however, was  
captured, and with him various nobles and brave men, after three  
hundred and sixty men in armour had first been killed under his  
standard, so that in total three thousand men were counted as dead  
and killed. The English did not turn their attention to the spoils of the  
25 killed, but pursued the fleeing Scots; they turned aside to the town of  
Perth, and took it without resistance.

From there a certain knight on Balliol's side broke off to the field of  
Dupplin with many who were of the same mind to take revenge on the  
Scots for a certain dear relative of his who had been killed in the battle  
30 that day. When he saw from a distance such an enormous heap of  
dead knights and horses, so massed together in disorder, and also  
[heard] the cries and groans of the dying who were covered in their  
own blood, he raised his eyes to Heaven and wet his cheeks with tears,  
saying: 'Let us turn away, comrades, and observe how it would be too  
35 cruel for us to take revenge on those whom God has repaid for their  
own pride.'

In the meantime, while Earl Patrick was approaching the field of  
Dupplin with his force, he met a man-at-arms who was mortally  
wounded and holding in his own hands his intestines and internal  
40 organs which were hanging down from the saddle. After learning  
from him about the victory that had gone in favour of the English, he  
went to the battlefield, marvelled for a while at the mass of dead  
bodies, and exhorted his companions to seek revenge from the  
English. And he made them hurry to Lamberkine wood and put  
45 together for themselves bundles and bunches from timber and small  
branches of trees to fill in the moats outside the walls of Perth, and to  
approach the town with the bundles. When the people inside the town  
saw that something like a wood covered in frost was making its way  
towards them, they were very afraid. Arranging themselves neverthe-  
50 less on the other side to guard the town, they awaited awestruck the  
arrival of the bushy army. At last they noticed from the brow of the  
slope of a hill near the town that the army of the Scots had halted and  
was not advancing towards them any further. Henry de Beaumont  
took courage and reassured his companions to take heart, saying: 'Be  
55 strong and spirited, because I conclude that this army will not harm  
us; I feel that without doubt there are supporters and friends in it.'  
And after a short stay there, the army withdrew backwards. And from

contigui exercitum Scotorum stacionem facere, et se non ulterius ad 45  
 ipsos movere accessum. Henricus de Bellomonte,<sup>p</sup> audacia concepta,  
 socios suos ad animacionem<sup>q</sup> confortavit, dicens: 'Estote fortes  
 animo, quia exercitus ille, ut conicio, nobis non nocebit; intra quem  
 procul dubio fautores et amicos sencio.' Et post aliquantulam inibi  
 moram, gradu retrogrado exercitus se movebat. Et abhinc taliter est 50  
 dispersus, quod post hoc ad invadendum emulos nequaquam est  
 reversus. Et nulli revocatur in dubium, quin, si ceptis sedule  
 instetissent, finem huiusmodi guerre, si Deo placitum foret, effecis-  
 sent. Eodem anno viii kal. octobris antedictus Eadwardus de Balliolo  
 factus est rex, more suo, apud Sconam per Duncanum comitem de 55  
 Fyfe et Willelmum de Sanctoclaro episcopum Dunkeldensem, qui ad  
 pacem ipsius Eadwardi paulo ante venerant, congregatis ibidem  
 abbatibus, prioribus et communitate de Fife et Fothruff, de Strathern  
 et de Gowri ad pacem antedicti Eadwardi iam receptis.

<sup>p</sup> +qualicumque CA  
<sup>q</sup> suos inanimans for socios suos ad

animacionem CA  
<sup>r</sup> interlin.C

## 24

*De transitu regis David ad Gallias*

G ii,307

Nomina magnatum veniencium ad Scociam cum sepefato Eadwardo  
 pro suis terris conquiendis sunt hec: Henricus de Bellomonte, David  
 comes Adolie, <Henricus de Balliolo, Johannes Mowbrai de Stra-  
 bolgy, Willelmus Mowbrai, | Galfridus de Mowbrai,> Henricus de 5  
 Ferrariis cum duobus fratribus, Alexander de Mowbrey, Richardus  
 Talbot, Walterus Comyne, Radulphus baro de Stafford cum multis  
 aliis. Numerus vero omnium eorum precedencium ad bellum vi.  
 Numerus exercitus Scotorum xxx<sup>m</sup> preter exercitum comitis Mar-  
 chiarum. Numerus occisorum ad tria milia estimatur.

<[De hoc]<sup>a</sup> bello sic longe ante prophetatum:

Pax erat in terra, rediet sed Scotica guerra.  
 Quidam ballivus, armis non [nominativus],<sup>a</sup>  
 voce vocativus tauri, tauroque dativus,  
 sternet equos ligni; medio latitat leo signi.  
 Ipsos ascendet, [ad Scotica]<sup>a</sup> cornua tendet. 15  
 Milicie girum facient Angli bene mirum,  
 temporibus gentis cum pennatis ferientis.  
 Namque [loco leto]<sup>a</sup> non sunt Scoti sine leto.

<sup>a</sup> D; lac.C

there it dispersed in such a way that afterwards it never returned to  
 attack its rivals. And no one raises any doubts that if they had  
 60 diligently persisted in what they had begun, they would – if it had  
 pleased God – have brought about an end to this war.

In the same year on 24 September the aforesaid Edward de Balliol  
 was made king at Scone in his own fashion by Duncan earl of Fife and  
 William de Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, both of whom had shortly  
 65 before joined the side of this Edward; there assembled in the same  
 place the abbots, priors and communities of Fife, Fothrif, Strathearn  
 and Gowrie who had already accepted the authority of the aforesaid  
 Edward.

1332:  
 24 Sept.

## 24

*The passage of King David to France*

The names of the magnates who came to Scotland with the often-  
 mentioned Edward to search out their lands are these: Henry de  
 Beaumont, David earl of Atholl, Henry de Balliol, John Mowbray de  
 Strathbogie, William Mowbray, Geoffrey de Mowbray, Henry de  
 5 Ferrers with his two brothers, Alexander de Mowbray, Richard  
 Talbot, Walter Comyn, Radulph baron of Stafford, with many  
 others. The number, however, of all these who went to battle was six  
 hundred. The number of the army of the Scots was thirty thousand,  
 not counting the army of the earl of March. The number of the slain is  
 10 reckoned to be three thousand.

It had long before been prophesied about this war in this way:

There was peace in the land [of England], but the Scottish war  
 will return.

A certain bailiff, not renowned in arms,  
 15 called by the voice of the bull, and given over to the bull,  
 will defeat wooden horses; the lion of his device lies hidden in  
 the midst of them.

He will board them, he will proceed to the Scottish horns.  
 20 The English will create a very wonderful circle of knighthood,  
 when people are striking blows with winged creatures.  
 For the Scots do not escape death at that happy place,

Scotos dum gentes terebrabunt archinentes [sic],  
et vidue flentes sponso querent morientes.<sup>b</sup>

20

Eodem anno statim post infelix bellum de Duplyne rex noster David de Broys, puer tunc novennis, non valens vindictam<sup>c</sup> expetere de inimicis, tum quia puer, regno Scocie sub gubernaculo domini Andree Murrave posito, in regnum Francie <de ordinacione alumpni sui domini Malcolmi Flemyng<sup>d</sup> custodis de Dunbretan cum Rankino More<sup>e</sup> et regina> secessit, et a rege eius et eiusdem Francigenis honorabiliter susceptus, in dicto regno per octo annos et ultra moram trahens, in regnum Scocie anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xli et etatis sue xviii<sup>o</sup> una cum regina sponsa sua Johanna de Turribus prospere est regressus. Eodem anno statim post bellum de Dupplyne Jacobus Ben<sup>g</sup> episcopus Sanctiandr<sup>h</sup> transmarinas partes adiit.<sup>i</sup> De quo require supra de episcopis Sanctiandr<sup>h</sup>. Eodem eciam anno nonas octobris capta est villa de Perth per Jacobum et Simonem Fraisere <et Robertum Keth.> In qua captus est Duncanus comes de Fiffe custos eiusdem ville ex parte Eadwardi de Balliolo, una cum uxore et filia eiusdem comitis et multis aliis sibi propinquis. Inter quos captus est Andreas de Tulibard, et tamquam proditor convictus contra regem suum David, et mortem proinde debitam subiit proditori. <Hic palum fixit in [vado]<sup>k</sup> de Erne, quod dicitur [Dern-]ford,<sup>k</sup> cuius indicio Eadwardus de Balliolo deceptit.><sup>l</sup> Prostraverunt et dicti Jacobus et Simon muros de Perth usque ad solum. Eodem anno xvii kal. januarii Johannes | Ranulphi comes Moravie, Archibaldus de Douglas frater incliti Jacobi a paganis, ut predicitur, occisi et Simon Frasere cum mille hominum electorum in villa de Moffet congregati sunt, de qua exploratores miserunt ad considerandum statum dicti Eadwardi <de Balliolo> in villa tunc de Anand perhendinantis. Quique eciam supra infra paucos dies in villa de Irwyne | ad pacem suam multos nobiles assumpsit. Inter quos eciam dominum Alexandrum de Broys comitem de Carrik et dominum Galwidie sibi flexit. Nocte etenim venerunt predicti <Archibaldus et> comes Moravie cum suis, eodem anno<sup>n</sup> missi a custode ad villam de Anand,<sup>o</sup> ubi, habito militari congressu repente et subito cum Eadwardo de Balliolo, idem Eadwardus in fugam est conversus<sup>p</sup> fugatus super simplicem equum, carentem freno et sella, una tibia caligatus alteraque nudatus. In hoc

G ii,308

fo.282v.

<sup>b</sup> +c' ut in propheta de Briatillynton CA

<sup>c</sup> ulcionem CA

<sup>d</sup> +capitanei et CA

<sup>e</sup> +coalumpno CA

<sup>f</sup> ab eiusdem rege Francie Philippo for a ...

Francigenis CA

<sup>g</sup> Benedicti CA; Beyn P

<sup>h</sup> +ob metu Eadwardi de Balliolo

CA; +postquam del.C

<sup>i</sup> +et Brugis obiit CA

<sup>j</sup> +statim post bellum de Duplyn CA

<sup>k</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>l</sup> Hic ... deceptit om.R

<sup>m</sup> +Eodem anno del.C

<sup>n</sup> eodem anno interlin.C

<sup>o</sup> de Anand interlin.C

<sup>p</sup> +et CA

while the archers will pierce the Scots,  
and weeping widows will hunt for their dying husbands.

- 25 In the same year, immediately after the unfortunate battle of Dupplin, our king David de Bruce, then a nine-year old boy, who was not strong enough to take revenge on his enemies, being only a child, retired to the kingdom of France with Rankin More and the queen under the supervision of his foster-father Sir Malcolm Fleming the keeper of Dumbarton, after the kingdom of Scotland had been put under Sir Andrew Moray as governor; and he was honourably received by the king and people of France. After staying in the said kingdom for eight years and more, he returned to Scotland in favourable circumstances together with the queen his wife, Joan of the Tower, in 1341 when he was eighteen years of age. [1334: May]
- 30 In the same year immediately after the battle of Dupplin James Ben bishop of St Andrews went overseas [and died at Bruges]. For him see above regarding the bishops of St Andrews. 1332 [22 Sept.]
- 35 Also in the same year on 7 October the town of Perth was taken by James and Simon Fraser and Robert Keith. Duncan earl of Fife, the keeper of this town for Edward de Balliol, was taken prisoner there, together with the wife and daughter of the same earl, and many others that were near to him. Among these Andrew de Tullibardine was captured, and after conviction as a traitor against David his king, he underwent the death which a traitor deserves. This man had erected a pole at the ford in the [river] Earn, which is called Dernford, which was the sign which helped Edward de Balliol to deceive [our side]. The said James and Simon levelled the walls of Perth to the ground. 7 Oct.
- 40 In the same year on 16 December John Randolph earl of Moray, Archibald de Douglas the brother of the famous James who was killed by the heathen (as has been said above), and Simon Fraser assembled at the town of Moffat with one thousand picked men. They sent out scouts from there to study the situation of the said Edward de Balliol, who was staying in the town of Annan. Edward also had welcomed many nobles to his side at the town of Irvine a few days earlier. Among these he persuaded Alexander de Bruce earl of Carrick and lord of Galloway to join him. But during the night the said Archibald and earl of Moray with their men, who had been sent by the guardian in the same year, came to the town of Annan; after they had unexpectedly and suddenly had a military encounter with Edward de Balliol, the same Edward turned to flee; he fled on a simple horse without reins or saddle, and with one leg in a boot and the other one bare. In this encounter Sir Henry de Balliol conducted himself bravely; he chased many of our men away with a long staff, knocked them to the ground, and wounded them mortally. In the end, when a battle developed on 16 December, he died along with the knights John de Mowbray, Walter Comyn and Richard Kirkby and many other [17 Dec.]

congressu viriliter se habuit dominus Henricus de Balliolo, qui cum 55  
grandi pertica multos a se<sup>q</sup> de nostris pepulit,<sup>r</sup> ad terram projecit, et  
letaliter vulneravit. Tandem ingruente pugna, ipse<sup>s</sup> cum Johanne de  
Mowbrey, et<sup>r</sup> Waltero Comyne <[et Ricardus Ky-]rkbi<sup>u</sup> mi-[litibus  
xvii]<sup>v</sup> kal. januarii> cum multis aliis validis viris occubuit. In quo  
conflictu captus fuit comes de Carrik per comitem Moravie, et a 60  
morte liberatus.

q a se interlin.C  
r + multos CA  
s + Henricus CA

t del.C  
u D; lac.C  
v xvii kal. januarii om.CA

## 25

*De falsitate regis Eadwardi de Wyndesor et<sup>a</sup> natura  
Anglicorum*

Audiens Eadwardus de Wyndesor rex Anglie infortunium Eadwardi  
de Balliolo, qui ad eum pro succursu accesserat, immemor satis sue  
proprie salutis,<sup>b</sup> juramenti prevaricator, fidei proprie violator,  
sponsionis perpetue pacis sigillis et literis roborate nelector, succur- 5  
sum celerem promisit; et undique exercitum maximum contra  
sororium suum regem David et suos liegios, ruptis vinculis pacis et<sup>c</sup>  
confederacionis, cum omnipotencia Wallie, Vasconie et Anglie,  
adjunctis sibi Scotis Eadwardo de Balliolo faventibus, qui plures  
erant, congregavit. Mirum igitur maximum Scotis sepius exoritur, 10  
quod illa gens Anglica, pollens tamquam angelica quando velit, scit  
<secum> pacem componere, amiciciam simulare, injurias dissimu-  
lare, fraudem continuare., hoc est quamdiu sperant se non posse  
resistere Scotorum voluntati. Quando autem virga direccionis, virga<sup>d</sup>  
regni Scocie ad tempus castigantur, tunc optime norunt amicos<sup>e</sup> se 15  
pretendere in obsequio, quamquam hostes in animo; compositi sunt  
verbo ad extra, sed furentes odio ad infra. Sciunt enim retorquere a  
voluntate vultum, ab animo verbum, a mente linguam, ab intellectu  
loquelam. Scotos eciam plerumque, quos exterius plausibiliter  
collaudant, interius contradictoria derisione | defraudant. Foris eis 20  
applaudunt vultu virgineo, intus scorpionis pungunt aculeo; foris  
adulacionis mellicos compluunt imbres, sed intus desolacionis  
fabricant tempestates. Unde quidam:

G ii,309

a + obsessionis ville de Berwyk del.C  
b + utpote CA  
c prisee for pacis et CA

d + forcium CA  
e -s interlin.C

sturdy men. In this battle the earl of Carrick was taken prisoner by the  
earl of Moray, and saved from death.

## 25

*The double-dealing of King Edward and the character of the  
English*

When Edward de Windsor king of England heard of the misfortune  
of Edward de Balliol who had approached him for help, entirely  
unconcerned with his own salvation, this breaker of oaths and  
violator of his own pledge disregarded the promise of eternal peace  
5 which had been confirmed by seals and letters, and promised speedy  
help. After breaking the bonds of peace and alliance, he assembled  
from all sides a very large army against his brother-in-law King David  
and his subjects, with the whole force of Wales, Gascony and England  
together with Scots who supported Edward de Balliol, of whom there  
10 were many. Thus very often it appears a great marvel to the Scots that  
this English nation, which is capable of quite angelic things when it is  
so inclined, knows how to arrange peace with them, pretend  
friendship, conceal wrongs, and continue the deception, that is as  
long as they expect not to be able to resist the will of the Scots. Indeed  
15 when they are being chastised for a while by the rod of righteousness,  
the rod [of the brave men] of the kingdom of Scotland, then in yielding  
they know very well how to pretend that they are friends, although in  
their hearts they are enemies; they have been reconciled with words on  
the outside, but they are raging with hatred on the inside. They know  
20 how to twist their faces away from their intentions, their words from  
their feelings, their language from their minds, and their discourse  
from their meaning. And often they mislead the Scots, whom on the  
outside they praise in a pleasing way, with contrasting scorn on the  
inside. In public they commend them with innocent faces, inside they  
25 jab with a scorpion's sting; in public they send down sweet showers of  
flattery, but inside they are devising storms of desolation. Hence the  
saying:



Anglicus angelus est quem nemo credere potest;  
cum tibi dicit 'Ave', tamquam ab hoste cave.

<Ut si velis anguillam aut murenulam strictis tenere manibus, quanto  
forcius presseris tanto cicius elabitur, quia sic est de Anglis,  
quemadmodum de anguillis.> Et quid mirum si pre omnibus aliis  
gentibus intenti sint prodicionibus,<sup>f</sup> ut patet supra libro iii<sup>o</sup> capitulo  
lvii et sequenti, cum etiam ipsorum reges fidem numquam Scotis  
servare curaverunt? Igitur, pre omni alia gente que sub celo est,  
prodicionibus magis insistunt. Fidem datam<sup>h</sup> nemini servant. Fidei,  
scripture et sacramenti religionem, quam<sup>i</sup> sibi observare<sup>j</sup> velint, aliis  
prestitam<sup>k</sup> cotidie violare nec verecundantur nec verentur. Unde et tu,  
Scote, cum cautelas omnes adhibueris, cum securitati et indemnitati  
tue,<sup>l</sup> tam sacramentis et obsidibus quam<sup>m</sup> amiciciis firmiter junctis, et  
beneficiis multimode collatis, modis<sup>n</sup> omnibus invigilaveris, tunc  
primo tuendum est tibi, quia tunc precipue ipsorum vigilat malicia,<sup>o</sup>  
cum ex securitatis habundancia te tibi presenserint non evigilare.  
Tunc demum ad artem nequicie sue, ad consueta<sup>p</sup> fallacie tela  
recurrunt, ut tunc, sumpta securitatis occasione, ledere valeant vel  
improvisum. Est igitur longe forcius timenda eorum ars, quam Mars;  
eorum virus, quam vires; eorum pax, quam fax; eorum mel, quam fel;  
malicia, quam milicia; prodicio, quam expedicio; amicicia defucata,  
quam inimicicia despicata.<sup>q</sup> Unde hec illorum vera potest esse  
sententia:

Dolus an virtus, quisquis in hoste<sup>r</sup> requirat?  
Hii mores nec bello fortes, nec in pace fideles.

<Anglorum gentes perfidi sunt membra Neronis,  
multos fallentes veluti nati Pharaonis,  
justos ledentes, sed non per vim rationis.  
Ergo languentes capientur in ore draconis.>

<sup>f</sup> Similiter per omnia de Anglicis quo ad  
hoc *for* quia ... Anglis *CA*  
<sup>g</sup> + et fallaciis *CA*  
<sup>h</sup> + nisi pro ipsorum lucro *CA*  
<sup>i</sup> iuramenti promissum quod *for*  
sacramenti religionem quam *CA*  
<sup>j</sup> servari *CA*  
<sup>k</sup> prestitum *CA*

<sup>l</sup> tuis *CA*  
<sup>m</sup> + pretensi *CA*  
<sup>n</sup> + que *CA*  
<sup>o</sup> Ipsorum nempe maliciosus crescit dolus  
*for* Quia ... malicia *CA*  
<sup>p</sup> corrected from inconsueta *C*  
<sup>q</sup> amicicia ... despicata *om. CA*  
<sup>r</sup> ore *CA*

An Englishman is an angel whom no one can believe;  
when he greets you, beware of him as of an enemy.

30 Just as if you want to hold an eel or a small murena close in your  
hands, the stronger you press, the more quickly it slips away, so is it  
with the English as it is with eels.

And is it surprising if more than all other peoples they are intent on  
treachery (as is clear in Book III above at Chapter [58] and the  
35 following Chapter), when indeed their kings have never been  
interested in keeping faith with the Scots? Therefore more than all  
other peoples under Heaven they are more involved in treachery. To  
nobody do they keep a promise they have made. A solemn bond  
secured by an oath on the Bible or the Sacrament, which they wish  
40 [men] to observe regarding themselves, they are neither ashamed nor  
afraid to violate that oath daily when it is given by them to by others.  
Hence even you, the Scottish people, though you exercise every  
precaution, though you are watchful in every way for your security  
and indemnity (as much for those firmly based on oaths and hostages  
45 as for those based on friendships) and for benefits granted in many  
ways, in these circumstances you must first of all defend your  
interests, because their malice is on the alert especially when they feel  
that in the light of your abundant security you are not on your guard.  
Then at last they return to their artful wickedness, and have recourse  
50 to their usual weapons of deceit, so that by taking the opportunity  
given by security they are able to cause harm quite unexpectedly.  
Therefore their cunning is much more to be feared than their warlike  
spirit, their poison more than their strength, their peace more than  
their firebrand, their sweetness more than their bile, their wickedness  
55 more than their fighting force, their treachery more than their  
campaign, and their counterfeit friendship more than their contempt-  
ible enmity. Therefore this judgment of them could be true:

Deceit or virtue, whoever would look for [these] in an enemy?  
These characteristics are neither to the forefront in war, nor  
adhered to in peace.

The treacherous people of the English are limbs of Nero,  
deceiving many like the sons of Pharaoh,  
harming the just, but not by force of reason.  
Thus they will be caught when powerless in the mouth of the  
65 dragon.



*De obsidione Berwici et bello de Halidona*

fo.283

G ii,310

Anno igitur domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxxiii timentes Scoti falsitatem regis Anglie commiserunt custodiam castri Berwici domino Patricio comiti Marchie, et eiusdem ville custodiam domino Alexandro Seton eiusdem. Quo in tempore custos Scocie dominus Andreas de Moravia manu forti | villam peciit de Roxburgh, ubi audivit esse Eadwardum de Balliolo cum suis adventum regis Anglie<sup>a</sup> prestola-[ntem].<sup>b</sup> Quem Eadwardum cum suis impeciit dictus custos,<sup>c</sup> et Anglici viriliter ad pontem de Roxburgh sibi resisterunt.<sup>d</sup> Ubi unus<sup>e</sup> ex parte custodis, Radulphus Goldin nomine, periculo constitutus,<sup>f</sup> et ad terram ab Anglis prostratus, custos e vestigio pre aliis pontem petens eundem est secutus, quem tamen de suis nullus alius<sup>g</sup> assecutus est. Ubi post diram pugnam<sup>h</sup> manibus | Anglorum custos est conclusus, et a suis penitus avulsus,<sup>i</sup> nulli se dedit pro tunc, ut moris est captivorum, donec presentatus regi Anglorum ad obsessionem castri de Berwik properanti, sese subiecit sue dedicioni. Quo eciam in tempore apud Louchmaban capta est ab Anglis quasi flos milicie tocius Vallis Anandie. Inter quos captus est nobilis Willelmus de Douglas de Lidallsdal miles, qui cum apud<sup>k</sup> eos captivus steterat per duos annos, non sine magna difficultate liberatus est. Obsidionem itaque firmavit rex Anglie apud Berwicum pridie idus aprilis, et ipsam hostiliter continuavit usque ad xiiii kal. augusti <id est festum Magd[alene].><sup>l</sup> Quo die commissum fuit lacrimabile bellum de Halidown, ubi juxta interpretationem nominis loci Scoti sunt devicti et fere penitus deleti, maxime qui partem regis David fovebant vel tenere diligebant. Sed adhuc juxta vaticinium<sup>m</sup> restat aliud bellum fiendum ibidem, quando non solum nomen mutabis sed omen. Unde:

In sacro monte pugnans gens Scocia sponte,  
ursina fronte cadent Angli, nam<sup>n</sup> sine sonte.

Dira etenim extitit ville obsessio, tam per mare quam per terram, ubi tamen illi de intus viriliter se defendunt, comburentes et dimergentes

a interlin.C  
b D; lac.C  
c +sed CA  
d corrected from restoterunt C  
e +armiger CA  
f suppositus CA  
g corrected from allius C

h +ubi post diram pugnam del.C  
i divulsus CA  
j +est CA  
k +apud st del.C  
l D; lac.C; om.CA  
m ut creditur for juxta vaticinium CA  
n non CA

*The siege of Berwick and the battle of Halidon*

Therefore in 1333 the Scots, fearing the deceitfulness of the king of England, entrusted the keepership of Berwick castle to Sir Patrick earl of March, and the keepership of the same town to Sir Alexander Seton of that Ilk. At that time the guardian of Scotland, Sir Andrew de Moray, went with a strong force to the town of Roxburgh, where he heard that Edward de Balliol with his men was awaiting the arrival of the king of England. The said guardian attacked this Edward with his men, and the English fought back bravely at the bridge of Roxburgh. There one [man-at-arms] on the guardian's side, who was called Radulph Golding, was placed in danger and thrown to the ground by the English. The guardian instantly went in front of the others to the bridge and followed him; but no one else of his men came after him. After a terrible fight there, the guardian was hemmed in by bands of English troops and completely separated from his own men; he surrendered to nobody [in particular] at that stage as is the custom with prisoners, until on being brought before the king of the English (who was hurrying to the siege of Berwick) he submitted to giving himself up. Also at this time nearly the whole flower of the knighthood of Annandale was captured by the English at Lochmaben. Among these was taken prisoner the noble knight William Douglas of Liddesdale, who, after he had remained a captive among the English for two years, was freed, though with great difficulty. Thus the king of England strengthened the siege at Berwick on 12 April, and continued hostilities until 19 July, that is the feast of St Magdalene. On this day the lamentable battle of Halidon was joined, in which in accordance with the meaning of the name of that place the Scots were defeated and almost wholly destroyed, especially those who supported the side of King David and loved him dearly. But according to prophecy there is yet another battle to be fought in the same place, when you will change not only the name but also the expected outcome. Thus:

When the Scottish people is fighting on the Holy Hill of its own free will,  
the English will fall at Berwick, [not] without guilt.

35 Meanwhile the terrible siege of the town continued by sea as well as land, during which those inside defended themselves bravely and burned and sank a large part of the English fleet. There, while he was

magnam partem classis Anglicane. Ubi viriliter preliando, patre spectante de muris,<sup>o</sup> Willelmus Seton<sup>p</sup> infra naves est submersus. Timuerunt nichilominus valde oppidani ferocitatem regis Eadwardi. Et sic secum tractaverunt quod si infra certum tempus succursum a Scotis non acciperent, regi Anglie oppidum deliberarent. Pro cuius securitate capitaneus ville dominus Alexander Seton premissus Thomam filium suum et heredem regi Anglie obsidem dedit. Interea vero Archibaldus de Douglas qui Tyneman dictus est statim post capcionem domini Andree de Moravia custodis gardianus effectus est. Qui quoniam alticordis et bellicosus extiterat, statim omnem multitudinem Scotorum partem regis David favencium collegit, et bellatorum sexaginta milia recensiti sunt. Cum quibus, ut consilio decretum fuit, terram Anglorum proposuit invadere, et omnia visu delectabilia ferro et flamma pertransire, ut vel sic obsidionem a villa valeret interrompere. Quod utique, ut postea compertum fuit, fecisset, si propositum observasset.<sup>q</sup> Procedentes nichilominus Scoti, aureis intersigniis elevatis, et oppansis vexillis coruscantibus, armisque militaribus soli reverberantibus, in Sanyngside Berwicibus se bellice monstraverunt. Ad quorum contuitum oppidani letati, et obsidentes consternati; ceptum iter placide Scoti sunt arrepti.

o corrected from muribus C  
p + preliando del.C

q tenuisset CA

## 27

*Adhuc de eodem et de reddicione Berwici regi Anglie*

Quod videntes Berwiciani timuerunt, et nuncios eis clanculo miserunt, adhortantes ut reverterent, et cum rege Anglorum viriliter decertarent. Judicaverunt enim eos Anglis<sup>a</sup> esse preminenciores et multo validiores ad conflictum. Qui, eorum stultis devicti consultationibus, habenas retorserunt, et in parco de Dwns hac nocte castrametati | sunt. Quod comperiens rex Anglie, ante tamen diem contractus diliberacionis oppidi, ad portas accessit, introitumque ac diliberacionem ville peciit. Sed quia hoc sibi denegatum fuit, patibulum ante fores erexit, et Thomam de Seton in presencia utriusque parentis suspendio interemit. In crastino vero Scoti, id est in festo Sancte Margarete Virginis, pompatic<sup>b</sup> ad bellum dispositi

a corrected from Anglos C

b arroganter CA

G ii,311

fighting courageously, William Seton was drowned underneath the ships while his father was looking on from the walls. Nevertheless the townspeople very much feared the ferocity of King Edward. And so they decided among themselves that if they did not receive any support from the Scots within a certain time, they would surrender the town to the king of England. As a security for this, the captain of the town (the aforesaid Sir Alexander Seton) gave his son and heir Thomas as a hostage to the king of England.

Meanwhile however, immediately after the guardian Sir Andrew de Moray had been captured, Archibald de Douglas who was called Tyneman was made guardian of Scotland. Since this man had a brave heart and a warlike nature, he at once gathered together the whole multitude of Scots who supported the side of King David, and sixty thousand warriors were counted. With these, as was decided in council, he proposed to invade the land of the English and to traverse everything which was pleasant to the eye with fire and sword, so that in this way he might perhaps succeed in interrupting the siege of the town. And as was found later, he would undoubtedly have succeeded in this if he had kept to what had been planned. Nevertheless the Scots went forward with their golden standards held high, their fully expanded banners flowing, and their military arms reflecting the sun, and at Sunnyside presented themselves in warlike fashion to the people of Berwick. On seeing them the people of the town became happy, and the besiegers were dismayed; calmly the Scots continued on their route as planned.

[12 July]

## 27

*The same, and the surrender of Berwick to the king of England*

When they saw this, the people of Berwick were afraid and secretly sent messengers to them, urging them to turn back and fight courageously with the king of the English. For they judged that they were superior to the English and much stronger in battle. Overcome by the stupid reasoning of these people, the Scottish force turned back and pitched camp for the night in the park of Duns. When the king of England heard this, he went up to the gates, and although it was before the day of the contract for handing over the town, demanded access and the surrender of the town. But as this was refused him, he erected a gallows outside the gates and executed Thomas de Seton by hanging in the sight of both his parents. On the next day, that is on the feast of St Margaret the Virgin, the Scots advanced ostentatiously arrayed for battle, and unwisely chose to fight at Halidon. For between the two armies there was then a morass in a little valley, and

1333:

[18 July]

[19 July]

processerunt, et apud Halidona inconsulte campum elegerunt. Nam tunc inter utrumque exercitum extitit quoddam valliculosum mare-sium, et magnus patuit Scotis prius descensus et abruptus dehinc<sup>c</sup> ascensus, antequam ad campum pervenirent. Ubi Anglici, satis caute 15 diversis turmis et avantagiis preconceptis, de facile poterat unus tres Scotos debellare. | Et quamvis in vanum laboraverunt, viriliter tamen invaserunt. Ubi quidem agmen, cui Hugo comes Rossensis preerat, in catervam illam quam Eadwardus de Balliolo ducebat, a latere viriliter irrui; sed illam districte irrudentem nequaquam potuit disgregare. Nec 20 mora currunt undique hinc inde caterve, et sese mutuo confligentes immani pugna lassescunt.<sup>d</sup> Sed Scoti, ob ascensum anhelitu sequestrati, post maximam<sup>e</sup> stragem retrocedere sunt coacti. Fit itaque miseranda cedes, miranda fuga, et Scotorum capcio inenarranda. In crastino vero iussit rex Anglie omnes captivos examinari; multi 25 tamen, tam nobilium quam aliorum, inoccisi reservantur. Nomina nobilium<sup>f</sup> occisorum ex parte regis David sunt hec: tres incliti fratres Jacobus videlicet Johannes et Alanus Stewart filii nobilis Walteri Stewart et fratres Roberti postea Scotorum regis, Archibaldus de Douglas tunc custos Scocie, Hugo comes Rossie, Kennath comes 30 Suthirlandie, Alexander de Brois comes de Carrik, Andreas, Simon et Jacobus Frasere fratres, et alii nobiles quamplures, quorum nomina per singulos recitare magis lacrimabile quam expediens est. Numerus in hoc bello occisorum decem milia et ultra. Et statim post commissum bellum, extincta omni spe salutis et subsidii, salvis 35 habitantibus in ea bonis universis vita membris et possessionibus, comes Marchiarum et dominus Alexander Seton castrum et villam de Berwik regi Anglie reddiderunt, et sibi fidelitatem juraverunt. Qui quidem comes, compulsus per regem Anglie, castrum de Dunbar prius dirutum magnis reedificavit propriis expensis. Abhinc infra 40 paucos dies Anglici cum Eadwardo de Balliolo universum regnum, dispositis hinc inde custodibus castrorum, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, et officiariis, in manibus suis resasiaverunt, exceptis dumtaxat <sup>iiii</sup><sup>or</sup> castris cum uno fortalicio,<sup>h</sup> videlicet Dunbretan cuius custos fuit dominus Malcolmus Flemyng, Lochlevin cuius Alanus de Veteri- 45 ponte, Kildromy cuius<sup>i</sup> Christiana de Brois, Urquhart cuius dominus Thomas<sup>j</sup> de Lawedr qui vocatus est Bonus, custodes extitere, et fortalicii<sup>k</sup> de Loughdon, quod tunc Anglice vocabatur *pele*, custos erat valens vernaculus Johannes videlicet Thome.

<sup>c</sup> + fatigabilis CA  
<sup>d</sup> C; lassescunt D  
<sup>e</sup> indicibilem CA  
<sup>f</sup> deploranda CA  
<sup>g</sup> interlin.C

<sup>h</sup> corrected from fortalicio C  
<sup>i</sup> + domina CA  
<sup>j</sup> Robertus CA  
<sup>k</sup> corrected from fortalicii C

15 first the Scots faced a descent and then a steep ascent before they could reach the field of battle. There the English had weighed up quite carefully the relative forces and advantages of the two sides, [and concluded that] one of them could easily fight three Scots. And although the Scots struggled in vain, they nevertheless attacked with 20 courage. There a certain division led by Hugh earl of Ross bravely thrust from the side into the troop led by Edward de Balliol; but there was no way in which he could break it up as it was intent on pressing forward. With no delay the troops on both sides rushed to and fro; and joining in battle they wore themselves out in a tremendous fight. 25 But the Scots were out of breath because of the ascent, and after immense bloodshed were forced to retreat. And so there was pitiful slaughter, astonishing flight, and the capture of Scots on an indescribable scale.

On the next day, however, the king of England ordered all the [20 July] 30 captives to be examined, but many, both noblemen and others, were saved and not killed. The names of the nobles killed on King David's side are these: the three renowned brothers, namely James, John and Alan Stewart, the sons of the noble Walter Stewart and brothers of Robert who was later king of Scots; Archibald de Douglas then 35 guardian of Scotland; Hugh earl of Ross; Kenneth earl of Sutherland; Alexander de Bruce earl of Carrick; the brothers Andrew, Simon and James Fraser; and very many other nobles whose names it would be more lamentable than profitable to recite individually. The number of those killed in this battle was more than ten thousand. 40 And immediately after the battle had begun, seeing that all hope of safety and support had been extinguished, the earl of March and Sir Alexander Seton handed over the castle and town of Berwick to the king of England, saving for the inhabitants all their goods, lives, limbs and possessions, and swore loyalty to him. Under pressure from the 45 king of England the earl rebuilt the castle of Dunbar (which had earlier been demolished) at great expense to himself. After this the English with Edward de Balliol within a few days appointed keepers of castles, justiciars, sheriffs and officials on all sides, and resumed possession of the whole kingdom, excepting only four castles and one 50 fortress, that is Dumbarton whose keeper was Sir Malcolm Fleming, Loch Leven whose keeper was Alan de Vipont, Kildrummy whose keeper was Christian de Bruce, Urquhart whose keeper was Sir [Robert] de Lauder who was called 'the Good'; and the keeper of the fortress of Loch Doon (which was then called a 'peel' in English) was 55 a brave servant, namely John son of Thomas.

*De literis missis a domino papa et rege Francorum Philippo  
regi Anglie pro pace, et de discordia*

Anno domini m° ccc° xxxiiii° iiii° marcii nonas venerunt nuncii regis Francie apud Perth, missi ad tractandum de pace inter reges Anglie et Scocie, accedente ad hoc mandato summi pontificis Benedicti XII. cum suis literis patentibus utrique regi Anglie et Scocie directis. Quos rex Anglie non solum audire, sed nec videre dignatus est. Et post hec eciam iteratis aliis nunciis regi Anglie ex parte regis Francie Philippi et David<sup>a</sup> Scocie, pacem et concordiam<sup>b</sup> omnino recusavit. Eodem anno circa finem mensis augusti apud Perth mota est discordia inter Eadwardum de Balliolo, instantem pro domino Alexandro de Mowbrey, et dominos Henricum de Bellomonte, David comitem Adholie, et Ricardum Talbot, nitentes predictum Alexandrum ab hereditate repellere, et filias fratris sui veras heredes jure successionis sibi anteferre. Cuius rei cause facti discordes ab invicem recesserunt, Eadwardus versus Berwicum, Henricus de Bewmond versus Dundarg in Buchania, cuius castrum fortiter reparavit et toti Buchanie imperavit, comes Atholie versus Lochindorb singuli vias dirigentes; Richardus vero Talbot ad Angliam tendens et per Laudoniam iter faciens vi° idus septembris captus est ibidem. Ista attendens Eadwardus de Balliolo, et caucius volens agere, amovit a se dictum Alexandrum de Mowbrey. Et quia 'egressus unius operatur ingressum', ut dicitur, 'alterius',<sup>c</sup> ad<sup>d</sup> gratiam dictos Henricum de Bewmonth et comitem David reassumpsit, dicto comiti David feoffamentum faciens omnium terrarum senescalli Scocie. Dominus autem Alexander de Mowbre, timens partis adverse potenciam<sup>e</sup> simul et seviciam, domino Andree de Moravia,<sup>f</sup> qui paulo ante soluta redempcione liberatus fuit a carcere, totaliter | adhesit. Qui<sup>g</sup> simul conjuncti cum sua<sup>h</sup> potencia Henricum de Bellomonte in castro de Dundarg<sup>i</sup> per a-[li]-quod<sup>j</sup> tempus<sup>k</sup> obsederunt.<sup>l</sup> Sed Henricus de B[ellomonte] de succursu desperans, pensata eciam inopia victualium, et [con]-siderans<sup>l</sup> se non posse castrum defendere, salvis sibi vita et membris et bonis universis, concessio ins-[uper]<sup>l</sup> salvo et securo conductu transiundi in Angliam cum uxore, liberis et tota familia, x

a + regis CA  
b + rex Anglie CA  
c + ipse Eadwardus CA  
d + suam CA  
e + timens partis adverse del.C  
f + custodi regni ex parte regis David CA

g Nam dictus custos for Qui CA  
h + valida CA  
i D,CA; Dungard C  
j D; lac.C  
k + viriliter CA  
l -b- interlin.C

*Letters sent by the lord pope and Philip king of the French to  
the king of England for peace; and a dispute*

On 4 March 1334 envoys of the king of France who had been sent to negotiate about peace between the kings of England and Scotland came to Perth. At the same time an envoy from Pope Benedict XII arrived with his letters patent addressed to both kings of England and Scotland. The king of England did not condescend either to hear or even see them. And after that, when other envoys came again to the king of England on behalf of Philip king of France and David [king] of Scotland, he altogether rejected peace and agreement. In the same year around the end of August a dispute arose at Perth between Edward de Balliol, who was acting for Sir Alexander de Mowbray, and Sir Henry de Beaumont, Sir David earl of Atholl and Sir Richard Talbot, who were striving to exclude the aforesaid Alexander from his inheritance, and to give preference over him to the daughters of his brother as the true heirs according to the law of succession. Once they had become adversaries over this matter, they withdrew separately in turn – Edward to Berwick, Henry de Beaumont to Dundarg in Buchan, where he repaired its castle strongly and ruled over the whole of Buchan, the earl of Atholl to Lochindorb; but Richard Talbot proceeded towards England, and while making his way through Lothian was captured there on 8 September. When Edward de Balliol heard this, he wished to act more cautiously, and abandoned his support for the said Alexander de Mowbray. And because, as is said, 'the departure of one man makes room for another', he accepted the said Henry de Beaumont and Earl David back into favour, making over the whole of the lands of the Steward of Scotland into a fief for the said Earl David. Sir Alexander de Mowbray, however, fearing the power and cruelty of the opposite party, gave total support to Sir Andrew de Moray, who had been released from prison shortly before on paying a ransom. As soon as they were united, they besieged Henry de Beaumont for a time with their force in Dundarg castle. But Henry de Beaumont, with no hope of support, took note also of the shortage of supplies, and concluded that he could not defend the castle. He therefore handed over and surrendered the said castle to the aforesaid Andrew and Alexander on 23 December, saving his life and limbs and all his goods; in addition a safe and secure conduct was granted for him to move to England with his wife, children and all his household. He promised faithfully under obligation of an oath to work towards the restoration of peace. A few

[1335:]  
4 Mar.

1334: Aug.

8 Sept.

[ca July]

23 Dec.

kal. janua-[rii] predictis Andree et Alexandro castrum antedictum reddidit et liberavit, promittens fideliter sub debito jura-[menti]<sup>m</sup> / circa pacis reformationem<sup>n</sup> laborare. Non multis diebus post evolutis 35 apud Dundee navim cum suis ingressus, sine mora partes peciit Anglicanas. Interim vero peragratis per Eadwardum de Balliolo planis, et terris Scotorum quibus sibi placebat hinc inde collatis, tandem ad Renfrew villam regiam pervenit. Ubi regio more<sup>o</sup> convivis 40 suis terras et officia distribuit, et hominum a diversis liberetenentibus recepit. Ubi allate sunt sibi claves de | Rothsai et Dwnhwe. Ad has partes locumtenentem constituit Thomam de Wollor, et dominum Alan de Lile vicecomitem de Bwte et Cowale. Camerarium vero suum<sup>o</sup> constituit virum industrium, et super ceteros in regno 45 tamquam alter Chusy consilio pollentem, dominum Willelmum Bullok presbyterum. Cui eciam commisit custodiam castrorum Sancti Andree et de Cupro, atque aliorum diversorum fortalicionum.<sup>a</sup> Hoc enim in tempore juvenis Robertus Scocie Senescallus regis heres designatus, xv existens annorum, latescens pre timore inimicorum in 50 castro de Rothsaya, habens magnas consolaciones et crebras interlocuciones cum duobus fidis hominibus regis Scocie, Johanne videlicet Gilberti et Willelmo Heriot, in baronia tunc commorantibus. Qui sicut inter eos conventum fuit, quodam sero ipsum ab insula vexerunt, et ad portum de Inwerk quadam scafa transportaverunt. 55 Ubi quidem ascensis ad hoc equis preparatis, cum duobus servitoribus cartas de Stewartlandis secum deferentibus, et suo cubiculario adolescente, diluculo ad Wimercannoch prospere pervenerunt, a quo in batella trans ampnem advecti, castrum de Dunbretan petunt, et gratanter a domino Malcolmo Flemyng intromittuntur; ubi sine metu 60 ad tempus consistens<sup>r</sup> avidus expectat auras graciosas.

m juramento CA  
n conformationem CA  
o + festum faciens CA

p + constituit del.C  
q corrected from fortalicionum C  
r + auras del.C

*Quomodo dominus Johannes Strivelyn obsessit Loch'*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc xxxv<sup>to</sup> dominus Johannes de Strivelyne miles regis Anglie cum magna multitudine tam Anglicorum quam Anglica-  
torum,<sup>a</sup> inter quos erant Michael de Arnot, Michael et David de Wemys, Richard de Malavilla milites, cum aliis pluribus ad pacem

a + Scotorum CA

days later he went on board a ship with his party at Dundee, and 40 without delay headed for England.

In the meantime, however, Edward de Balliol traversed the lowlands, conferring the lands of Scots on all sides on whom he thought fit, and finally reached the royal town of Renfrew. There he distributed lands and offices to his companions in royal fashion and 45 accepted homage from various freeholders. There the keys of Rothesay and Dunoon were brought to him. He appointed Thomas de Wooler as lieutenant in these regions, and Sir Alan de Lyle as sheriff of Bute and Cowal. As his chamberlain, however, he appointed a hard-working man who like another Chusai was a more weighty counsellor than others in the kingdom, the priest sir William Bullock. 50 He also entrusted him with the keepership of the castles of St Andrews and Cupar, and of various other fortresses.

At this time the young Robert the Steward of Scotland, the heir designate of the king, was fifteen years old and hiding in Rothesay 55 castle for fear of his enemies. He took great comfort from frequent conversations with two men faithful to the king of Scotland, namely John son of Gilbert and William Heriot, who were then staying in this barony. One evening these men conveyed him from the island (as had been agreed among them), and transported him in a little boat to the 60 port of Inverkip. There they mounted horses which had been made ready for this, and together with two servants who carried with them the charters of the Steward lands and his young chamberlain they safely reached 'Wimercannoch' at daybreak; from there they were conveyed across the river by boat, and went to Dumbarton castle; 65 there they were graciously admitted by Sir Malcolm Fleming. He remained there for a time without fear while waiting for more favourable winds.

[1333:  
Sept.?)

[1333-4]

*How Sir John Strivelyn besieged Loch Leven*

In 1335 Sir John de Strivelyn, a knight of the king of England, with a great multitude of both English and Anglicised [Scots], among whom were the knights Michael de Arnot, Michael and David de Wemyss, and Richard de Melville, with many others who had accepted the 5 authority of the king of England, all assembled together in the middle of Lent of the aforesaid year to besiege the castle of Loch Leven. Then after traversing the shores of the loch and viewing the strength of the

[1334:  
6 Mar.?)



regis Anglie tunc conversis, qui omnes ad obsidendum castrum lacus 5  
de Levin in medio Quadragesime anni supradicti pariter confluebant.  
Peragratis tandem lacus finibus, castri videntes firmitatem, et quod  
leviter capi non poterat, locum sibi mansionis ceteris securiorem, in  
quo ipsum facilius expugnarent, apud Kinros elegerunt. In cuius  
sacrosancto cimiterio fortalitium<sup>b</sup> de Fale, divinum postponentes 10  
iudicium, per circumitum construebant. Et sic, proth nephas, a solo  
nomine Christianis Christi ecclesia contempnitur, et in speluncam  
latronum perperam commutatur. Etenim illo tempore predictum  
castrum inhabitabant Alanus de Veteriponte custos eiusdem, Jaco-  
bus Lambyn cives Sanctiandr', et multi alii Scoti fortes et robusti. 15  
Pars siquidem Anglicana cepti operis existens executrix,<sup>c</sup> circa castri  
eversionem cum machinamentis bellicis<sup>d</sup> cotidie laborabant. Castellani  
econtra satis circumspecti, seipsos et sua firmiter munire  
satagebant; Anglicis enim dolis et decipulis insistentibus, Scoti eorum  
flexuosas cautelas refellere contendebant. Angli etenim in recessu 20  
aque lacus de Levyn, apud sinum eius, meatum omnino obstruere  
nitebantur; propter quod<sup>e</sup> circumvicinos ex omni parte Scotos tam  
mares quam feminas angariaverunt de turbis et terrore firmissimum<sup>f</sup>  
murum componere, tam elevatum et altum, de glebis terreis<sup>g</sup>  
propterea compactum et condensatum, ut aqua, non habens solitum 25  
exitum, sese ingurgitaret, et murorum castri altitudinem infra  
spacium concresecens | transcenderet, et castellanos funditus submergeret.  
Sed non est consilium contra Dominum. Insulanorum enim |  
consiliator et protector beatus Servanus, contra invasionis et  
construccionis Anglicorum assultamenta, suis inspiravit defensionis 30  
et, ut ita dicam, destruccionis machinamenta. Interea appropinquante  
anniversaria solemnitate beate Margarite Scotorum regine,  
predictus Johannes de Strivelyne ipsam solemnitatem apud Dunfermelyne,  
ut moris est, per singulos annos celebratam, affectans visitare,  
quosdam de suis secum ire fecit; nonnullos vero propter 35  
castri obsessionem in fortalicio<sup>h</sup> et in circuitu laci residere et excubare<sup>i</sup>  
mandavit. Re vera tam victualium quam<sup>j</sup> ceterorum necessariorum  
penuriam sustinentes, castellani,<sup>k</sup> agnito dicti domini Johannis  
recessu, miserunt de noctu iiiior viros audaces<sup>l</sup> ad eorum necessitati  
subveniendum. Qui in quadam liburna ad obstructum aqueductus 40  
cum instrumentis ad hoc previsis exeuntes, murum a parte orientali a  
vigilibus impercepti laboriose transfodiunt,<sup>m</sup> tota quasi nocte laborantes,  
sed<sup>n</sup> tandem de proposito<sup>o</sup> desperantes, infecto negotio

G ii,314

fo.284v

<sup>b</sup> corrected from fortaliacium C  
<sup>c</sup> corrected from execucion C  
<sup>d</sup> + et obsidionalibus CA  
<sup>e</sup> interlin.C  
<sup>f</sup> -im- interlin.C  
<sup>g</sup> + ut diximus CA  
<sup>h</sup> corrected from fortaliacio C

<sup>i</sup> + fecit del.C  
<sup>j</sup> + focalium ac CA  
<sup>k</sup> -e- interlin.C  
<sup>l</sup> cordatos vernaculos for viros audaces CA  
<sup>m</sup> + perforantes et sic CA  
<sup>n</sup> et CA  
<sup>o</sup> + suo CA

castle, and [judging] that it could not be taken easily, they chose for  
themselves a place to stay near Kinross which was safer than the rest  
10 of the area, as a launching point for storming it more easily.  
Disregarding divine judgment they built the fortress of Fale along the  
boundaries of the consecrated cemetery there. In this way, shocking  
as it was, a church of Christ was despised by people that were  
Christians only in name, and wrongly converted into a den of robbers.  
15 But at that time there were living in the aforesaid castle Alan de  
Vipont its keeper, James Lamby a citizen of St Andrews, and many  
other brave and hardy Scots. The English side, however, stayed on to  
carry through the work that had been begun, and toiled daily with  
engines of war with the aim of overthrowing the castle. The garrison  
20 on the other hand had enough foresight to be busy safeguarding  
themselves and their belongings securely; for while the English were  
pressing on with tricks and traps, the Scots fought to repel their  
crooked stratagems. At the outlet for the water of Loch Leven,  
indeed, where there was a hollow, the English laboured to obstruct  
25 the channel completely; with this in mind they forced the Scots from  
everywhere in the neighbourhood, both male and female, to construct  
a very strong wall out of turf and peat, so high and deep, and so firm  
and impacted with lumps of earth for the purpose, that the water, no  
longer having its accustomed outlet, would build up, and rising in  
30 time to the height of the castle walls would flow over them and drown  
the garrison without exception. But no plan can prevail against the  
Lord. For the adviser and protector of the islanders, the blessed Serf,  
when faced with the assaults of this invasion and construction by the  
English, inspired his own with stratagems of defence and, so to speak,  
35 of destruction.

Meanwhile the annual celebration of the blessed Margaret queen of  
Scots was drawing near, and the aforesaid John de Strivelyn, desiring [June]  
to attend this celebration which is customarily held every year at  
Dunfermline, made some of his people go with him; but he ordered  
40 many to stay and keep watch in the fortress and around the loch  
because of the siege of the castle. When the garrison, who were  
certainly suffering from scarcity of both food and other necessities,  
observed the departure of the said Sir John, they sent out four bold  
men at night to relieve their needy situation. These went out in a fast  
45 boat to where the waterway was blocked, with tools provided for the  
purpose, and, unnoticed by the guards, laboriously dug through the  
wall from the eastern side. They worked nearly all night, but at length  
they despaired of their plan and decided to withdraw without having  
finished their project. But then it was suggested by one of them that  
50 they should stay at work for a little longer, and in the faith which he  
cherished towards St Serf, help was promised. When therefore they  
worked [again] on what they had begun, a little water, if only in drops,  
began to seep through. When they saw this, the clandestine diggers

retrocedere diffinierunt; donec ab uno eorum suggestum est ut ad  
modicum operi insisterent, et in fide quam erga Sanctum Servanum 45  
gessit, subsidium promissum est. Ceptis igitur operam dantes, inceptit  
aliquantulum, guttatim tamen,<sup>p</sup> aqua desudare. Quod furtiferi  
effossos percipientes, omni festinancia liburna ascensa, ac in  
castrum receperunt,<sup>q</sup> letissimum nuncium sociis retulerunt, subita  
propterea audacia repletis.<sup>r</sup> Aqua enim meatum suum magis ac magis 50  
dilatans, infra duarum horarum spacium cum impetu est egressa, que  
per mensem et ultra collecta erat in habundancia. Que casas et  
tentoria, tugurria et tabernacula Anglorum, et eos<sup>s</sup> juxta riparia  
hospitatos, cum<sup>t</sup> eorum equis et harnesiis transvexit, et<sup>u</sup> usque ad  
mare perduxit. Et sic<sup>v</sup> sunt submersi in aquis vehementibus. Fluminis 55  
quarum impetus letificavit insulanos. Tanta siquidem facta fuit  
alluviei inundacio, ut et magnos pagos dolaret, ripas dilataret et  
prosterneret, sicut adhuc vestigia declarare poterunt<sup>w</sup> curiosius  
intuenti. Dehinc alto die, suis preordinatis et<sup>x</sup> secum assumptis  
instrumentis bellicis, ad fortalicium<sup>y</sup> inanimis transfretabant. 60

*p* + sed et perceptibiliter per murum CA

*q* ad castrum fugierunt for liburna ...  
repperunt CA

*r* referentes ad arma se contulerunt repleti  
propterea inenarrabili audacia quod opus  
desideratum apud eos prosperatum est for  
retulerunt ... repletis CA

*s* et eos interlin.C

*t* + ipsis et equo del.C

*u* + nonnullos del.C

*v* interlin.C

*w* demonstrant for declarare poterunt CA

*x* + suis del.C

*y* corrected from fortalicium C

## 30

*Adhuc de eodem et de promociione David comitis de Atholia*

Quod cernentes fortalicii<sup>a</sup> custodes nimium stupefacti celeriter in  
obviam eis exierunt. Inito itaque conflictu multi ex utraque parte a  
sagittariis vulnerantur. Et magna quamvis difficultate dare terga  
demum Anglici sunt coacti. Quibus fugatis fortalicium<sup>b</sup> Scoti hilares  
intran, predas diripiunt, victualia et spolia detrahunt, ex quicquid 5  
visu pulcrum intus erat secum asportant. Et sic lete potita<sup>c</sup> victoria  
castrum suum repetebant. Ceterum predicto domino Johanne per  
quorundam suorum relacionem fugiencium de predicti | conflictus  
eventu plenius certificato, sub celeritate redit ad castrum<sup>d</sup> se  
jurejurando astringens, nullatenus a dicti obsessione castri disces- 10  
surum donec ipsum penitus deleteret,<sup>e</sup> et inhabitatores eius mortis

*a* corrected from fortalicii C

*b* corrected from fortalicium C

*c* Scoti jocundati potiti for lete potita CA

*d* obsidionem CA

*e* obtineret CA

climbed into the boat in all haste, returned to the castle, and brought  
55 the very happy news to their companions, who were on this account  
filled with unexpected courage. For the water widened its channel  
more and more, and within the space of two hours flowed out with  
great force after building up in abundance for a month and more. It  
carried away the houses, tents, huts and shelters of the English, and  
60 the men lodging on the banks of the river with their horses and  
equipment, and conveyed them to the sea. And thus they were  
drowned in the violent waters. The force of their flow delighted the  
men on the island. There was indeed so great an inundation of flood-  
land that it cut its way through large areas while widening and  
65 destroying the river banks, so that they can still show traces to anyone  
who looks closely. Afterwards as the day advanced, when their men  
had been arrayed and had taken up their weapons of war, the  
disheartened [English] crossed over to the fortress.

## 30

*The same topic, and the advancement of David earl of Atholl*

When they saw this, the guards of the fortress were greatly stunned,  
and went quickly out to meet them. Thus when the fight began, many  
on both sides were wounded by archers. And at last with great  
difficulty the English were forced to flee. After they had been put to  
5 flight, the Scots happily entered the fortress, seized booty, took away  
provisions and spoils, and carried off with them everything inside of  
choice appearance. And so after securing victory they returned to  
their castle in good spirits. But when the aforesaid Sir John had been  
more fully informed about the outcome of the said battle by a report  
10 from some of his men as they fled, he speedily returned to the castle  
and bound himself by oath never to withdraw from the said besieged  
castle until he had demolished it completely, and destroyed and  
punished its inhabitants by sentence of death. But the providence of  
God, which sets all things in order and bestows all kinds of largess on  
15 those faithful to him, looked with an eye of pity upon the Scottish

sentencia perderet et puniret. Sed Dei providencia, que omnia disponit<sup>f</sup> et suis fidelibus cuncta dispensative largitur, oculo misericordie gentem Scoticanam respexit, et eam a dire servitutis jugo Anglicano quo miserabiliter tenebantur oppressi paululum relaxabat, eorum potenciam ampliandam et confortans, Anglicorum protervam ferocitatem et fortitudinem minuens donec a regno Scocie omnino redderet alienos. Cernensque ex hoc predictus dominus Johannes de Strivelin quod sibi et suis ibidem diucius commorari profectus non esset sed defectus, timensque suo corpori dispendium imminere, inter ipsum et insulanos tractatu qualicumque de pace et amicitia similata,<sup>g</sup> cum dedecore ad propria et nota presidia non tamen sine labe perjurii repedavit. Eodem anno classis Anglicana venit in aquam de Forth primo die julii, ubi optima eius navis et major, quam ammioldus regebat, apud scopulos qui *le Wolffis* vulgariter nuncupantur effracta est. Eo tunc rex Anglie cum Eadwardo<sup>h</sup> | de Balliolo cum magno exercitu pervenerunt usque ad Glasgw, et celebrato consilio David comitem de Atholia locumtenentem Scocie statuerunt, et incontinenti Angliam pecierunt. Qui quidem David, vocatis omnibus liberetenentibus de Stewartlandis, tamquam eorum superior dominus fidelitatem et homagium ab eis suscepit. Dehinc secessit magna comitatus caterva ad partes transalpinas, ubi omnia et singula terras et dominia de le Comynis in manibus saisivit. Propter cuius potenciam nullus ibi inventus est qui sibi contradiceret, nec in illis partibus fuit tunc temporis qui se<sup>i</sup> hominem regis David auderet profiteri exceptis pueris innocentibus, a quibus cum quesitum fuerat cuius homines fuissent, responderunt libere:<sup>j</sup> 'Homines regis David sumus, et nullius alterius ipso vivente erimus.'<sup>k</sup> Que fuit prenoscitacio libertatis future.

fo.285

<sup>f</sup> + suaviter del.C  
<sup>g</sup> inter ipsum ... similata om.D  
<sup>h</sup> first -d- interlin.C

<sup>i</sup> + libere CA  
<sup>j</sup> hilariter CA  
<sup>k</sup> om.CA

## 31

*De Roberto Stewart*

Eodem tempore Roberto Stewart in Dunbretan perhendingante, moleste satis tulit quod comes Atholie David patrimonia et homines suos sic vendicavit. Qui misit pro quodam barone domino de Lauchqwhaw in Ergadia, in quem pre ceteris confidebat, Dugallo Cambell nomine, qui ad eum cum suis letanter pervenit, et infra paucos dies coadunaverunt amicos numero quadringentos. Qui statim cum suis machinamentis galeis ascensis processerunt in Cowal ad castrum de Dwnhone, quod viriliter et inopinate assiliaverunt, et

people, and for a little while relieved it from the English yoke of dreadful servitude by which they were wretchedly held in oppression; it increased the Scots' power and strengthened them, and weakened the bold fierceness and courage of the English until it made their position in the kingdom of Scotland utterly untenable.

The said Sir John de Strivelyn realised from this that it would not be advantageous to himself and his men if they stayed any longer, but rather disadvantageous, and he feared that his own person was under threat of harm. And so once some sort of treaty about peace and friendship had been fabricated between him and the men on the island, he retired dishonourably to his own accustomed strongholds, but not without the blemish of perjury.

In the same year the English fleet came into the Firth of Forth on 1 July, where its best among the larger ships, which was commanded by the admiral, was wrecked on the rocks which in the vernacular are called 'The Wolves'. Thereafter the king of England with Edward de Balliol came to Glasgow with a large army, and held a council at which they appointed David earl of Atholl as lieutenant of Scotland; and then immediately they set out for England. This David summoned all the freeholders on the lands of the Steward, and accepted fealty and homage from them as if he was their overlord. After that he withdrew with a large armed following from his earldom to the regions beyond the mountains, where he took possession of all and sundry lands and domains of the Comyns. Because of the force at his command, nobody was found there to gainsay him, nor was there at that time anybody in those parts who dared to declare himself to be a supporter of King David, except for innocent children. When these were asked whom they supported, they answered freely: 'We are King David's men and will support nobody else as long as he lives.' This was a prediction of future liberty.

1335: 1 July

[late July]

[Aug.]

[1334:  
Aug.-Sept.]

## 31

*Robert Stewart*

At the same time while Robert Stewart was staying at Dumbarton, he was very annoyed when David earl of Atholl appropriated his patrimony and his people in this way. He sent for a certain baron, the lord of Lochawe in Argyll, whom he trusted more than anybody else, whose name was Dougal Campbell; this man came willingly to him with his men, and within a few days four hundred friends joined him. With their siege-equipment they immediately embarked in galleys and made their way to the castle of Dunoon in Cowal, which they

[1334:  
summer]

sive timore vel concordiali tractatu sic sunt operati quod redditum est  
eis castrum. Quod audientes nativi homines domini sui Roberti  
Stewart (Brandani scilicet de Both), unanimiter se congregaverunt, et  
ad succursum domini sui alacriter cucurrerunt. De quorum congrega-  
tione dominus Alanus de Lyle vicecomes instructus, manu valida et  
armata iter eorum | anticipavit et eos omnes quasi inermes in quodam  
arcto loco circumclusit. Irruentes<sup>a</sup> igitur in eos vicecomes cum suis  
Brandani agilitate solita<sup>b</sup> lapides manibus arripiunt et tamquam  
grandinem lapides<sup>c</sup> in vicecomitanos jaciunt, et non modicam  
stragem efficiunt, vicecomitem interficiunt, reliquos fugientes acci-  
piunt, et de eorum spoliis et armis se muniunt, et ad dominum suum  
caput vicecomitis levantes<sup>d</sup> in xenium offerunt, et pro remuneracione  
diète petunt ut a multura pro perpetuo sint liberi. Quod gratanter  
concessit, et eos, quo advexit, magno favore complexus est. In hoc  
conflictu capitaneus castri de Botha Johannes Gilberti nomine captus  
est, et Roberto Stewart presentatus. Qui statim sibi diliberavit  
castrum et sibi fecit hominum.

Tales Brandanos rex celi suscipe sanos;  
Ex quibus ornantur, que facta per hec videantur.  
Posce precor sanctum, cui tu prebes famulatum;  
Protegat teque regat, tecum per secula degat.

Crebrescente cotidie rumore arridentis fortune,<sup>e</sup> juvenis Scocie  
Senescalli Willelmus de Carrutheris cum fratribus nepotibus ac  
cognatis suis probis viris et probatis Scotis, qui ad partem regis Anglie  
pro nulla amissione temporalium deflecti potuerunt, quique<sup>f</sup> in valle  
de Anandia latitantes et in maxima penuria<sup>g</sup> tanquam silvestres hinc  
inde vagantes sese demum unanimiter quasi examen <apum><sup>h</sup>  
congregantes, spectabili satis cuneo se committunt Senescallo. Qui de  
eorum adventu jocundatus, sibi eodem tempore Thomas de Brois  
cum melioribus de Kyle adjunctus est. Catervatim igitur ad eum hinc  
inde confluentibus, cepit viriles quosque allicere, et cordatos Scotos  
ad se trahere, exercitum suum cotidie augmentare, et ipsorum animos  
vicaria dilectione et firmitate fida sibi conglutinare. Quoniam<sup>i</sup>  
quidem tunc pubescere cepit adolescens, speciosus forma pre filiis  
hominum, corpore largus et procerus, omnibus affabilis et modestus,  
largus, hilaris et honestus. In quo tantam gratiam innata bonitas  
prestiterat, ut a cunctis fere populis fidelibus<sup>j</sup> Scotis avide amaretur.

a Irruens CA  
b + florentes CA  
c interlin.C  
d interlin.C  
e + huius CA

f -que interlin.C  
g aporia CA  
h correction for ap in text C  
i Qui CA  
j suple CA

attacked bravely and unsuspected; and whether through fear or  
negotiated agreement they acted in such a way that the castle was  
handed over to them. When the neyfs of their lord Robert Stewart  
(that is the 'Brandans' of Bute) heard this, they assembled unani-  
mously, and eagerly hurried to help their lord. Informed about their  
gathering, the sheriff Sir Alan de Lyle with a strong armed force  
intercepted their march, and surrounded all of them, who were  
virtually unarmed, in a certain confined space. As therefore the sheriff  
and his men were rushing into them, the Brandans with their habitual  
agility took up stones in their hands and threw them at the sheriff's  
men like a shower of hail; and they brought about very considerable  
slaughter, killed the sheriff, seized the rest who were running away,  
and furnished themselves with booty and weapons from them; and  
taking the head of the sheriff to their lord they offered it as a present,  
and asked as a reward for the day's work that they be for ever free  
from amercement. This he granted gratefully, and as long as he lived  
he embraced them with great favour. In this fight the captain of the  
castle of Bute, whose name was John son of Gilbert, was captured and  
presented to Robert Stewart. John at once delivered the castle to  
Robert, and did homage to him.

These Brandans, king of heaven, accept unharmed;  
the deeds which are seen throughout these [pages] are given  
lustre by them.  
Ask, I pray, the saint to whom you offer humble service;  
may he protect and govern you, and continue with you  
through the ages.

As the news of the smiling fortune of the young Steward of Scotland  
spread every day, William de Carruthers with his brothers, nephews  
and kinsmen – good and tested Scots who by no loss of worldly goods  
could be brought over to the side of the king of England – as they hid  
in Annandale and roamed here and there like wild men in greatest  
penury, in the end banded together like a swarm of bees, and as a quite  
sizeable group joined the Steward. He rejoiced at their arrival, and at  
the same time Thomas de Bruce joined him with good men from Kyle.  
While they were thus swarming towards him in groups from all sides,  
he began to attract certain brave men to his side, and to draw Scots of  
good sense towards him, to enlarge his army every day, and to attach  
their hearts to himself in mutual affection and firm loyalty. For he was  
then beginning to grow into a young man of attractive appearance  
above the sons of men, broad and tall in physique, kind to everyone,  
and modest, generous, cheerful and honest. In him innate goodness  
produced such charm that he was fervently loved by nearly all the  
faithful Scottish peoples.

*De felicibus successibus Senescalli et Johannis comitis  
Moravie custodum*

fo.285v

G ii,317

Inter hec a transmarinis partibus et a rege Scotorum David Johannes Ranulphi comes Moravie repatriavit et apud Dunbretan applicuit incolumis, quem gratanter recepit Senescallus. Et quia tunc magna potencia accrevit Senescallo, nec res aut negocium pati poterat ocium, misit quasi omni die trans Cludum valencium<sup>a</sup> catervas 5 hominum, qui hac illacque discurrentes patriam populantur,<sup>b</sup> predas diripiunt, captivos ducunt vel<sup>c</sup> ad fidem Scoticanam convertunt. Et sic infra breve inferiorem partem de Cliddisdal', velint nolint habitatores, sibi subjugales eos efficiunt. Ad Senescallum dehinc baroniales de Renfrew ultro adveniunt, et sibi tamquam proprio domino 10 humiliter se offerunt. Ad quorum exemplum Godefridus de Ross' vicecomes de Are post tamen aliqualem resistenciam cum universitate de Carrik | Conynham et Kyle attractus sive coactus placuit<sup>d</sup> Senescalli se subdere legi. Placuit eciam proceribus et communitatibus eligere Senescallum et comitem Moravie in regni custodes, 15 promittentes assistenciam et personale obsequium ad queque imperata. Audiens igitur comes Moravie tirannidem comitis Atholie, et qualiter intrusit se in terris suis et in terris Senescalli, associatis sibi victoriosis militibus cum suis sibi firmiter adherentibus, calamitatem patrie sue dolens adivit partes boreales. Cui cito occurrunt sui nativi 20 homines. et comitem David a probioribus derelictum comes Moravie non cessat persequi fugientem, donec ad accessus immeabiles eum in Lochabir circumstrinxit; et tamdiu fame et frigore eum cum suis militibus disciplinavit, ut vel saltem coactus fidem regi David fecit, et hanc cum omnibus suis magno<sup>e</sup> sacramento confirmavit. Quem eciam 25 apud partes boreales custos post eum locumtenentem constituit, ut ad fidem regis reliquos consiliaret. Qui huiusmodi officium non segniter peregit quamdiu ad fidem regis permansit. Custos vero cum suo exercitu ad Laudoniam acceleravit ut australes Scotos ad fidelitatem/ converteret. Cui in Laudonia occurrit nobilis miles Willelmus de 30 Douglas recenter de districtu et captivitate Anglicorum liberatus. Qui emendam de captu suo intendens rehabere, quantas depopulaciones cedes capciones fugas et flagellaciones paucis secum concomitantibus de Anglicis expetiverit, ac eciam prudenter viriliter et victoriosissime

<sup>a</sup> corrected from valentes C<sup>b</sup> depopulantur CA<sup>c</sup> reliquos illine for vel CA<sup>d</sup> oportuit CA<sup>e</sup> + fidei CA<sup>f</sup> + regis CA

*The fortunate successes of the Steward and of John earl of  
Moray, the guardians*

- In the meantime John Randolph earl of Moray returned home from [1334: overseas and from David king of Scots, and landed safely at spring?] Dumbarton. He was welcomed with joy by the Steward. And because the Steward's power greatly increased, and the matter or business 5 could not allow for rest, he sent bands of brave men over the Clyde virtually every day, who scattered everywhere as they laid the country waste, plundered for spoils, led men away as prisoners or brought them over to the Scottish side. And thus within a short time they brought under their subjection the lower part of Clydesdale and its 10 inhabitants, regardless of whether they were willing or not. After that the barons of Renfrew spontaneously approached the Steward, and humbly presented themselves to him as their own lord. Following their example, Godfrey de Ross sheriff of Ayr – dragged or forced along, and after some resistance – together with the whole community 15 of Carrick, Cunninghame and Kyle decided to submit to the Steward's rule. The magnates and communities also agreed to elect [1334: by the Steward and the earl of Moray as guardians of the kingdom, July] promising assistance and individual obedience to whatever was ordered.
- 20 When therefore the earl of Moray heard of the tyranny of the earl of Atholl, and of how he had intruded into his own lands and into those of the Steward, he lamented the misfortune that had fallen on his part of the country, and went to northern parts, taking with him victorious knights who firmly adhered to him together with his own men. His 25 neyfs quickly hurried to meet him, and the earl of Moray did not leave off pursuing Earl David, who was a fugitive deserted by respectable men, until he surrounded him at the impassable approaches to Lochaber; and he scourged him and his knights with hunger and cold for such a long time that, needing hardly any persuasion, he came 30 over to King David's side, and with a great oath confirmed this with [27 Sept.] all his following. The guardian also appointed Earl David as lieutenant of the North under him, so that he should guide the others over to the king's side. This task he performed with no lack of zeal as long as he remained on the king's side.
- 35 The guardian, however, hurried to Lothian with his army to bring the southern Scots back to loyalty. In Lothian he met the noble knight William de Douglas, who had recently been freed from detention and [1334-5] captivity among the English. Intending to gain compensation for his



bella peregerit, si quis sciret retexere, magnum et placabile volumen  
per se posset deprompsisse.<sup>g</sup> Veteres enim similitudines inter comitem  
David Atholie et hunc dominum Willelmum de Douglas, nescio qua  
de causa exorte, de facili ignosci nequiverunt. Propter quod, ut  
quidam volunt, comes David sic cum Anglis tractavit quod eius  
liberationem<sup>h</sup> ad tempus elongavit. Illis etiam diebus nobilis Alex-  
ander de Ramsey flos dictus milicie cum dominis Laurencio de  
Preston, Johanne et Johanne de Hering et Haliburton firmiter cum  
custodibus regi adhererunt, et de Anglis sepiissime viriliter triumphaverunt.

g + tunc tempore del.C

h + de Anglia CA

## 33

*De consilio tento apud Dervesi  
<et miraculo Sancti Columbe>*

G ii, 318

fo.286

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxxv mensis aprilis Robertus Senescallus Scocie  
et Johannes<sup>a</sup> Moravie tunc custodes<sup>b</sup> Scocie apud Dervesy suum  
tenerunt parliamentum, comparentibus ibidem Andrea de Moravia  
qui noviter magna redempcione liberatus est de Anglia, Patricio  
comite Marchiarum, Alexandro de Mowbrey et Willelmo de Douglas<sup>c</sup>  
ex una parte prudenter et quiete se habentibus, et David comite  
Atholie cum magna potencia ex parte altera; ubi propter eius  
tirannidem nichil aliud actum est nisi derisione dignum. Hic  
Senescallo adherens sed | comitem Moravie et Willelmum Douglas  
dispectui habens, omnibus ibidem existentibus factus est infestus. Sed  
circumspecta prenominatorum prudentia immanem ipsius seviciam  
callide declinavit. Interea cum compertum esset regem Anglie cum  
Eadwardo de Balliolo ad regnum adventasse cum incredibili potencia  
tam | per mare quam per terram, ex precepto<sup>d</sup> custodum omnibus  
incolis in planis habitantibus ad montana et <loca><sup>e</sup> tuciora cum  
bonis mobilibus et catallis fugientibus, pridie non<sup>7</sup> julii navigium regis  
[An]-glie<sup>f</sup> in aquam de Forth applicuit. Et rex Anglie cum Eadwardo  
de Balliolo habens secum nonaginta milia equitum et novies viginti  
naves apud Perth tentoria<sup>f</sup> fixit, et ibidem usque adventum comitis  
Atholie moram faciens terram circumquaque depredavit. Quo in

a D,CA; corrected from Thomas C;  
Thomas R

b -de- interlin.C

c + cum aliis potentibus CA

d publico edicto for precepto CA

e D; lac.C

f D,CA; tentoriam C

capture, he had in the company of a few men sought after much  
pillaging, killing, seizing, routing and beating among the English, and  
had also prudently, bravely and victoriously made war against them,  
so that if anybody could retrace the story, he would by himself have  
produced a large and attractive book. However, some old enmities  
between David earl of Atholl and this Sir William de Douglas, arising  
out of I know not what, could not easily be ignored. Some say that  
because of these Earl David had negotiated with the English in such a  
way that he had for a while delayed William's release.

At that time also the noble Alexander de Ramsay, called the flower  
of knighthood, with Sir Laurence de Preston, Sir John de Hering and  
Sir John de Haliburton firmly adhered to the king together with the  
guardians, and very often bravely won victories over the English.

## 33

*The council held at Dairsie,  
and a miracle of St Columba*

In April 1335 Robert the Steward of Scotland and John [earl] of  
Moray, then guardians of Scotland, held their parliament at Dairsie. 1335: Apr.  
There Andrew de Moray, who had just been freed from England by  
means of a large ransom, Patrick earl of March, Alexander de  
Mowbray and William de Douglas [with other powerful men] formed  
a group on one side that behaved prudently and quietly, while on the  
other side was David earl of Atholl with a great force. Beause of  
David's overbearing behaviour, nothing was done there that is not  
worthy of mockery. Because he was loyal to the Steward, but held the  
earl of Moray and William Douglas in contempt, David became  
hostile towards all that were present there. But the cautious prudence  
of the aforementioned persons cunningly averted his savage ferocity.  
Meanwhile, when it was realised that the king of England with  
Edward Balliol had come to the kingdom with an incredible force  
both by land and by sea, and all the inhabitants living in the low  
country were on the instructions of the guardians fleeing to the  
mountains and to safer places with all their belongings, movables and  
beasts, the fleet of the king of England put in at the Firth of Forth on 5  
July. And the king of England, who had with him ninety thousand  
knights and a hundred and eighty ships, pitched his tents together  
with Edward Balliol at Perth, and there, as he waited for the earl of  
Atholl, he plundered the lands all around. At this time, while his  
piratical fleet in the Forth was raging through the harbours and  
coastal areas, one of the ships which was larger and vast in size landed  
on the canons' isle of Inchcolm, and robbed it of all its movable goods

5 July

[Aug.]

tempore cum classis sua piratica in Forth debacharetur per portus et  
maritima, una navium major<sup>g</sup> et immanior ceteris intravit canoni-  
corum insulam Emoniam, et ipsam omnibus bonis mobilibus tam  
ecclesiasticis quam mundanis, ac etiam cum ceteris imaginibus insigni  
25 imagine Sancti Columbe, que adhuc habetur in ecclesia eius  
monasteriali, ad navem deductis, expoliavit. Paratis igitur post  
aliquod tempus et ad invicem collectis omnibus navibus, erectis velis,  
Anglici cum prospero vento et votivo partes suas repetere ceperunt.  
Et ecce! cum omnes concordia aura oppansis velis maria sulcarent, illa  
30 dumtaxat infausta spoliatrice circumducta turbine, Subsolanus cum  
suo collateralis Euro in eam seivissime furiebat, in tantum ut, clava e  
manibus naustrologi amissa, a grassante procella in salebris spumosis  
submersionem minitata est carina. Que cum impetuoso fragore,  
vento reciproco, et velo retorto, cum<sup>h</sup> ad insulam que Inchekeith  
35 nuncupatur (non multum ab Emonia sed distantem quasi per sex  
miliaria) ipsis invitis appropinquarent, et ad scopulos eius conquis-  
sari timerent, veniam a sancto precabantur, vota de emenda  
pollicitabantur; et statim in tranquillo portu insperate ducebantur.  
Ubi quasi de morte resuscitati, terram ovanter<sup>i</sup> applicantes exonera-  
verunt se de imaginibus et spoliis. Quibus in Inchekeith una cum  
40 condigna oblacione auri et argenti intromissis, sculcam ad Kingorn  
Regis miserunt supplicantes et mercedem propterea solventes quate-  
nus divine caritatis intuitu et mercedis digne respectu restaurarent  
Sancto Columbe manubias et ablata eulogiaque oblata. Quod et  
factum est; properanterque vento eis placido superveniente, ad caput  
45 Sancte Ebbe anticipaverunt cursum navigii suorum complicum, non  
sine insolita<sup>k</sup> admiratione et Sancti Columbe spectabili glorifica-  
tione. In hoc alludit veteri ipsius miraculo<sup>l</sup> in conspectu Brochani  
malefici perpetrato. Qui velum contra ventum jussit erigi et cunctis  
ammirantibus sic procedi.<sup>m</sup> 50

g procerior CA

h interlin. C

i feliciter CA

j + quod mirabile est dictu CA

k solita CA

l + presens historia CA

m velificari CA

*De conflictu inter Gellerenos et Scotos  
et capcione custodis*

Hoc in tempore comes Moravie custos regni<sup>a</sup> apud castrum de  
Tarbard consistens, multos et multifarios cum Johanne de Insulis  
eiusdem tractatus habebat, qui nimium parti Anglorum favebat.

<sup>a</sup> unus ex custodibus tunc regni for custos  
regni CA

both ecclesiastical and worldly, and even along with some other  
images the famous image of St Columba which is still kept in his  
monastery church, all of which they brought to the ship. When after  
some time all the ships were ready, and had gathered together with  
30 their sails set, the English started to return to their own country with a  
favourable wind in answer to their prayers. And see! while all were  
cleaving the sea with their sails expanded by a friendly breeze, the  
accursed plundering ship was turned around in a whirlwind. Then the  
east wind along with its neighbour the south-east wind savagely raged  
35 against it, so much so that the helm was lost from the hands of the  
steersman and the ship threatened to become submerged by the  
raging storm in the foaming turbulence. In the violent crashing of a  
contrary wind, and with their sail twisted around, they approached  
unwillingly the island which is called Inchkeith (which is not far from  
40 Inchcolm, but about six miles from it), and feared that they would be  
dashed against its rocks. Then they prayed for forgiveness from the  
saint, and swore to make amends; and instantly and unexpectedly  
they were led into the calm of the harbour. There, as if they had been  
revived from the dead, they went ashore exultantly, and unburdened  
45 themselves of the images and stolen property. When they had been  
admitted to Inchkeith with an appropriate offering of gold and silver,  
they sent to the garrison of Kinghorn-Regis asking – and making  
payment in this connection – that in the light of divine charity and in  
return for a suitable payment they might restore to St Columba the  
50 spoils and stolen goods as well as offering gifts. This was done; and  
because a gentle wind speedily came to their assistance, they overtook  
at St Abb's Head the fleet of their companions on their voyage, not  
without unusual admiration and splendid praise for St Columba. He  
was on this occasion recalling an old miracle of his, which had been  
55 performed to confront Broichàn the magician, when he ordered sail  
to be set against the wind, and a start to be made in this way while  
everybody wondered.

*The conflict between the [men of Namur] and the Scots,  
and the capture of the guardian*

At this time the earl of Moray, a guardian of the kingdom, was staying  
at the castle of Tarbert, and conducted many different negotiations  
with John lord of the Isles, who was too well disposed to the English  
side. After some kind of truce had been agreed for the time being, the  
5 earl travelled to the south of the country. On his arrival there a high-

Comes autem, qualicumque respectuacione treugita ad tempus  
 punctuata, partes peciit australes. Ad cuius inibi adventum magnani- 5  
 mus et illustris bellator comes de Geller cum valida manu armatorum  
 eodem anno <sup>b</sup>iii<sup>o</sup> kal' augusti de partibus ultra marinis veniens causa  
 ferendi auxilium regi Anglie Scociam intravit. De cuius adventu  
 certificatus dictus custos, qui declinavit partes boreales propter  
 tirannidem comitis Atholie, adjunctis sibi comite Marchiarum, 10  
 Willelmo de Dowglas, Alexandro de Ramsey cum multis aliis,  
 congressum cum eis habuit apud Borowmore juxta Edenburgh. Ubi  
 multis ex utraque parte occisis, demum quedam virgo Gellerena<sup>c</sup>  
 armis militaribus contexta et quidam armiger Scotus Richardus  
 Schaw nuncupatus, ambo decenter armati, super fortes equos 15  
 resedentes, erectis suis hastis in adversis partibus steterunt. Sed  
 confestim urgentes equos calcaribus, pernici cursu alterna sese  
 corpora lanceis transfixerunt, et sic letifero vulnere ad terram mortui  
 ceciderunt. Tandem utrisque spoliatis militaris de Gellerland com- 20  
 perta est esse mulierem [sic]. Prevaluissent ut creditur Gillereni, si non  
 tempore conflictus supervenisset subito Willelmus de Douglas cum  
 suis et aliis de Pentlandhillis et e vicinis gregatim<sup>d</sup> concurrentibus.  
 Quorum inopinato adventu Gellereni stupefacti fugam ad villam  
 semper tamen pugnantes assumere sunt coacti. Fugerunt enim per 25  
 vicum Fratrum et ab oriente per alium qui dicitur *Sant Mari Wynde*,  
 ubi insignis belliger dominus David de Anand miles cum ceteris  
 Gellerenos fugans ab uno eorum sauciatus vulnus accepit. Qui viso  
 suo proprio cruore, acriori propterea ira succensus, vires suas collegit  
 et equester stans strepis <erectus> bipennem grandem tamquam alter 30  
 Corineus rotando circumduxit, et se vulnerantem tam violento | ictu  
 percussit ut armum eius ab humero et per scapulos equi usque non  
 solum bases vel ungulas eius sed<sup>e</sup> usque ad resistenciam duri silicis per  
 medium dissecuit, sicut vestigium eius patet adhuc in petra. Viriliter  
 itaque fugiendo et pugnando Gellereni se continuerunt, donec 35  
 montem dolorosum conscenderent, ubi fuit Castrum Puellarum de  
 Edenburgh, ob metum Anglorum ante hoc tempus dirutum. Rupes  
 enim Gillereni viriliter defenderunt, et equos suos lassos et vulneratos  
 ultro occiderunt, de eorum cadaveribus antemurale facientes. Et sic  
 per totam illam noctem a Scotis circumsepti et obsessi, fame et  
 frigore, siti et langore eam insompnes protinus transigerunt. Huius- 40  
 modi angaria Gellereni pertesi, et ab omni succursu desperati, in  
 crastino de mane dedicioni Scotorum se dederunt, convencione facta  
 de redempcione solvenda, dummodo libere ad patriam suam poterant  
 proficisci.<sup>f</sup> Sed nobilis comes Moravie custos Scocie ultra modum 45  
 curialis, et | hostibus pia gestans viscera nimium compassus est. Ac

fo.286v

G ii,320

<sup>b</sup> <sup>iiii</sup><sup>o</sup> CA  
<sup>c</sup> corrected from Gellerana C  
<sup>d</sup> +et ex animo CA

<sup>e</sup> verum eciam for eius sed CA; +ad del.C  
<sup>f</sup> solvenda ... proficisci om.CA

spirited and famous soldier, the count of [Namur], who had come  
 from overseas with a strong force of armed men, entered Scotland on  
 30 July of the same year to bring support to the king of England. 1335: 30  
 Being informed of their arrival, the said guardian (who avoided the July  
 10 north of the country because of the overbearing behaviour of the earl  
 of Atholl) was joined by the earl of March, William de Douglas,  
 Alexander de Ramsay and many others, and fought a battle against [Aug.?] <sup>1335: 30</sup>  
 them on the Burgh Muir near Edinburgh. There, after many on both  
 sides had been killed, at last a girl from [Namur] concealed by her  
 15 armour and a Scottish man-at-arms called Richard Shaw, both  
 suitably armed and mounted on strong horses, stood on opposite  
 sides with their lances erect. At once they drove their horses on with  
 their spurs, and at a gallop they each transfixed the body of the other  
 with their lances, and thus with a mortal wound fell dead to the  
 20 ground. Eventually, when they had both been stripped of their arms,  
 the fighter from [Namur] was found to be a woman.

It is believed that the [men from Namur] would have won if at the  
 time of the battle William de Douglas had not suddenly arrived with  
 his own men and others who had gathered from the Pentland Hills  
 25 and neighbouring areas. Stunned by their unexpected arrival, the  
 [men from Namur] were forced to flee to the town, although they kept  
 fighting. They fled along Friars' Wynd, and from the east along  
 another street called St Mary Wynd, where a distinguished warrior,  
 the knight Sir David de Annan, was injured by one of them and  
 30 received a wound while along with others he was pursuing the [men  
 from Namur]. Seeing his own blood, and inflamed on this account by  
 bitter anger, he gathered his strength, and standing upright on  
 horseback in his stirrups, he swung round a great battle-axe like  
 another Corynaeus, and struck the man who had wounded him with  
 35 such a violent blow that he cut his upper arm from his shoulder, and  
 cut down through the middle of the shoulder-blades of the horse not  
 only to its feet or hooves, but until he struck the hard rock, as the trace  
 of this still remains in the stone. The [men of Namur] therefore, as  
 they fled and fought bravely, kept together until they climbed the  
 40 lamentable hill where there used to be the Maidens' Castle of  
 Edinburgh, which had been demolished earlier for fear of the English.  
 These rocks the [men of Namur] defended courageously, and killing  
 their exhausted and injured horses besides, they made a defensive wall  
 with their bodies. And thus, surrounded and besieged by the Scots  
 45 throughout the whole of that night, they passed it continuously  
 without sleep, hungry, cold, thirsty and weary. Tired out and  
 distressed in this way, and with no hope of any help, the [men of  
 Namur] in the morning of the next day surrendered themselves to the  
 Scots in capitulation, after an agreement had been reached about the  
 50 ransom to be paid, provided that they could depart to their home  
 country.

per hoc illustri regi Francie Philippo, a quo nuper munifice recesserat, obsequium prestare putatus, et quamplurimum placere confisus, ipsum comitem de Geller cum omnibus suis, sine redempcione vel quocumque ulteriore gravamine, restitutis<sup>g</sup> spoliis ablatis,<sup>h</sup> ob reverenciam dicti regis Francie liberum et illesum abire permisit. Et ad majorem benevolencie sue ostensionem, associato sibi Willelmo de Douglas cum exili armatorum cohorte, dictum comitem de Geller in propria persona ad Marchias comitatus, castellanorum Marchie Anglie phalange,<sup>i</sup> cui preerat Petrus de Parissis alias Percy, redendo inopinate congressibus prevenitur; qui de Scocia recenter manu valida predas ceperunt, et ad propria cum spoliis repedantes pugnam inierunt, ubi fortiter hinc inde pugnatum est. Sed quia Angli in multitudine contra pauciores et inermes presteterant, Jacobus de Douglas dicti domini Willelmi frater cum nonnullis aliis valentibus viris interficitur, et ipse Willelmus per auram illesus elabatur, et ab ignobilibus nobilis comes Moravie capitur et carceribus dire mancipatur.

<sup>g</sup> + sibi CA  
<sup>h</sup> om. CA

<sup>i</sup> interlin. C

## 35

*De conflictu de Kilblene et interfeccione comitis David*

Audita igitur capcione custodis Scocie comitis Moravie, exultavit in gaudio spiritus comitis David quoniam ipsum post dominum Willelmum de Douglas maxime exosum habuit; qui<sup>a</sup> dum custos in libertate extiterat, fidem suam irritare nequaquam ausus est nec ipsum publice provocare. Sed eo capto ceteros quoscumque parvipendit. Et in continenti apud Perth rupta fidelitate sui regis liegii, ad fidem et pacem regis Anglie et Eadwardi de Balliolo rediit; ac eisdem jurejurando promisit omnes magnates Scocie ad pacem eorum infra spacium modicum se esse reducturum. Cuius promissi gracia ex parte regum ipsorum factus est custos in Scocia. Post hec redeuntibus<sup>b</sup> fugitivis, firmatis castris, pacato regno, et cum sua potencia reverso rege Anglie ad propria, quantas tyrannides et crudelitates ipse comes<sup>c</sup> exercuit in populo non possunt sub brevi sermone<sup>d</sup> comprehendere. Quosdam enim exheredavit, quosdam carceribus mancipavit, quos-

<sup>a</sup> CA; quem del. C; om. D, R  
<sup>b</sup> + captivis del. C

<sup>c</sup> + non custos sed proditor CA  
<sup>d</sup> stilo CA

But the noble earl of Moray, a guardian of Scotland, was excessively courteous, and too compassionate in showing tender pity for his enemies. And thinking to show in this way his regard for Philip the illustrious king of France (from whom he had recently departed with generous gifts), and determined to please him as much as possible, he allowed the count of [Namur] with all his men – without any ransom or any further burden, once the spoils that had been taken were restored – to depart free and unharmed, all out of reverence for the said king of France. And when as further demonstration of his goodwill he personally accompanied the said count of [Namur] to the Borders, joined by William de Douglas with a meagre troop of armed men, he was hindered by encounters with a company drawn from the garrisons on the English Border led by Peter de Paris or Percy, who were returning unexpectedly; they had recently with a strong force seized booty in Scotland, and as they returned home with the spoils, they joined in a battle, in which both sides fought bravely. But because the English were superior in numbers against the fewer and defenceless Scots, James de Douglas the brother of the said Sir William was killed with many other brave men. William himself escaped into thin air unharmed, and the noble earl of Moray was captured by some base-born men and thrust into terrible dungeons.

## 35

*The conflict of Culblean and the killing of Earl David*

When he heard about the capture of a guardian of Scotland, that is the earl of Moray, the spirit of Earl David was exultant with joy, because he hated Moray most after Sir William de Douglas; while the guardian was still at liberty, David had never dared to break faith with him or challenge him openly. But when Moray was captured, Atholl showed contempt for everybody else. And immediately at Perth, having broken his fealty to his liege the king, he returned to the allegiance and peace of the king of England and Edward de Balliol; and he promised them by oath to bring back to their peace all the magnates of Scotland within a short time. Thanks to this promise he was made guardian in Scotland by these kings. Thereafter, as the fugitives returned, the castles were fortified, the kingdom was pacified, and the king of England returned home with his force, it is impossible to grasp from a brief account how many tyrannical and cruel acts this earl perpetrated against the people. For some he disinherited, some he imprisoned in dungeons, some he even banished and murdered; and in the end he ordered the destruction of all freeholders of the land without fail. But, as it is said in the proverb:



dam eciam exterminavit et jugulavit; et omnes utique liberetenentes 15  
delere de terra finaliter ordinavit. Sed ut proverbio dicitur:

Non habet eventus sordida preda bonos.

G ii,321

fo.287

Nam malicie sue Deo finem imponere<sup>e</sup> volente, tandem castrum de  
Kildromy incepit obsidere. Erat enim tunc temporis tres magnates 20  
Scocie, videlicet Andreas de Moravia, qui<sup>f</sup> post capcionem consan-  
guinei sui comitis eiusdem revocatus est in custodem ex parte regis  
David apud Dunbretan, comes Marchie et Willelmus de Douglas,<sup>g</sup>  
qui ad pacem Anglorum vel Eadwardi de Balliolo nondum venerant,  
sed sub quodam respectu et sufferencia regis et magnatum | Anglie, 25  
quasi meliorem fortunam hiant ore expectantes, nunc hic nunc alibi  
occulte latitabant. Cumque predictus Andreas fama nunciante  
castrum suum cum uxore per predictum comitem cognosceret  
obsessum, petita licencia et optenta a domino Willelmo de Monte  
Acuto regis Anglie tunc principali consiliario, cum auxilio ante 30  
dictorum comitis Marchie et Willelmi de Douglas suo castro  
succursum quantocius paravit. Hii vero tres cum suis adherentibus,  
diris cruciatibus plebei pessumdati ex corde compacientes, magis  
elegerunt mori in bello quam videre mala gentis sue; atque uno  
consensu et con- | cupiscenti animo pro redempcione servitutis se 35  
dantes periculo, quasi ursi vel leones raptis catulis sevientes, ad prelia  
properabant; et facto congressu pridie kal' decembris in foresta de  
Kilblene, ipsum comitem cum quinque militibus et ceteris suis  
benevolis pariter trucidabant. Inter quos ceciderunt domini<sup>h</sup> Rober-  
tus Brade et Walterus Comyn, cuius frater dominus Thomas primo 40  
captus et postea decapitatus est.<sup>i</sup> Evasit abhinc dominus Robertus de  
Menzeris et recepit se in turre sua de Canmor. In crastino assiliatus  
venit ad fidelitatem domini sui liegii regis David. Fuerunt enim cum  
comite Adolie iii<sup>m</sup> virorum, et cum Andrea de Moravia octingent'  
electi de Laudonia et Marchia. Ad quem die precedenti conflictum 45  
advenerunt sibi de Kildromy tricenti; quorum presencia comfortatus,  
et consilio cuiusdam Johannis Crag instructus, feliciter victoriam de  
injuncis [?] optinuit. Qua adepta multitudini plebis que invita cum  
comite Atholie extitit misericorditer pepercit, et illesam fide data de  
parendo suo regi liegio ad propria abire permisit. In continenti post 50  
dictum conflictum premissus Andreas cum ceteris suis ad castrum de  
Cupro pervenit, et eam [sic] obsessit. In quo erant plures Anglicati  
Scoti. Sed interea receptis literis regum Francie et Scocie, treugas  
castellanis ad certum tempus concessit; et consequenter majores regni 55  
apud Dunfermelyn convocavit. Ibique ab omnibus custos Scocie est  
approbatus, et inde proficiscens ultra montes partes boreales obfir-  
mavit.

e corrected from imponente C  
f interlin.C  
g + de Liddallsdale CA

h dominus CA  
i interlin.C

A prize disgracefully won does not bring good results,

20 because when God was wanting to put an end to his evil deeds, Atholl  
finally began to besiege the castle of Kildrummy.

At that time there were three magnates of Scotland – namely  
Andrew de Moray (who after the capture of his kinsman the earl of  
the same was re-appointed guardian for King David at Dumbarton), [Sept.]  
25 the earl of March and William de Douglas [of Liddesdale] – who had  
not yet come to the peace of the English or Edward de Balliol, but who  
were hiding secretly, now here, now there, as if they were eagerly  
awaiting better fortune arising from some consideration and tole-  
ration from the king and the magnates of England. And when the  
30 aforesaid Andrew learned on the strength of a rumour that his castle  
with his wife in it was under siege by the aforesaid earl, he requested  
and obtained permission from Sir William de Montague, who was  
then the chief councillor of the king of England, and prepared to aid  
his castle as soon as he could with the aforesaid earl of March and  
35 William de Douglas. For these men and their followers, who whole-  
heartedly pitied the common people who had been destroyed with  
terrible torments, chose rather to die in war than to watch the  
misfortune of their people; and they hurriedly prepared for battle,  
putting themselves unanimously and eagerly in peril for deliverance  
40 from slavery, raging like bears or lions when their young are taken  
away. And joining battle in the forest of Culblean on 30 November, 30 Nov.  
they killed the earl himself together with five knights as well as others  
of his adherents in like manner. Among these fell Sir Robert Brade  
and Sir Walter Comyn, whose brother Sir Thomas was first captured  
45 and then decapitated. Sir Robert de Menzies escaped from the fight  
and retired into his tower at Canmore. When attacked the next day,  
he offered fealty to his liege lord King David. There had been three  
thousand men with the earl of Atholl, and eight hundred picked men  
from Lothian and the Borders with Andrew de Moray. On the day  
50 before the battle three hundred men came from Kildrummy to join  
him. Encouraged by their presence, and furnished with advice from  
one John Craig, he was fortunate to obtain victory over the  
oppressors. [?] When he had obtained this, he pityingly spared a  
multitude of common people who had been forced to serve the earl of  
55 Atholl, and allowed them to return home unharmed once they had  
sworn to obey their liege king.

Straight after the said battle the aforesaid Andrew with the rest of  
his men reached the castle of Cupar and laid siege to it. Inside were  
many Anglicised Scots. But following the receipt meantime of a letter  
60 from the kings of France and Scotland, he granted those in the castle a  
truce for a certain time. He followed this up by calling the magnates of  
the kingdom together at Dunfermline. There he was accepted by  
everybody as guardian of Scotland, and setting out from there he  
secured the north of the country beyond the mountains. [1336:  
spring]



*Qualiter custos obsessit castra et de miraculo Sancti Columbe  
facto<sup>a</sup> in mare juxta Emoniam*

G ii,322

Post decursum treugarum festinavit se custos ad obsidendum  
castrum de<sup>b</sup> Dundarg, quod paulo ante reparavit Henricus de Bello  
Monte, quod fulminacione ingenii diruptum est denuo, ubi viriliter se  
habuit dominus Willelmus de Mowbrey qui nuper ante ad fidelitatem  
regis David venit. Henricus vero de Bewmond tractans de pace, salvis  
suis, reddidit castrum custodi, et Angliam assecuratus rediit num-  
quam reversurum se promittens mera sua voluntate. Anno domini m<sup>o</sup>  
ccc xxxvi dictus custos cepit ad pacem regis David trans montes  
terram universam, et paravit se assilire castrum de Lochyndorb. In  
qua [sic] fuit uxor quondam David comitis Adolie. Que pro<sup>c</sup> succursu  
scripsit Eadwardo regi Anglie. Qui mox | congregato exercitu xx<sup>ti</sup>  
miliam electorum, preter suos Scotos Anglicatos qui quamplures  
erant, tam per mare quam per terram Scociam cum celeritate peciit,  
volens refugium obsesse subvectare comitis et partes boreales sue  
dicioni subicere. Perveniens igitur usque ad Lochyndorb, comitissam  
cum suis dominabus secum adduxit, et firmata castri custodia totam  
Moraviam igne consumens usque Elgin pervenit. Et progrediens inde,  
salvis ecclesia et canonicorum edificiis de Elgyn flamma universa  
devorante, villam de Abirdene solo coequavit. Hac tempestate  
contigit piratas Angligenas de navibus suis descendere et universam  
maritimam cis fluvium de Forth usque ad montes de Hochel sine  
resistencia crudeliter devastare. Ante cuius tempora presidebat  
monasterio Sancti Columbe de Emonia abbas quidem<sup>d</sup> egregius, qui  
multum decorem domus Dei dilexit, et non solum apud monasterium  
suum, verum etiam apud ecclesiam suam commensalem de Dolar, 25  
tunc omnino destructam, manus ad reformandum porrexit adju-  
trices. Propter quod totam machinalem structuram chori de grandibus  
fieri fecit lignis quercinis miro artificio insculptis dolatis et  
compactis, ita quod unumquodque lignum dentatum fuit per tenuras  
in reliquum, quod intuentibus prebebat gratum spectaculum. Pervenientes itaque pirate ad ipsam ecclesiam de Dolar, ipsiusque chorum  
tam subtili structura lignea fabrifactum considerantes, et quod  
unumquodque lignum ipsius cum tabulis dolatis possent singillatim a  
juncturis suis sine detrimento operis de facili remove, timore Dei

<sup>a</sup> facta C,D  
<sup>b</sup> + Dugr del.C

<sup>c</sup> + celeri CA  
<sup>d</sup> quidam CA

*How the guardian besieged castles; and a miracle performed  
by St Columba in the sea near Inchcolm*

- After the truce had expired the guardian lost no time in besieging the  
castle of Dundarg, which Henry de Beaumont had repaired shortly  
before, because it had for a second time been broken down by the  
explosion of an engine. There Sir William de Mowbray, who had  
recently given his fealty to King David, was conducting himself  
bravely. But Henry de Beaumont negotiated a peace, and, keeping his  
people unharmed, handed the castle over to the guardian and  
returned to England with a safe-conduct, promising never to come  
back of his own free will. [1334: 23 Dec.]
- 10 In 1336 the said guardian was controlling the entire land beyond  
the mountains in King David's peace, and prepared to attack the  
castle of Lochindorb, which contained the wife of the late David earl  
of Atholl. She wrote to Edward king of England for help. He quickly  
assembled an army of 20,000 picked men (besides his Anglicised  
15 Scots, of whom there were very many), and speedily made for  
Scotland by land and sea, wishing to bring relief to the besieged  
countess, and to subject the north of the country to his rule. Thus on  
reaching Lochindorb, he took the countess and her ladies away with  
him, strengthened the guard of the castle, and putting the torch to the  
20 whole of Moray went as far as Elgin. And moving on from there,  
burning everything except the church and the chanonry of Elgin, he  
levelled the town of Aberdeen to the ground. [15-16 July] [18 July] [22-23 July]
- At this time it happened that English pirates landed from their  
ships, and cruelly laid waste the whole coast on this side of the river  
25 Forth as far as the Ochil Hills without meeting any resistance. Before  
this time an outstanding abbot had presided over the monastery of St  
Columba of Inchcolm, who had taken a great interest in embellishing  
the house of God. He had extended a helping hand to transform not  
only his abbey, but also his commensal church at Dollar, which was  
30 then completely destroyed. Therefore he caused the whole framework  
of the choir to be constructed of great oak beams, which were carved  
with wonderful artistry, and cut into shape and fitted together in such  
a way that each beam was held together with the next one by means of  
dovetailing, which provided a pleasant sight to look at.
- 35 When therefore the pirates came to this church of Dollar, they  
remarked on how its choir had been constructed with such a fine  
wooden framework. And because they could easily and without

postposito, ceca quamquam cupiditate illecti (de qua in hiis vespilio- 35  
nibus verificatur quod dicit Augustinus: 'Non erit in carendo  
difficultas ubi fuerit in habendo cupiditas'), | cupierunt nempe et  
finaliter decreverunt totum chorum ligneum, per tigna, laquearia et  
sarta tecta sparsim discopulata, ad naves deportare, ipsaque tabulata 40  
in Anglia ad certum locum tamquam preciosum jocale resarcire, et  
ipsum chorum ut prius reparatum pro mirabili sanctuario quantocius  
dedicari. Sed non est consilium contra Dominum. Illa itaque  
artificiosa compositione in una notabili bargia collocata, predenaute  
hilaris effecti oppansis velis et ad votum obsecundante sibi levi 45  
Favonio, versus Angliam quantocius accelaverunt<sup>e</sup> cursum, exul-  
tantes nimium, sicut letantur victores cum adinvicem dividunt spolia,  
capta preda,<sup>f</sup> pompatice incedentes cum litibus [sic] et tubis ductilibus  
clangentes, tubicinis cantibus perstreperes, et in maximo applausu  
corizantes. Cum sic secure, ut creditum fuit, processissent, ad illud 50  
apostoli non attendebant dicentis:<sup>g</sup> 'Cum dixerint pax et securitas,  
tunc repentinus eis superveniet interitus, quasi dolor in utero  
habentis, et non effugient.' Itinere namque nautico precedentes a  
parte eque australe monasterii canonicorum Sancti Columbe ex  
adverso, cithara eorum versa est in luctum et gaudium in lamentum, 55  
quia ecce ! non solum subito sed in ictu oculi vel momenti  
descenderunt in profundum quasi lapis, et cum sonitu periit memoria  
eorum. Nave submersa, omnia<sup>h</sup> simul demerguntur et descenderunt  
sicut plumbum in aquis vehementibus, ita quod nusquam comparuit  
sive supernatavit nec unus quidem asserulus tabulati. Quod videntes 60  
ceteri sui complices in collateralis classe constituti, horrore nimio  
percussi timuerunt, et Deum in | Sanctum Columbam de tam  
insperata vindicta velint nolint glorificaverunt. Et inantea sibi et  
servis<sup>i</sup> suis vel eorum locis, violenciam non inferre devoverunt. Qua de  
re versum est in Anglia<sup>j</sup> Sanctum Columbam in suos malefactores  
vindicem fore satis et ultorem. Et ideo, ut non reticeam, quid de eo 65  
dicatur apud eos vulgariter 'Sant Qwhame' nuncupatur.

<sup>e</sup> CA; accelaverunt C,D  
<sup>f</sup> + Exultaverunt in gigas ad currend' mā  
[?] del.C  
<sup>g</sup> corrected from dicentes C

<sup>h</sup> omnes CA  
<sup>i</sup> insulans CA  
<sup>j</sup> + in proverbium CA

damage to the work take every piece of wood out of its joints  
individually along with the trimmed boards, they put their fear of  
40 God aside, and admittedly led on by some blind greed – with regard to  
which it is true about these robbers what Augustine says; 'There is no  
difficulty in doing without, [except] when there is a passion for  
possession' – they clearly formed the desire and eventually decided to  
move all the wood of the choir to their ships, with the beams, ceiling  
45 panels and outer roofing dismantled in pieces, and to re-assemble the  
pieces as a precious jewel at some place in England, and that once it  
had been put together again the choir should be dedicated as a  
wonderful sanctuary as soon as possible. But no plan can prevail  
against the Lord. Thus when this construction of skilled craftsman-  
50 ship had been placed on one splendid barge, the pirates happily and  
without delay hurried on their course for England with their sails set  
and with a light west wind, which had come in answer to their prayers.  
They were rejoicing overmuch, as victors rejoice when they divide  
their spoils among themselves when booty has been seized, and when  
55 they ceremonially march about, ringing their trumpets and sackbuts,  
resounding with the sound of trumpets, and singing amid loud  
applause. While they were thus proceeding – safely, as they believed –  
they were not heeding the word of the apostle who says: 'When they  
talk of peace and safety, then sudden destruction will come upon  
60 them, like the labour of a woman with child, and they will not escape.'  
For when on their voyage they moved from calm water to the south  
opposite the monastery of the canons of Inchcolm, their harp was  
turned into mourning and their joy to lament, because look! not just  
suddenly, but within the twinkling of an eye or the passing of a  
65 moment they sank into the deep like a stone, and their memory  
perished with their sound. When the ship sank, everything else sank  
with it and went down like lead in turbulent waters, so that not one  
piece of board was visible anywhere or floating on the surface. When  
their companions in the fleet beside them saw this, they were afraid,  
70 struck by extraordinary terror; and whether they wanted or not,  
glorified God in St Columba because of such unforeseen retribution.  
And from henceforth they swore not to inflict any violence upon him  
or his servants or their buildings. Because of this it has been made  
[into a proverb] in England that St Columba will thoroughly punish  
75 and take revenge on those who commit a crime against him. And so  
(to be open about it) whatever may be said about him, they commonly  
call a Saint Columba.

*Qualiter rex Anglie castra Scocie reedificavit  
et fratrem suum occidit*

Postquam igitur hostiliter rex Anglie trans alpes omnia sibi contraria igne et gladio humiliaverat, ad villam de Perth rediit, firmatis fortaliciis<sup>a</sup> de Dwnnoter et Kynneff et de Laurenston. Post hec habito diligente tractatu, de consilio precipue proditorum regni Scocie, villam de Perth muris et fossis, turribus et portis sub omni festinatione jusserat obfirmari, assignans sex monasteria, scilicet Sanctiandr', Dunf', Londoris, Balmurinach, Abirbroth et Cuprum in Angus, ad construendum tres portas majores cum totidem turribus suis sumptibus et expensis de lapidibus<sup>b</sup> quadratis. Cuius occasione construccionis dicta monasteria passa sunt jacturam destruccionis. Nam Johannes de Gowry tunc prior Sanctiandr' pro sua porcione infra tempus construccionis unius turris cementariis eiusdem operis ducentas octoginta marcas in numerata pecunia persolvit. Eodem tempore dum rex Anglie cum Eadwardo de Balliolo perhendinarent in Perth, intenti super eiusdem in turribus et portis reformatione, per Henricum de Bello Monte et Henricum de Ferrariis reedificare fecit castra Sanctiandr' et de Lochris. Similiter castrum de Striveline per Willelmum de Monte Acuto, in quo posuit Thomam Rokby custodem, castrum de Edinburgh per Johannem de Strivelyne, et castrum de Roxburgh per Willelmum de Felton' milites. Hiis omnibus<sup>c</sup> sic ad nutum dispositis, custodem in villam de Perth constituit dominum Thomam Wrchred,<sup>d</sup> ad Angliam proponens festinare. Tandem sibi occurrit ad villam de Perth frater eius Johannes Heltham nomine per partes occidentales Scocie iter agens; terras quas frater suus nuper ad pacem acceperat et ecclesiam prioratus de Lesmahago gladio et igne consumpsit, ac plures animas ad ecclesias confugientes igne supposito cum ipsis ecclesiis extinxit et penitus delevit. Cumque idem rex ante magnum altare Sancti Johannis super premissis ipsum ut debuit argueret, et ipse regi indignanti animo respondit,<sup>e</sup> subito fratris spata sive cultello extracto percussus, rebus exutus est humanis. Rex vero cito post in Angliam<sup>f</sup> rediens, Eadwardum de Balliolo cum magna potencia in villa de Perth

fo.288

<sup>a</sup> corrected from fortaliciis C  
<sup>b</sup> + fectis et CA  
<sup>c</sup> + sic del.C  
<sup>d</sup> + et del.C

<sup>e</sup> coram magno altare Sancti Johannis de Perth inserted in top margin of fo.288 without a caret mark, and then del.C  
<sup>f</sup> + reversis del.C

*How the king of England rebuilt the castles of Scotland and  
killed his brother*

When therefore the king of England had in a hostile manner reduced with fire and sword everything beyond the mountains that was against him, he went back to the town of Perth, after fortifying the strongholds of Dunnottar, Kinneff and Lauriston. Then after careful consultation, especially on the advice of traitors to the kingdom of Scotland, he ordered that the town of Perth should with all speed be fortified with walls and moats, towers and gates; he appointed six monasteries (that is St Andrews, Dunfermline, Lindores, Balmerino, Arbroath and Coupar Angus) to build the three main gates with as many towers out of squared stones at their own cost and expense. By reason of this building work the said monasteries suffered ruinous loss. For John de Gowrie who was the prior of St Andrews for his share during the time when one tower was being constructed paid to the masons for this work two hundred and eighty marks in cash. At the same time while the king of England was staying in Perth with Edward de Balliol supervising the rebuilding of its towers and gates, he had the castles of St Andrews and Leuchars rebuilt by Henry de Beaumont and Henry de Ferrers; and similarly the castle of Stirling by William de Montague (of which he appointed Thomas Rokeby as keeper), the castle of Edinburgh by John de Strivelyn, and the castle of Roxburgh by William de Felton, [all of them] knights. When all these matters had been arranged according to his wishes, he installed Sir Thomas Ughtred as keeper of the town of Perth, intending to hurry to England. At length his brother John of Eltham, who was making his way through the western parts of Scotland, met him at the town of Perth; he had destroyed with fire and sword lands which his brother had recently accepted into his peace, as well as the church of the priory of Lesmahagow; and many souls who had fled to churches he had wiped out and completely destroyed together with the churches themselves by setting them on fire. When the same king found fault with him (as was his duty) about these matters in front of the high altar [in the church] of St John, and he answered the king resentfully, John was suddenly struck by his brother's drawn sword or knife, and removed from human affairs. The king, however, soon afterwards went back to England, leaving Edward de Balliol with a large force in the town of Perth.

1336: [late July]

[13 Sept.]

At this time Henry de Beaumont, in revenge for the death of his

reliquit. Quo tempore Henricus de Bello Monte<sup>g</sup> in vindictam generi sui comitis David interfecti<sup>h</sup> omnes quos capere potuit per se vel per alios quoscumque qui conflictui de Kilblene interfuerunt sine misericordia diversis penis cruciatos iussit interire. Inter quos eciam multus sanguis innoxius crudeliter est effusus.

g Bello Monte corrected probably from Monte Acuto C  
h + apud Kilblene del.C

## 38

G ii,324

*Quomodo Andreas de Moravia castra cepit et prostravit*

Eodem anno mensis octobris Andreas de Moravia tunc custos Scocie audito recessu regis Anglie, qui<sup>a</sup> antea latuit, congregato exercitu, fortalicia<sup>b</sup> de<sup>c</sup> Dwnhoter de Kynneff et de Laurenston obsessit, cepit et ad terram prostravit, atque per totam hiemem in foresta de le Plater et aliis locis tutissimis de Angus moratus, quamplures insidias ab Anglicis et periculosos sustinuit insultus. Ac sic per utrorumque continuas depredaciones tota terra de Gowry, de Angus et de le Mernys ad irrecuperabilem fere redacta est vastitatem. Eodem anno mensis februarii paulo ante fortalicio<sup>d</sup> de Kynclwyn funditus destructo,<sup>e</sup> isdem custos adjunctis sibi comitibus Marchie et de Fife, Willelmo de Douglas et multis aliis nobilibus Scocie ingressus partes de Fyfe, turre de Fawkland humi prostrata, terraque in circuitu undique predata, captis habitatoribus et redempcioni expositis, ad civitatem Sanctiandr<sup>7</sup> accessit et castrum eiusdem tribus septimanis cum machinis potenter obsessit. Quod redditum fuit eidem ultimo die februarii, salvis habitantibus in eo vita et membris et bonis universis. Cuius egregia edificia ex nobili artificio constructa muris prostratis eodem die vorax flamma consumpsit. Simili modo per omnia paulo ante actum est de castro de Lochrez; ac inde primo die marcii movens tentoria, ad castrum de Bothvil in Quadragesima proxima sequenti accessit et eum<sup>f</sup> acriter obsessit, ubi ex parte Scotorum interfectus fuit notabilis scutifer Stephanus Wyseman nomine, et ex parte Anglorum Gylinus de Villeris. Has enim municiones custos Scocie optinuit metu et violencia potissime cuiusdam ingenii sive machine que<sup>g</sup> vocabatur *Bostour*. Nam omnes ad quas ante pervenerat<sup>h</sup> cepit et ad terram prostravit excepto castro de Cupro valida<sup>i</sup> virtute domini

a quia et ipse custos for qui CA  
b corrected from fortalicia C  
c + Kinclewyn CA  
d corrected from fortalicio to fortalicio C  
e paulo ... destructo om. CA  
f eam C,D,CA  
g + vulgariter CA  
h + omnes del.C  
i vi et for valida CA

son-in-law Earl David, ordered that all those who had been present at the battle of Culblean whom he could catch, either by himself or by others, should be tortured without mercy with various punishments and killed. There was also much innocent blood cruelly shed among those men.

## 38

*How Andrew de Moray seized and destroyed castles*

In the month of October of the same year Andrew de Moray, who was then the guardian of Scotland and had been previously in hiding, heard of the retreat of the king of England; he collected an army and besieged, seized and levelled to the ground the fortresses of Dunnottar, Kinneff and Lauriston; and remaining all winter in the forest of Plater and other very safe places in Angus, he survived many traps laid by the English as well as dangerous attacks. And thus as a result of continuous plundering by both sides, the whole land of Gowrie, Angus and the Mearns was reduced to almost irreparable devastation.

In the same year in the month of February, once the fortress of Kinclaven had been completely destroyed shortly before, the same guardian was joined by the earls of March and Fife, William de Douglas and many other nobles of Scotland, and entered the district of Fife; and after he had razed the tower of Falkland to the ground and laid waste the land everywhere around, with the inhabitants captured and held to ransom, he approached the city of St Andrews and with a powerful force besieged its castle with engines for three weeks. It was surrendered to him on the last day of February, saving life, limbs and all their goods to those inside. On the same day the consuming flame devoured its splendid buildings that had been built with remarkable skill, and the walls were levelled to the ground. Shortly before similar action in all respects had been taken regarding the castle of Leuchars; and then on the first day of March he moved camp, approached the castle of Bothwell during the following Lent, and besieged it with vigour. There a distinguished esquire called Stephen Wiseman was killed on the Scottish side, and on the English side Gilmin de Villers. The guardian of Scotland gained these fortresses especially because of fear regarding the ferocity of a certain engine or machine which was called 'Bostour'. For all the castles which he had previously approached he captured and razed to the



Willelmi Bullok' defenso. Post hoc cum valida manu sepius terram Anglie hostiliter invasit, quam ferro et flamma castigavit, predas inde asportavit quibus exercitum suum ditavit. Eodem anno per totum fere regnum magna erat victualium caristia, quam sequebatur tanta 30 fames propter discordiam et inquietudinem, ac eciam multimodam guerrarum et bellorum asperitatem utriusque gentis Anglie et Scocie, hinc inde multipliciter factam, quod multi de regno Scocie naturale solum deserentes Anglicis et alienigenis se junxerunt. Ubi adhuc 35 eorum posteritas moram trahit.<sup>k</sup> Aliqui vero remanentes in patria propria ob cibi penuriam more porcorum siliquas comedentes, et post breve toto corpore tumescentes, finem vite miserabiliter tradiderunt.

j + presbyteri CA

k continuat CA

## 39

*De obsidione castrorum*

G ii, 325

fo. 288v

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxxvii xiii die mensis januarii obsessum est castrum de Dunbar per dominum Willelmum de Monte Acuto comitem Saresbirie et per quendam alium comitem de Arundell' duces exercitus regis Anglie; et per machinas | immanes et per diversa 5 machinamenta artis bellice continuata est obsessio per viginti duas septimanas. Quod quidem castrum viriliter defendebat<sup>a</sup> comitissa,<sup>b</sup> *Blak Annes* vulgariter | nuncupata. Que, ut dicitur, erat valde industriosa et circumspecta, virile gerens cor ad defendendum<sup>c</sup> suos sedit animabat, quin et invadentes<sup>d</sup> signis et sermonibus lepide deridebat. Nam post jaculum ingenii quod fecerat turres tremere, 10 ipsa, intuente comite Saresbirie, mittere curavit pulcherimam nimpham tamquam sponsam viro ornatam,<sup>e</sup> que candido peplo sive sudarido manu involuto locum quasi jactus abstergere et leviter confricare solebat. Dum talia itaque agerentur, supervenit de Anglia nova phalanx armatorum, de qua predoctus nobilis Laurencius de 15 Preston <[vicecomes] Laud-[onie] >, secum pauciores habens, Anglis viriliter<sup>g</sup> restitit. Sed in acie conflictus per os in cerebrum lancea terebratus, paulisper declinavit ad sepem, et ignorantibus suis commilitonibus appodians sepi expiravit, quamquam de Anglis sui<sup>h</sup>

a + ex adverso CA

b + eiusdem CA

c + castrum CA

d corrected from invidentes C

e de thalamo nuper procedentem for viro

ornatam CA

f R; lac. C; om. D, CA

g in facie for viriliter CA

h + flebiliter CA

ground, except for the castle of Cupar, which had been defended by the strong courage of [the priest] sir William Bullock. After that he often with hostile intent invaded England with a powerful force; he [Sept.-Oct.] 35 punished it with fire and sword, and carried spoils away from it, with which he enriched his army.

In the same year there was great scarcity of food nearly everywhere in the kingdom. Because of the strife and disturbance, and also because of the tangled severity of the feuds and fights of both peoples 40 of England and Scotland which had been conducted on both sides in various ways, such a severe famine resulted that many people from the kingdom of Scotland left their native soil and settled with people in England or abroad. Their descendants still remain there. Others, however, who stayed in their own native country, ate pods in the 45 manner of pigs for want of food, and swelling up all over after a short time, they ended their lives wretchedly.

## 39

*The siege of castles*

On 13 January 1337 the castle of Dunbar was besieged by Sir William de Montague earl of Salisbury, and by a certain other who was earl of Arundel, the commanders of the army of the king of England; and with huge engines and various bits of equipment for the conduct of 5 war the siege was continued for twenty-two weeks. However, the countess, who was commonly called 'Black Agnes', defended this castle courageously. It is said that she was very active and cautious, showing manly feelings as she zealously incited her people to defend [the castle,] and even ridiculed the invaders wittily with gestures and 10 words. For after an engine had thrown a missile which made the towers tremble, while the earl of Salisbury looked on, she arranged for a very pretty girl to be sent, adorned like a bride for her husband, who with a white piece of cloth or handkerchief held in her hand would wipe and gently rub the place of impact.

While these things were happening in this way, a new host of armed men arrived from England, regarding which the skilful noble Laurence de Preston sheriff of Lothian, who had fewer men with him, put up a brave resistance against the English. But in the line of battle he was pierced by a lance through his mouth to his brain. For a little 20 while he bent down on to a hedge; then while leaning on this hedge he died without his comrades knowing about it. Nonetheless his men defeated the English. But when they learned of the death of their captain, they slaughtered those whom earlier they had taken prisoner. Sir William de Keith of Galston also with his troop went to meet Sir [1334: Sept.]

[1338:]  
13 Jan.

[1334: Sept.]



triumpharunt. Sed cognita morte eorum capitanei, quos prius 20  
 captivaverant,<sup>i</sup> trucidarunt. Dominus eciam Willelmus de Keth de  
 Galston cum turma sua obviavit domino Richardo Talbot venienti  
 cum magna potencia ad subveniendum suis compatriotis. Quem  
 tamen cum complicitibus pro defensione sua<sup>j</sup> lacum intrare coegit,  
 quos omnes captivos magno precio et per Richardum<sup>k</sup> Talbot<sup>l</sup> iim 25  
 libris perceptis, ad Angliam remisit pedestres. Et sic infra quinque  
 annos quotquot maiores venientes ad Dupplyne cum Eadwardo de  
 Balliolo erant in potestate Scotorum ad faciendum de eis ipsorum  
 voluntatem, exceptis Radulpho de Stafford<sup>m</sup> et ipso Eadwardo apud  
 Anand, ut premititur, turpiter effugato. Dictus vero comes Saresbirie 30  
 graviter ferens dampnum Anglicis hinc inde<sup>n</sup> illatum, assaultum acriter  
 instauravit, et ingentem testudinem que vulgariter *sow* nuncupatur  
 parietibus orbiculis volubilibus ipsam subvectantibus cum valida  
 armatorum manu et instrumentis variis transmisit. Ad quem sic voce 35  
 valida clamavit *Blak Annot* comitissa dicens: 'O Montagow, Monta-  
 gow. Be war for fery sal yi sow.' Cum hoc infra castrum ingeniosam<sup>o</sup>  
 machinam tetensam fecit sagittare, et<sup>p</sup> grandis lapis ac ponderosus  
 quasi mola asinaria ab alto jactu descendens, testudinem ferociter  
 fulminavit, et capita multorum deintus conquassavit. Qui vix cum  
 vita evadentes omnem suum apparatus taliter amiserunt, quam- 40  
 quam illi infra castrum victualibus multum indiguerunt.

*i* + atrociter CA

*j* + quendam CA

*k* pro dicto Richardo for per Richardum

CA

*l* + captivo CA

*m* + barone CA

*n* + per Scotos CA

*o* corrected from ingenuosam CA

*p* in altum sagittari unde for sagittare et CA

## 40

*Adhuc de eodem et de destruccione Laudonie*

Habebat eo<sup>a</sup> tempore comes duas permaximas galeas de Janua cum  
 aliis navoribus<sup>b</sup> ad observandum ne quid eis ad subsidium per mare  
 adventaret. Hoc attendens nobilis vir Alexander de Ramsay, et  
 castellanorum indigencie compaciens, cum aliquantis victualibus et xl 5  
 armatis quamdam ad hoc preparatam liburnam apud Bas quadam  
 nocte ascendens in eiusdem tempeste<sup>c</sup> silencio, et<sup>d</sup> in circuitu  
 galearum imperceptibiliter pertransiens, castrum mare- | tenus apud  
 quandam posternam<sup>e</sup> intravit, castrales adventu suo<sup>f</sup> letificavit. In

G ii, 326

*a* corrected from eas C

*b* + puppibus CA

*c* tempestate D; + tempeste noctis CA

*d* interlin. C

*e* posticam CA

*f* + ultra creditum CA

- 25 Richard Talbot as he arrived with a large force to help his  
 compatriots. He forced him with his companions to enter a loch to  
 defend themselves, and once they had all been taken prisoner, and he  
 had received a great ransom and £2,000 from Richard Talbot, he sent [1335: Apr.]  
 them all home to England on foot. And so within five years all the  
 30 magnates that had come to Dupplin with Edward de Balliol were in [1338]  
 the power of the Scots to do their will regarding them, with the  
 exception of Radulph de Stafford and Edward himself, who, as  
 mentioned above, had disgracefully fled at Annan.  
 Meanwhile the said earl of Salisbury, angry about the damage  
 35 which had been inflicted from both sides on the English, renewed the  
 attack with vigour, and with a strong force of armed men and various  
 pieces of equipment sent forward to the walls an enormous wooden  
 screen conveyed on revolving wheels, which in the vernacular is called  
 a 'sow'. At this the countess Black Annot shouted in a strong voice,  
 40 saying: 'Montague, Montague, beware, for your sow will farrow!' With that, she caused an ingenious machine inside the castle to be  
 drawn back for discharging a missile, and a large heavy stone, almost  
 like a millstone, came down from a high trajectory, struck the sow  
 fiercely like lightning, and dashed the heads of many inside to pieces.  
 45 Those who barely escaped with their lives lost all their equipment in  
 this way, although those inside the castle were very short of food.

## 40

*Still the same; and the destruction of Lothian*

- During this time the earl [of Salisbury] was keeping two very large [1338]  
 Genoese galleys with other little [ships] to watch in case any assistance  
 arrived by sea. The noble Sir Alexander de Ramsay observed this, and  
 having pity on the needy condition of the occupants of the castle, he  
 5 one night with a certain amount of provisions and forty armed men  
 went on board a small ship which had been prepared for this purpose  
 near the Bass Rock in the silence of the middle of that same [night],  
 and going round the galleys unnoiced, he entered the castle from the  
 sea by a postern gate, and delighted the inhabitants of the castle by his  
 10 arrival. In the morning he paid an early visit to the [English] sentries  
 outside; some of them he wounded, some he chased away, many he  
 captured; and then he returned to the castle without harm to his own

crastino ad extra vigiles manicavit, quorum quosdam<sup>g</sup> vulneravit, quosdam fugavit,<sup>h</sup> et nonnullos captivavit, ac sine dampno suorum ad castrum illesus repedavit. Huiusmodi assultibus comes ab extra agitatus, unum de janitoribus per quedam intermedia ad propositum suum flexit, ut certo tempore januam castri ad sibi cum suis intrandum aperiret; quod juxta promissum sibi custodivit, sed et castellanos nichilominus de huiusmodi recepcione premunivit. Cum autem, ut conductum erat, aperta janua comes intrare debuisset, Johannes de Cowpland (de quo postea referemus) unus de suis vernaculis majore aliis previsionem pollens, ac periculum timens, dominum suum per scapulas apprehendens,<sup>i</sup> retroire coegit; et ipse cum hoc saltum faciens protinus introivit, et statim porte clausula summissa est, eodem Johanne solum intromisso. Evasit feliciter sibi comes de periculo. Ad quem delusorie clamitans Blak Annot <ait>:<sup>j</sup> 'A Dew | monseuzor Montagot.' Dum itaque hec se cuncta, ut premititur, haberent, incepta est guerra [inter]<sup>k</sup> reges Francie et Anglie satis atrox et dira, feliciter tamen pro Scocia. Nam si rex predictus guerram in Scocia continuasset, ipsam ex toto et sine difficultate, quantum spectat ad humanum iudicium, optinuisset. Propter quod scripsit comitibus et suis castrum de Dunbar assilantiibus ut obsidionem intermitterent et sibi sine quacunque mora approximarent, quia sine consilio dicti domini Willelmi de Monte Acuto comitis nichil arduum rex Anglie facere manucepit. Obsidionem igitur infecit xvi die mensis junii, et cum dedecore ad propria remeavit. Audita igitur defeccione dicte obsidionis,<sup>l</sup> obsessum est castrum de Strivelyn per antedictum custodem; sed infecto negotio et interfecto prius domino Willelmo de<sup>m</sup> Keth<sup>n</sup> propria lancea non minus infeliciter quam mirabiliter, transtulit se ad obsidiendum castrum de Edinburgh in mense octobris. Quod quidem fuit anno precedenti, ut quedam cronicæ volunt, sicut fuit castrum de Strivelyne. Continuata obsidione<sup>o</sup> eiusdem per duos menses aprilis scilicet et maii, et amota [fuit]<sup>p</sup> obsessio a Strivelin castro metu regis Anglie illuc cum exercitu properantis. Cum autem custos instaret circa obsidionem dicti castri de Edinburgh, communitas Laudonie venit ad ipsius pacem. Sed per potenciam Anglicorum, interveniente fraude et dolo quorundam Scotorum, remotus est ab obsessione ipsius, constituto prius Laurencio de Preston vicecomite Laudonie;<sup>q</sup> ex quo secuta est tam ex parte Scotorum quam Anglicorum universalis destruccio Laudonie.

g + improvisos CA  
h + quosdam trucidavit CA  
i + violenter CA  
j subsannans comitissa exclamavit for delusorie ... ait CA  
k D; lac.C

l + de Dunbar CA  
m + de C  
n + nobili milite CA  
o -ne interlin.C  
p CA; om.C,D  
q constituto ... Laudonie om.CA

men. The earl outside was enraged by these attacks, and through certain intermediaries prevailed on one of the gate-keepers to [accept] his proposal that he would at a certain time open the gate of the castle for the earl and his men to enter. This the keeper was careful to do according to his promise; but he nonetheless warned the garrison of this admission. But when, as had been settled, the gate had been opened and the earl should have gone in, John de Coupland (about whom we shall report later), one of his people who was capable of greater foresight than the others, feared danger, grabbed his lord by the shoulders, and forced him to go back; and as he leapt to do this, he went forward inside himself, and at once the portcullis was lowered, and the same John was the only one to have been admitted. The earl was lucky to escape the danger. Black Annot shouted at him mockingly and said: 'Adieu, Monsieur Montague!'

While all these events were happening as we have reported above, a war broke out between the kings of France and England, which was cruel and fearful enough, but yet a fortunate thing for Scotland. For if the aforesaid king had continued his war in Scotland, he would (as far as human judgment is concerned) have occupied it wholly and without difficulty. On this account he wrote to the earls and his men who were attacking the castle of Dunbar, that they should break off the siege and come to him without any delay whatsoever, for without the advice of the said Sir William de Montague the king of England undertook to do nothing. Therefore the earl abandoned the siege on 16 June and dishonourably returned to his own land. When the lifting of the said siege became known, the castle of Stirling was besieged by the aforesaid guardian; but when he achieved nothing, and Sir William de Keith had earlier had the unfortunate if extraordinary fate to be killed by his own lance, the guardian turned to besieging the castle of Edinburgh in the month of October.

But this was in the preceding year, as certain chronicles maintain; and this was also the case with Stirling castle. When the siege of that castle had lasted for two months, that is April and May, the siege was lifted from Stirling castle for fear of the king of England, who was hurriedly approaching it with an army. When indeed the guardian was engaged in the siege of the said castle of Edinburgh, the community of Lothian accepted his authority. But as a result of the power of the English and the deceitful and false meddling of some Scots, he was diverted from the siege of the same [castle], after he had first established Laurence de Preston as sheriff of Lothian. From this there followed the total destruction of Lothian, both by the Scots and by the English.

[1338:]  
16 June

[1337]

1337: Oct.

Apr.-May

[June]

*De juperdia Roberti Prendergest*

Post igitur recessum dicti custodis castellani Anglici de Edinburgh in miseram plebiculam nimium debachati sunt. Inter quos quidem quidam Scotus Robertus Prendergest nomine robustus satis et audax<sup>a</sup> quodam die cum castellanis exiens magnam predam animalium de Caldormore abduxerunt ad instruccionem et persuasum eiusdem 5 Roberti, quem tamen ad cenam in castro inter verletos ad mensam<sup>b</sup> locaverunt. Graviter igitur ferens Robertus se inter inferiores aule deputari, nichil cibi sumpsit quamquam impransus hunc diem transigisset. Quem tristem pensans, marescallus Thomas Knaton<sup>c</sup> nomine quesivit ab eo dicens: 'Cur, Scote, non comedis cum satis tibi ante est de cibariis?' 'Credebam',<sup>d</sup> inquit alter, 'hodie me melius promeruisse quam inter pagetos sessionem obtinuisse.' 'Superbis',<sup>e</sup> ait marescallus, 'oportet vos Scotos humiliari.' Et cum hoc clava quam manu gestabat caput Roberti percussit, donec sanguis comensales asperget. Dissimulata igitur injuria Robertus villam peciit, 15 et hac nocte in hospicio suo se continuit,<sup>f</sup> donec in crastino observata oportunitate<sup>g</sup> horam qua de more marescallus ad villam solaciandi causa secesserat observabat. Quem fastu superbie turgentem <media platea procedentem> non parvaque cauda Anglorum comitatum Robertus ex transverso prorumpens levi premissa salutacione 'Ave' 20 [scilicet]<sup>h</sup> 'Rabita', de sub cuius clamide pugione extracto cor marescalli transfixit et animam cum extalibus exalare coegit. Irruentes igitur<sup>i</sup> in Robertum<sup>j</sup> fugientem morientis sequaces nichil sibi nocuerunt; sed ille fugiendo et feriendo tres de insequentibus letaliter vulneravit. Et per quandam valvam vici borealis pertransiens 25 ac ipsam quodam pendulo repagulo ut ante preordinaverat obfirmans, equum suum juxta modo lacum expectantem ascendens,<sup>k</sup> in auram dilapsus ecclesiam monasterialem Sancte Crucis intactus peciit; et immunis a persequentibus <evasit emunitatem ut moris est tractu campane pulsans;> et<sup>k</sup> quia sibi pro tunc non patuit cancellaria, 30 capellam Sancti Augustini intravit et ad altare flexis poplitibus ab Anglicis orabundus repertus est. Quem ob reverenciam Dei ulterius

a + Qui del.C  
b mense for ad mensam CA  
c + me del.C  
d CA; Superb' C,D  
e +avit del.C  
f +et del.C

g CA  
h + Anglici CA  
i + Scotum CA  
j + juxta leprosariam del.C  
k before evasit above D; om. C; here CA

*Robert Prendergest's risky exploit*

Then, after the retreat of the said guardian, the English garrison of [1337-8?] Edinburgh vented their fury overmuch on the poor common people. For among them a certain Scot called Robert Prendergest, a strong and daring person, went out one day with the garrison, and following the instructions and the persuasion of this Robert they drove a great prey of beasts away from Calder Muir; but for supper in the castle they sat him at a table with the servants. Offended that he was reckoned among the lower people in the hall, Robert did not eat any of the food, although he had spent this whole day without eating. The marshal, called Thomas Knayton, thinking that he was unhappy, asked him for the reason, saying: 'Why, you Scot, do you not eat, seeing that there is plenty of food before you?' 'Because I thought', the other replied, 'that I had deserved better today than to obtain a seat among the pages.' 'You are being arrogant', said the marshal. 'You Scots ought to be humbled.' And with that he hit Robert's head with a baton which he was carrying in his hand, until the blood was splashed over the others sitting at the table.

Hiding his sense of injustice, Robert sought the town. He remained for the night in his lodging, until on the next day, waiting for his opportunity, he watched for the time when the marshal usually withdrew to the town for his recreation. When he, swollen with the pride of arrogance, was advancing down the middle of the street with a sizable train of English retainers, Robert rushed out of a side street, first greeted him light-heartedly with: 'Well now, you rabbit!', and then with a dagger which he pulled out from under his cloak he pierced the marshal's heart and forced him to breathe out his life along with his guts. The followers of the dying man rushed upon the fleeing Robert, but were not able to do him any harm. Instead, as he fled he struck at them and wounded three of his pursuers mortally. 30 Then he went through the door of a passage towards the north, fastened it with a hanging bolt as he had arranged beforehand, and mounted his horse which was waiting for him just by the loch. Melting away into the air, he reached unharmed the abbey church of Holyrood. Safe from his pursuers he escaped to sanctuary, ringing the bell (as is the custom) by pulling the bell [rope]. Because the chancel was not open to him for the time being, he entered the chapel of St Augustine and was found by the English kneeling by the altar, ready to pray. Out of reverence for God they ceased to follow him any

fo.289v

G ii,328

hac vite persequi desierunt. Verumptamen firmaverunt sibi custodiam et ipsum inibi concluderunt prohibentes sibi cibaria ministrari; et de nocte quando eidem sopor irruerat, ipsum stimulis longis lignulis infixis pupugerunt, ut sic vitam miseram carencia cibi et sompni cicius terminaret. Duodecim nempe dies taliter transegit, cui omni media nocte, cum fratres matutinalibus laudibus insisterent, sacrista clanculo voltas ascendit et in quadam reste | victualia queque ligabat et sic ea imperceptibiliter deponere consueverat. Tandem quadam nocte sacrista assumptis sibi duobus concanonicis<sup>l</sup> funem forciolem submiserunt, qua captivus<sup>m</sup> se circumcinxit, et in altum velocius a canonicis est assumptus. Quem statim indutum habitu canonicali summo mane secum tamquam ad spaciandum de monasterio processerunt <educentes> ad parcum Salisbiriensem et ibi eum liberum labire permiserunt. Qui libertati donatus exultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam, et non<sup>n</sup> restitit<sup>o</sup> donec ad Willelmum de Douglas in Pentlandhillis<sup>p</sup> latitantem et excubias Anglicorum cum suis observantem advenit. Cuius Roberti persuasu ipse Willelmus cum suis nocte sequenti ad Edinburgh descendentes de Anglicis sparsim in domibus lenocinantibus quasi octoginta occiderunt. Propter quod Anglici caucius se servantes innumeras ut poterant injurias Scotis inferebant. Que nec eis semper in prosperum cesserunt quia sepiissime per insidias Scoti eis vicisitudinem impenderunt.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>l</sup> canonicis D; CA<sup>m</sup> + ilico CA<sup>n</sup> nusquam CA<sup>o</sup> corrected from restetit C; restetit CA<sup>p</sup> montibus de Pentland for Pentlandhillis

CA

<sup>q</sup> reddiderunt CA

## 42

*De morte Andree Murraff*

Nam eodem tempore castellani de Cupro numero circiter sexaginta ad Donibressil venientes, abhinc ad castrum equos remiserunt. Et media nocte luna lucescente vi compulerunt quendam marenautem<sup>a</sup> ibi commorantem Alanum Sterisman nomine cum suis eos ultra Forth batella sua transportare. Sed quia eis in modico reniti videbatur, eum<sup>b</sup> egregie <ac suos> verberaverunt. At ille vultu placido amaro tamen animo eos navi intromissos conduxit usque ad montem arenosum qui, tempore retraccionis maris que malena vocatur, a Crawford heland usque Barnbogal prominet et in longum se extendit, in quem eos descendere <tam-> quam in aridam jussit, et

<sup>a</sup> C,CA; marenautam D<sup>b</sup> + Alanum CA

further for the time being. However, they set up a watch over him and enclosed him there, preventing him from being provided with any food; and at night, whenever sleep overcame him, they pricked him with goads fixed to long wooden sticks, so that in this way he would from lack of food and sleep soon end his miserable life. In this manner indeed he spent twelve days, for in the middle of each night, while the brothers were concentrating attention on lauds and matins, the sacrist would secretly climb up to the vaults, tie some food to a piece of rope, and in this way lower it down without being noticed. Finally one night the sacrist took two fellow-canons with him and they let down a stronger rope which the captive tied around himself; then he was quickly pulled high up by the canons. They clothed him in a canon's habit without delay, and in the early morning – while it looked as if they were going for a walk from the monastery – they led him out with them to Salisbury Park and there allowed him to go free.

Given his liberty, he exulted as a giant to run along the road, and did not stop until he had found William de Douglas who was hiding in the Pentland Hills, watching with his men the English sentries. At the instigation of this Robert, William himself and his men moved down to Edinburgh the following night and slew about eighty of the English who were scattered in brothels. Because of this the English in protecting themselves more cautiously inflicted countless injuries upon the Scots whenever they could. But these actions did not always turn out well for them, because very often the Scots by means of traps paid them back.

## 42

*The death of Andrew Moray*

For at the same time the garrison of Cupar numbering around sixty came to Donibristle, and from there sent their horses back to the castle. And in the middle of the night, when the moon was beginning to shine, they forcibly compelled a certain seaman called Alan Steersman who lived there along with his people to transport them across the Forth in his boat. Since he seemed to be resisting them a little, they gave him and his men a good beating. But he, with placid face but bitter in his mind, let them into his ship and steered them to a sandbank which, when the tide which is called the spring-tide is out, stretches from Cramond Island to Barnbogle and extends for a long way. On this sandbank he ordered them to alight as if it was dry ground, and with unfurled sails he bade them farewell for ever. They light-heartedly began to run; but when they saw a great lake between



expanso velo eis perpetue valedixit. At illi hilares effecti currere ceperunt, sed inter eos et terram magnum lacum aspicientes navi<sup>c</sup> intromitti exclamaverunt, et qui naulum ante exsolvere negaverunt<sup>d</sup> quingentas libras dum eos receptaret<sup>e</sup> promiserunt. Qui surda aure<sup>f</sup> cum suis velificans, sine manibus atrocius quam ipsi Scoti experti sunt verbera Anglis usque ad celum emittentibus celeumata dolores 15 intulerunt, quia statim ledonis impetus involvit eos mediis fluctibus ne unus quidem ex eis superfuit vivus.

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxxviii<sup>o</sup> nobilis Andreas de Moravia custos Scocie post obsidionem castri de Edinburgh tactus infirmitate, terras 20 suas trans montana peciit, et apud Davach finem presentis vite sortitus est et in Rosmarky sepultus. Hic libertati regni multum utilis fuit vir magni regiminis et multum deditus justicie et operibus misericordie. Omnia enim castra et municipia citra de Forth preter Cupar et Perth per Anglicos occupata oppugnando destruxit. Sed et 25 omnes partes quas guerrando perambulavit ad tantam vastitatem et inopiam deduxit quod plures fame et egestate perierunt quam quos a tempore mote guerre gladius devoravit. Stetit autem custos Scocie per duos annos et dimidium. Post cuius mortem nepos regis Robertus Stewart electus est in custodem. Qui quamvis juvenis erat annis, 30 senilem<sup>g</sup> se gestis potissime erga Anglos<sup>h</sup> exhibebat. Qui stetit<sup>i</sup> custos usque adventum regis de Galliis. | Hoc in tempore dominus Willelmus de Douglas per incredibiles conflictus et labores Tevidaliam ad pacem regis expulsis Anglicis reduxit. Audiens autem Henricus de Longastel comes de Derbi quamplurimos probos<sup>j</sup> actus militares eiusdem 35 domini Willelmi de Douglas, multum desiderabat noticiam eius et congressum cum eo habere. Cui cum hirolo scripsit ut secum tribus cursibus militaribus concertaret. Peticionibus eius annuens statutis die et loco congregientes ad primum cursum vulneratus est Willelmus de Douglas graviter in manu ruptura proprie lancia. Propter hoc 40 honorabiliter divisi pro tunc, peciit dictus comes ab Alexandro de Ramsey, qui inter Scotos famosissimus probitate habebatur, quatenus certo die assignato compareret apud Berwik cum viginti generosis contra viginti consimiles de suis, ubi unusquisque electo sibi socio<sup>k</sup> ex adverso tres cursus faceret militares. Quod et | factum est. In quo 45 hastiludio quod continuatum est per tres dies continuos mortui sunt duo mil-[ites]<sup>l</sup> Anglici et unus miles Scotus, et in redeundo ex vulnere mortuus est Johannes Hay [no-]bilis<sup>m</sup> armiger Scotus. Iste miles Scotus fuit dominus Willelmus Ramsey, qui hasta per galiam et cerebrum transfixus; facta prius confessione et deinde extracto ligno<sup>n</sup> spiritum 50

c + se protinus CA

d remierunt CA

e ut salvarentur for dum eos receptaret CA

f + Alanus CA

g + tamen CA

h + se del.C; + de-[bi-]litandos CA

i + feliciter CA

j om.CA

k commilitone CA

l D; lac.C

m trunco CA

themselves and the land they shouted to be let on board the ship, and 15 those who had refused to pay a fare before now promised fifty pounds as long as he took them on. Turning a deaf ear, Alan made sail with his people, and without using their hands they inflicted pains on the English as they shouted their commands to the sky that were more severe than the blows which the Scots had experienced themselves. 20 For at once the onset of the flood-tide overwhelmed them, and in the midst of the waves not one of them remained alive.

In 1338 the noble Andrew de Moray, the guardian of Scotland, was 1338: struck by illness after the siege of Edinburgh castle. He went to his [Mar.-Apr.] own lands beyond the mountains, and at Avoch he was fated to end this present life; he was then buried at Rosemarkie. He had been very 25 useful for the liberty of the kingdom, a great commander, and very devoted to justice and works of mercy. For by assault he destroyed all the castles and fortresses on this side of the Forth that were occupied by the English, except Cupar and Perth. But he also reduced all the 30 regions through which he passed during his expeditions to such desolation and scarcity that more perished through hunger and extreme poverty than the sword destroyed from the time of the outbreak of war. He served as guardian of Scotland for two years and a half. After his death the king's nephew, Robert Stewart, was elected 35 guardian. Although he was a youth in terms of years, he showed himself an old man in his deeds, especially against the English. He remained guardian until the arrival of the king from France.

At this time Sir William de Douglas after incredible conflicts and 1341?: struggles brought Teviotdale back into the king's peace, after he had expelled the English. When Henry of Lancaster earl of Derby heard 40 about the many splendid knightly deeds of the same Sir William de Douglas, he very much desired his acquaintance and to have a duel with him. He wrote to him by a herald that he would fight with him in three knightly tilts. Douglas agreed to his requests, and when day and 45 time had been set they met. William de Douglas was seriously injured in a hand during the first tilt, when his own lance broke. They parted on honourable terms for the time being because of this. The said earl then asked of Alexander de Ramsay, who was regarded as the most famous and worthy of the Scots, whether he would agree to match 50 himself on a certain appointed day at Berwick with twenty nobles against twenty similar men of his own, when everybody would choose a partner from the opposite side and have with him three knightly tilts. This was done. In this tournament, which lasted for three consecutive days, two English knights and one Scottish knight died, 55 and on the way back John Hay, a noble Scottish man-at-arms, died from his wound. The Scottish knight was Sir William Ramsay, who was pierced by a lance through his helmet and his brain. After he had first made his confession and the wood had been extracted, he yielded up his spirit while still in arms. While these things were happening, the



in armis reddidit.<sup>n</sup> Dum hec se sic haberent, supervenit illuc noviter a partibus transmarinis honorabilis miles dominus Patricius Graham a quo quidam miles Anglicus peciit tres cursus militares. Cui quasi jocando respondit Patricius: 'Frater, hac nocte et in crastino ante congressum prepara te Deo et confitere<sup>o</sup> quod si sic feceris cum Christo<sup>n</sup> cenabis.' Unde et sic evenit; qui in crastino transfossus lancea domini Patricii spiritum confessus exalavit.<sup>q</sup>

n exalavit CA  
o +et in cra del.C

p +forte CA  
q in armis Deo reddidit for exalavit CA

## 43

*De pertinaci importunitate domini Willelmi Douglas*

Multa siquidem adversa dominus Willelmus de Douglas pro defensione libertatis regni passus est. Nam apud Blackburn per dominum de Berkley maximo suppositus fuit periculo,<sup>a</sup> quia secum de grandi cohorte remanserant nisi tres, aliis necessitate compulsis aufugatis, qui quidem credebant ipsum innocisum evadere nullatenus potuisse. 5 Nec utique veresimile est ipsum potuisse,<sup>b</sup> nisi<sup>c</sup> nox atra colores visibilium contegisset. Post dirum eciam conflictum apud Craggis de Craggyne cepit ac devicit dominum Johannem de Strivelyne, <habens secum nisi [1<sup>a</sup>]<sup>d</sup> tantum contra quingentos Strivelinos.> Alio tempore irruit super alam regis Anglie exercitus <prope Crechton,> ubi per 10 corpus translanceatus vix manus inimicorum evasit; sed cito et feliciter convaluit. Sibi eciam cum viginti suis pedestribus alias supervenerunt Anglici sexaginta equestres apud locum qui dicitur Blaksawing. A quibus tutamine unius syhech se muniens omnes quotquot non occidit secum captivos abduxit. Paulo post in vigilia 15 Nativitatis Domini rege Anglie hostiliter apud Melros perhendingante non sine grandi pugna cepit regis victualia quibus castrum<sup>e</sup> munivit de Hermitage captis prius et interfectis custodibus eorundem. Quod quidem | castrum paulo ante de manibus Anglicorum viriliter conquesivit. Post hec Rollandum de Vawse cum suis non paucis non 20 minus mirabiliter quam feliciter superavit. Quem demum Willelmum de D[ouglas] dominus Laurencius de Abirnethyn uno die quinquies fugavit. Sed ita pertinaciter dictus Willelmus reluctatus est ut eciam ipsum dominum Laurencium ante solis occasum captivum cepit<sup>f</sup> et omnes suos contra creditum devicit. In hoc versificatur quod poeta 25 dixit:

a +nam del.C  
b valuisse CA  
c +tunc confestim CA

d D; lac.C  
e +suum CA  
f secum duxit for cepit CA

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- 60 honourable knight Sir Patrick Graham arrived there fresh from overseas. A certain English knight asked him for three knightly tilts. Patrick answered him, as if jokingly: 'Brother, tonight and tomorrow before the encounter prepare yourself with God and confess, for if you do this, you will [perhaps] dine with Christ.' And so it came 65 about; the next morning he was run through by Sir Patrick's lance, and after confession breathed his last.

## 43

*Persistent harassment by Sir William Douglas*

- Much adversity indeed did Sir William de Douglas endure for the defence of the liberty of the kingdom. For at Blackburn he was put into the greatest peril by the lord of Berkeley, because only three of his large troop remained with him, the others having found it necessary 5 to flee, believing that he himself could under no circumstances escape alive. Nor is it indeed likely that he could have, had not the dark night obscured the colours of all visible things. After a dreadful fight at Craggs of Craigie he caught and defeated Sir John de Strivelyn, having with him only fifty men against five hundred of Strivelyn's men. At 10 another time he charged a wing of the army of the king of England near Crichton, where, his body transfixed by a lance, he barely escaped from the hands of his enemies; but fortunately he recovered quickly. Another time with twenty of his foot-soldiers he came upon sixty English mounted troops near a place which is called 'Blaksawing'. 15 Defending himself from these under the protection of some boggy ground, he led them all away with him as prisoners, that is as many as he did not kill. A little later on Christmas Eve when the king of England was staying at Melrose with hostile intentions, he seized the king's provisions after first capturing and killing their guards, not 20 without a great fight. With these he supplied Hermitage castle, for he had bravely conquered this castle shortly before from the hands of the English. After that he overcame Roland de Vaus with his sizable number of men, which was both astonishing and lucky. At last Sir Laurence de Abernethy put William de Douglas to flight five times in 25 one day. But the said William fought back so doggedly that before sunset he even captured Sir Laurence himself and vanquished all his men against expectation. About this is set in verse what the poet has said:

[1337 late]

[1341:  
24 Dec.]

Persistent work overcomes everything.

Labor improbus omnia vincit.

Qui propterea potuit dicere cum Oracio:

Grata supervenient qua non sperabitur hora.  
Quo michi fortuna si non conceditur uti?

30

44

*De obsidione ville de Perth per Robertum S[tewart] custodem*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxxix<sup>o</sup> obsessa est villa de Perth per Robertum Stewart custodem Socie habentem secum ad hoc Willelmum comitem Rossensem, Patricium comitem Marchiarum, Mauricium de Mur-rave dominum de Cliddisdal, Willelmum de Keth de Galston et ceteros magnates regni. Eo tunc custos erat oppidi ex parte Anglorum Thomas<sup>a</sup> Uther habens secum plures Scotos qui Eadwardo de Balliolo adhererunt; et per duos menses ac duas septimas continuata est obsessio. Interea supervenit dominus Willelmus de Douglas de Francia a rege David ad quem paulo ante post capcionem domini Laurencii de Abernethy se transtulit collocuturum. Dum igitur dominus Willelmus de Douglas fuit in Francia procuravit de eiusdem regis licencia unum periculosum<sup>b</sup> piratam quendam Gallicum nomine Hugonem Hampyle,<sup>c</sup> habentem secum quinque bargias armatorum et armorum multitudine munitas, ad observandum aquam de Thaia ne oppidani<sup>d</sup> per mare nova ad Angliam deferrent vel Anglici victualia vel alia per aquam eisdem inferrent. Adduxit eciam secum dictus dominus Willelmus de Castelgalleart duos milites et duos famosiores [armigeros]<sup>e</sup> quorum nomina sunt Egidius de le Hoys et Johannes de Broyse. Dum ergo dictus dominus Willelmus ad custo- | [dem]<sup>f</sup> pervenisset, ultra quam credi potest gratanter eundem recepitavit. Quem incontinenti misit in legacionem domino Willelmo Bullok tunc castrum de Cupro conservante et custode. Qui eo tempore fuit locumtenens et camerarius ex parte Eadwardi de Balliolo ac thesaurarius omnium Anglorum et eorum adherencium in regno Socie. Qui secum taliter concordavit quod concessa sibi prius larga remuneracione de terris et possessionibus custodi castrum reddidit antedictum et regis David homo liegius cum suis qui plures erant devenit. Qui eciam dictes<sup>f</sup> obsidioni cum totis viribus interfuit utile prestans consilium et expediens ferens auxilium. Custos cum suis

fo.290v<sup>30</sup>

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C  
<sup>b</sup> superbum CA  
<sup>c</sup> Ham- interlin.C; Bampyle D

<sup>d</sup> interlin.over Anglie del.C  
<sup>e</sup> D; lac.C  
<sup>f</sup> + oi del.C

30 He could in view of this say with Horace:

Pleasant things will turn up at an unexpected hour.  
What good is fortune to me if I am not allowed to use it?

44

*The siege of the town of Perth by the guardian Robert Stewart*

In 1339 the town of Perth was besieged by Robert Stewart, guardian of Scotland, who had with him on this occasion William earl of Ross, Patrick earl of March, Maurice de Moray lord of Clydesdale, William de Keith of Galston, and the other magnates of the kingdom. The governor of the town on the English side was at this time Thomas Ughtred, who had with him many Scots who supported Edward Balliol; and the siege lasted for two months and two weeks. Meanwhile Sir William de Douglas arrived from France from King David, to whom he had travelled shortly before for a conference after the capture of Sir Laurence de Abernethy. While Sir William de Douglas was in France, with the permission of the same king he obtained the services of a certain dangerous French pirate called Hugh 'Hampyle', who had with him five barges furnished with a multitude of armed men and weapons, to watch the water of Tay and make sure that the inhabitants of the town did not send news to England by sea, and that the English did not transport food or other things to them by water. Also the said Sir William brought with him from Château Gaillard two knights and two very famous men-at-arms whose names are Giles de la Heuse and John de Braysi. Thus when the said Sir William had reached the guardian, he was welcomed with joy that was beyond belief. The Steward immediately sent Douglas on a mission to sir William Bullock who was then keeper and governor of Cupar castle. He was at that time lieutenant and chamberlain on the side of Edward de Balliol, and treasurer of all the English and their adherents in the kingdom of Scotland. He made an agreement with Douglas to the effect that after a large reward in lands and possessions had been granted to him, he handed over the aforesaid castle to the guardian and became a liegeman of King David together with his men who were many. Also he took part in the said siege [of Perth] with all his forces, offering useful advice and bringing appropriate help. The guardian with his men made an attack nearly every day. And those inside fought manfully in defence. Two sturdy men-at-arms were killed on the guardian's side, namely Alan Boyd and John Stirling commanders of the archers, with many others inside

1339: June

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quasi omni die assultus dabant.<sup>g</sup> Et illi | deintus viriliter defendebant. 30  
Interfecti sunt ex parte custodis duo valentes armigeri videlicet  
Alanus Boyd et Johannes Strivelyne rectores architenencium cum  
aliis multis tam intus quam extra. Interea comes Rossie subtiles  
instituit minitores. Qui<sup>h</sup> vias subterraneas fecerunt et per longa<sup>i</sup> spacia  
suffodierunt quo aquam a foveis extraxerunt et eas desiccatas 35  
reddiderunt. Hiis non obstantibus illi adintus acrius restiterunt et  
dominum Willelmum de Douglas cum telo albalastri<sup>j</sup> femore graviter  
vulneraverunt. Ob cuius ingentem livorem obsidentes commoti sunt.  
Sed consilio dicti domini Willelmi Bullok sublati omnibus conepeis  
propinque magis ad muros castramentati sunt. Quod mirantes 40  
obsessi multo magis quam ante consternati sunt et confusi tum ob  
aque abstraccionem tum<sup>k</sup> ob tentoriorum ad muros approximacio-  
nem. Propter quod dictus Thomas Uther tractatum fecit cum custode  
et xvii die mensis augusti villam sibi reddidit salvis sibi et Anglicis vita  
et membris et rebus suis mobilibus.<sup>l</sup> Quorum quidam Anglorum 45  
navali vehiculo quidam terrestri passagio partes Scocie cum magno  
obprobrio quantocius reliquerunt concessis Scotis<sup>m</sup> terris et posses-  
sionibus<sup>n</sup> et indultis injuriis tempore guerre regi et regnicolis<sup>o</sup>  
proterviter illatis.

g dabat CA  
h + tracones et CA  
i + terrarum CA  
j + in CA  
k interlin. over quod del.C  
l mobibilibus C; + similiter et Scotis secum  
Anglicatis ad fidelitatem regis David

admissis, restitutionibus possessionum et  
fame promissa ad hoc confirmatione regis  
dum ad propria reverit [?] del.C.  
m + ut promitti del.C  
n + suis CA  
o + tr del.C

45

## De eodem

Interfuit ut premisimus dicte obsidioni pirata Haudpile.<sup>a</sup> Qui ad  
primum assultum per ipsum Anglicis irrogatum optimam suarum  
navium propter nimiam presumptuositatem perdidit et inherciam.  
Sed recuperata nave perdita dictus custos tam piratam quam ceteros  
milites et armigeros munifice satis ut decuit a se dimissos ad<sup>b</sup> propria 5  
<remisit,><sup>c</sup> quamvis in exitu de Drumley diras Caribdis voragine  
illesi vix evasere. Tota illa patria circumvicina eo tempore in tantum  
fuit vastata quod non<sup>d</sup> remansit quasi domus inhabitata, sed fere et  
cervi de montanis descendentes circa villam sepius venabantur. Tanta  
tunc temporis facta est caristia et victualium inopia ut passim 10

a + de quo supra del.C  
b interlin.C

c + pecierunt del.C  
d + remisit del.C

35 as well as outside. In the meantime the earl of Ross employed skilful  
miners. They constructed tunnels, digging them over long distances,  
by which means they drew the water out of the moats and left them  
dried up. Despite this, those inside resisted fiercely and seriously  
wounded Sir William de Douglas in the thigh with a bolt from a cross-  
40 bow. The besiegers were upset by the great degree of malice in this  
action; but on the advice of the said sir William Bullock they removed  
all their shelters and set up camp closer to the walls. Wondering at  
this, the besieged became much more dismayed and confused than  
before, partly because the water had been drawn off, partly because of  
45 the closeness of the tents to the walls. On this account the said  
Thomas Ughtred made a treaty with the guardian, and on 17 August 17 Aug.  
surrendered the town to him, saving for himself and the English life  
and limb and their movable goods. As soon as possible the English –  
some of them on a naval vessel and some by land – left the lands of  
50 Scotland in great disgrace, as soon as their lands and possessions had  
been handed over to the Scots, having been forgiven for the injuries  
they had inflicted on the [Scottish] king and population during the  
war.

45

## The same topic

As we have said before, the pirate 'Haudpile' was present at the said 1339  
siege. In the first attack which was inflicted on the English by him, he  
lost the best of his ships because he was too bold and unskilful. But  
when he had recovered his lost ship, the said guardian sent both the  
5 pirate and the other knights and men-at-arms back to their own  
lands. They were discharged quite generously as was fitting, although  
on leaving Drumlay they barely escaped unharmed from the dire  
depths of the whirlpool.

At that time the whole of the adjacent land was to such a degree laid 1339  
10 waste that there was almost no inhabited house left, but wild beasts  
and deer coming down from the mountains were often hunted around  
the town. So great then was the dearth and lack of provisions that the  
common folk were starving everywhere; and eating grass like sheep,

G ii,332

fo.291

plebicula deficeret, et tamquam oves herbas depascentes in foveis mortua reperiretur. Prope illic in abolitis latitabat quidam<sup>e</sup> rusticus Crysti Cleke nomine cum viragine sua, qui mulierculis et pueris ac juvenibus insidiabantur et tamquam lupus eos strangulantes de ipsorum carnibus victitabant. Abhinc igitur cum suis<sup>f</sup> recessit custos 15 et obsessit castrum de Strivelyne. Perpendens itaque Thomas de Rukby capitaneus eiusdem regem suum Anglie apud <Gallias> fore in expedicione et se propterea de succursu diffidere composuit cum gardiano, et salvis suis Anglicam petiturus abcessit. Cuius custodiam 20 commisit Mauricio de Moravia de Cliddisdal. Ipse vero singulas peragrans provincias, ad fidem regis David Anglicatos quosque receptavit moresque et actus compatriotarum undique exploravit; et ne pauperes a potencioribus calumpnias paterentur | diligencius compescendo investigavit. Cepit tunc regnum prosperari, cultores 25 agros colere, ecclesia Dei venerari, religiosi servicium eius resumere et ad solitum<sup>g</sup> statum reformari. Et sic per industriam domini Andree Murrave et laborem istius custo-[dis Ro-] berti<sup>h</sup> Senescalli regnum eliminatum erat de<sup>i</sup> manibus Anglicorum, exceptis du-[mtaxat]<sup>h</sup> | castris de Edinburgh, Roxburg, Berwik, Jedwod et Lowmabane et aliquantulis turrulis<sup>j</sup> in [eorum]<sup>h</sup> circuitu.<sup>k</sup> 30

e + robustus CA

f + posita oppido custodia CA

g prius apporiat vires et victum sumere, ac servicium divinum resumere, et ipsum ad solitum quia eciam solidum et religiosum

for servicium ... solitum CA

h D; lac. C

i est a spurciis spurciis et for erat de CA

j terris CA

k CA; circimtu C,D

## 46

*De capcione castri de Edenburg per dominos Willelmum et Willelmum de Douglas et Bullok*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xli<sup>o</sup> xvii die mensis aprilis captum est castrum de Edinburgh manu forti non minus feliciter quam subtiliter per<sup>a</sup> Willelmum de Dowglas,<sup>b</sup> Willelmum Bullok,<sup>c</sup> Willelmum Fraser et Walterum Curry<sup>d</sup> subactis sibi cunctis eiusdem castri custodibus hoc 5 modo: de consilio et previsionem domini Willelmi Bullok qui ceteros suo tempore ingenio precellebat<sup>e</sup> dominus Willelmus de Douglas, Willelmus Fraiser et Joachim de Kynbuk convenerunt cum Waltero Curry, qui tunc navem habebat apud Dundee, quam carcaverunt cum electis<sup>f</sup> viris ducentibus navem usque Inchekeith. A qua exiens ad

a + dominum CA

b + de Liddisdall<sup>1</sup> CA

c + presbyterum CA

d + armigeros CA

e E; precallebat C,D; precedebat CA

f + armatorum CA

they were found dead in pits. Nearby there lurked in a ruined building 15 a certain peasant called Christy Cleke with his fierce woman; they lay in wait for women, children and young people, and after strangling them like a wolf, lived on their flesh.

From here the guardian withdrew with his men and besieged Stirling castle. Its captain, Thomas de Rokeby, weighing carefully the 20 fact that his king of England was on an expedition in France, and that he therefore had no hope of support, made an agreement with the guardian, and having saved his men, left to go to England. The custody of this castle the guardian committed to Maurice de Moray of Clydesdale. He himself, however, travelled through each province, 25 accepting everyone who had adhered to the English to be loyal to King David, and scrutinizing everywhere the customs and deeds of his compatriots; and to prevent the poor from suffering malicious prosecution by the powerful, he diligently made enquiries to curb them. Then the kingdom began to prosper, the farmers to cultivate 30 the fields, the church of God to be respected, monks to resume His service and to be restored to their former state. And thus, through the activity of Sir Andrew Moray and the work of that guardian, Robert Stewart, the kingdom was rescued from the hands of the English, with the exception at this stage of the castles of Edinburgh, 35 Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh and Lochmaben, and a few small towers round about.

[1342:  
10 Apr.]

## 46

*The capture of Edinburgh castle by Sir William de Douglas and sir William Bullock*

In 1341 on 17 April Edinburgh castle was captured with a strong force 1341:  
by [Sir] William de Douglas [of Liddesdale, the priest] William [16] Apr.  
Bullock, [and the men-at-arms] William Fraser and Walter Curry, in a way that was both lucky and subtle, after all the guards of the same 5 castle had been disposed of in this manner: following the advice and foresight of sir William Bullock, who in his time surpassed all the others in intelligence, Sir William de Douglas, William Fraser and Joachim de Kinbuck met Walter Curry who had then a ship at Dundee. This ship they loaded, and with two hundred chosen men 10 [they steered] it to Inchkeith. As he disembarked from it on to the land, the said Walter pretended to be an English merchant. Then at a late hour taking one servant with him he went to the captain of Edinburgh castle, saying that he had come from England with the

10 terram dictus Walterus finxit se esse Anglicum mercatorem. Unde  
 quodam sero assumpto secum uno servo venit ad capitaneum castrum  
 de Edinburgh dicens se de Anglia venisse cum optimo vino frumento  
 et forti servisia de Heli, et in argumentum dicti sui duos utres quos  
 secum servus detulit produxit, et de vino ac servisia dedit ei gustare,  
 15 dicens quod in crastino summo mane mitteret eidem duos cadalos<sup>g</sup>  
 vini et servisie et duos cophinos panis biscocti peroptime speciebus  
 gariofilati; et hec sibi promisit se gratis daturum dummodo ab eodem  
 manuteneretur ad<sup>h</sup> sibi sive aliis reliqua vendendum. Quam oblacio-  
 nem gratanter capitaneus acceptavit, affirmans quod januas de<sup>i</sup> mane  
 apertas reperiret. De huiusmodi contractu dictus dominus Willelmus  
 de Douglas instructus cum turma<sup>j</sup> sua prope in insidiis se abscondit.  
 Et in crastino summo mane<sup>k</sup> dictus Walterus cum xii electis armatis  
 sibi associatis suorum amatoris collobiis velatis unoque burdonem  
 manuferente castrum cum duobus equis canistra et cadiferreos  
 25 aquam continentes portantibus<sup>l</sup> plane pecierunt. Ubi portarium  
 paratum invenientes et aperta majori janua ipsum castrum intrantes,  
 janitorem cum<sup>m</sup> duobus sibi assistentibus statim jugulaverunt; et  
 submisso porte clausule quodam rigido burdone ad hoc per dictum  
 Walterum preparato ac eciam projectis cophinis et cadiferreis ad  
 introitum turris, tunc e vicino qui dicitur *le Turnepik* ad buccinam  
 30 cornu ilico prorupit Willelmus de Douglas cum suis. Ad quorum  
 strepitum castellani experrecti ad portam sese festinabant, ubi  
 concerto acriori conflictu Anglici suppeditantur, vulnerantur, jugu-  
 lantur, <capiuntur> et trans muros eiciuntur; castrum a Scotis  
 35 capitur, | burgenses colletantur et ad fidem regis convertuntur. In quo  
 posuit dictus Willelmus de Douglas fratrem suum seniore Willel-  
 mum nomine nothum custodem; et post paucos dies ad Thevidaliam  
 se contulit ubi reliquias Anglicorum ibidem inventorum viriliter de  
 regno pepulit.

G ii,333

g cadulos CA  
 h + sive [?] del.C  
 i castrum summo for de CA  
 j phalange CA

k diluculo for summo mane CA  
 l bajulantibus for portantibus CA  
 m + se del.C

## 47

*De nobili Alexandro de Ramsey et labore eius  
 pro libertate regni*

Eo tempore municipium fecit sibi Alexander de Ramsey in cavea de Hawthorndane habens secum electorum virorum audacitate promi-  
 nentium spectabilem cohortem. Tanta enim probitate refulsit et in  
 tanta milicia singulari honoratus extitit, ut nobilium quasi nullus

best wine, grain and beer from Ely; and to prove what he had said he  
 15 produced two skins which the servant had carried with him, and gave  
 the captain some wine and beer to taste. He said that early the next  
 day he would send the captain two casks of wine and beer and two  
 baskets of biscuits highly spiced with cloves, and these he promised to  
 give the captain for nothing as long as he had the captain's support for  
 20 selling the rest to him or to others. The captain joyfully accepted this  
 offer, assuring him that he would find the gates [of the castle] open in  
 the [early] morning. On being informed of this arrangement, the said  
 Sir William de Douglas hid himself nearby with his troop ready for  
 the attack. And early the next morning the said Walter, accompanied  
 25 by twelve chosen armed men whose armour was concealed by cloaks  
 and by one man carrying a stake, went openly to the castle with two  
 horses carrying baskets and casks that contained water. There they  
 found the gatekeeper ready, and after the great gate had been opened,  
 they entered the castle itself and immediately cut the throats of the  
 30 janitor and his two assistants; and after they had placed under the  
 portcullis the strong stake which had been prepared for this purpose  
 by the said Walter, and had thrown the baskets and casks towards the  
 entrance of the tower, William de Douglas and his men at a trumpet  
 signal immediately rushed out from a nearby place called 'The  
 35 Turnpike'. Roused by the noise, the garrison hurried to the gate,  
 where a most violent fight was fought, in which the English were  
 trampled down, wounded, killed, captured and driven out beyond the  
 walls; the castle was taken by the Scots, the burgesses rejoiced and  
 returned to their allegiance to the king. The said William de Douglas  
 40 placed his elder illegitimate brother, [also] called William, as keeper in  
 the castle, and after a few days went to Teviotdale, where he forcefully  
 expelled from the realm all the remaining English that were found  
 there.

## 47

*The noble Alexander de Ramsay and his efforts  
 for the liberty of the kingdom*

At that time Alexander de Ramsay made himself a fortress [ca 1338]  
 underground at Hawthornden, having with him a remarkable band  
 of selected men outstanding for their courage. For he shone with such  
 prowess, and was so widely honoured for his outstanding military



foret adultus filius juvenescens qui se putaret aliquid virilitatis vel  
 virtutis appreciabilis assequi posse nisi ad tempus de scola milicie eius  
 imbueretur. Sibi<sup>a</sup> propterea adhererunt adolescenciores<sup>b</sup> domicelli et  
 eorum cognati de Haliburton videlicet Heryngis, Hericis,<sup>c</sup> Dunbarris  
 et Dissyntones, cum quibus et eorum sequacibus frequentatis vicibus  
 Angliam peciit, predas diripuit, captivos abduxit, igne et ferro  
 provincias devastavit. Hoc semel cum fecisset et in redeundo  
 captivitatem hominum, armenta boum, ac greges ovium secum  
 abduxisset, castellani marchie Anglie clanculo congregati et cum  
 multitudine patriotarum conglobati Scotos in quadam<sup>d</sup> planicie et  
 armenta preoccupaverunt et in multitudine copiosa predis restiter-  
 unt. Quod percipiens dictus Alexander diluculo diescente et quod non  
 poterat resistere eorum multitudini, convocatis commilitonibus suis  
 breviter eos sic instruxit dicens ut quantocius fugam fingerent et  
 fingendo fugerent donec Anglici ad fugandum prolapsi et sine ordine  
 dispersi ipsos anormule<sup>e</sup> insequerentur; et tunc unanimiter se  
 verterent et inimicis se viriliter opponerent et cum clamore classico  
 eos impeterent; et sic sine dubio<sup>f</sup> prevalerent. Quod ut preordinatum  
 fuit memoriter corde retinentes [et sic]<sup>g</sup> unanimiter facientes de  
 inimicis feliciter triumphaverunt, ubi multis<sup>h</sup> interemptis, captus est  
 dux eorum | dominus Robert de Maners miles et alii armigeri  
 valentes. Dominus Willelmus Heron' ibi fugatus et<sup>i</sup> vulneratus<sup>j</sup> evasit;  
 ceterique quasi omnes capti sunt et spoliati, de quorum redempcione  
 Scoti magnaliter sunt ditati. Eodem tempore captus fuit dominus  
 Willelmus de Monte Acuto <comes> Saresbirie apud Gallias, quem  
 expeditum et liberum dimisit rex Francie Philippus commutatum pro  
 domino Johanne Ranulphi comite Moravie, qui captus fuit ab Anglis,  
 ut prediximus, in conviacione comitis de Geller post eius capcione a  
 Scotis ad Angliam properantis. Qui comes Moravie liberatus et ad  
 Scociam de Anglia reversus, invenit in castro suo de Lowmaban  
 dominum Willelmum Bown comitem de Northampton dominantem  
 omnibus terris suis Vallis Anandie. Quod graviter ferens, dictus  
 comes Moravie a custode Scocie recepit<sup>k</sup> curam et custodiam  
 Westmarchie, ubi per tempus sic utique laborabat quod totas firmas  
 terrarum cum servicio levabat, marchias cum libertate dilatabat, ac  
 Anglorum ausus egregie domabat. Midilmarchie vero tunc prefuit  
 custodie dominus Willelmus de Douglas,<sup>l</sup> et | Estmarchie nobilis  
 Alexander de Ramsey. Qui tres fines suos posuerunt terminos terre ab  
 antiquo possesse.

fo.291v

G ii,334

a D; Qui C  
 b D; adolescenciores C  
 c Herise CA  
 d + pa del.C  
 e anormale CA  
 f + adversus eos CA

g D; lac.C  
 h + Anglorum CA  
 i + tandem CA  
 j + est del.C  
 k suscepit CA  
 l + de Liddisdall' CA

5 service, that virtually none of the nobility, whether adult or a growing  
 boy, thought he could gain any measure of manhood or merit unless  
 he had experience for a while in his military school. Therefore young  
 squires attached themselves to him, as well as their cousins of  
 Haliburton, namely the Herings, Herries, Dunbars and Dishingtons.  
 10 He repeatedly went to England with them and their followers, seized  
 plunder, led away captives, and wasted provinces with fire and sword.

Once when he had done this and was on his return taking a host of  
 captives, herds of oxen and flocks of sheep away with him, the  
 garrisons of the English March, who had secretly gathered and joined  
 15 with a large number of their countrymen, surprised the Scots and  
 their herds in open country and launched an attack on the plunder in  
 large numbers. When the said Alexander discovered this in the light of  
 dawn, and saw that he could not resist their numbers, he called his  
 comrades together and instructed them briefly in this way: they were  
 20 as soon as possible to pretend to flee, and misleadingly flee until the  
 English, having rushed forward to pursue the Scots and become  
 dispersed in disorder, were following the Scots in an undisciplined  
 manner. Then they should turn all together and boldly oppose their  
 enemies, rushing upon them with battle cries. In this way they would  
 25 without doubt prevail. They took what was planned carefully to  
 heart, and by acting together in this way had the good fortune to  
 triumph over their enemies. Many [of the English] were killed, and  
 their leader the knight Sir Robert de Manners and other valiant men-  
 at-arms were captured. Sir William Heron escaped there, after being  
 30 put to flight and wounded; and the others were almost all captured  
 and despoiled. The Scots were greatly enriched by their ransoms.

At the same time Sir William de Montague earl of Salisbury was  
 captured in France. Philip the king of France released him speedily  
 without ransom in exchange for Sir John Randolph earl of Moray,  
 35 who had been captured by the English (as we have said before) when  
 accompanying the count of [Namur] as he was hurrying to England  
 after his capture by the Scots. When the earl of Moray was freed and  
 returned to Scotland from England, he found Sir William Bohun earl  
 of Northampton in his castle of Lochmaben ruling over all his lands  
 40 in Annandale. Annoyed about this, the said earl of Moray received  
 from the guardian of Scotland the care and custody of the West  
 March, where for a while he certainly acted so effectively that he  
 levied all fermes of lands with service attached, he expanded the  
 liberties of the Marches, and he had signal success in defeating the  
 45 ventures of the English. At the same time Sir William de Douglas [of  
 Liddesdale] was in charge of the custody of the Middle March, and  
 the noble Alexander de Ramsay of the East March. These three  
 defined the borders of the country as it had been held in the past.

*De reditu regis David a Francia*

Regno igitur pro modulo feliciter pacato et in habundancia bonorum et victualium profusius prosperato, placuit custodi et tribus statibus regni pro rege suo ad Franciam legacionem mittere. Qua honorifice ut decuit transmissa, rex Francie valefacto regi Scocie eundem reverenter<sup>a</sup> cum duabus bargiis secreto modo misit ad Scociam. Qui eodem 5 anno <sup>iiii</sup><sup>o</sup> nonas junii unacum domina regina Johanna sponsa sua sanus et incolumis ad Inverbervi applicuit et ibi terram peciit. Ad cuius adventum omnes Scoti plus credito exhilarati cum exultacione et tripudio festa celebrarunt.

Anno<sup>b</sup> domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xlii xxx die marcii, qui illo anno fuit vigilia 10 Pasche, nobilis Alexander de Ramsey consilio et instinctu cuiusdam Scoti Hode Ednam nomine cum suis sequacibus muros castri de Roxburgh per scalas latenter conscendens ipsum manu potenti cunctis castellanis superatis et nonnullis interfectis accepit. Cuius propterea custodiam et Thevidalie<sup>c</sup> vicecomitatum rex sibi commisit, 15 propter cuius officium dominus Willelmus de Douglas eum usque ad mortem persecutus eat. Rex autem David ad plenum confortatus et juventute miliari<sup>d</sup> constipatus ter Angliam hostiliter est ingressus. Prima tamen vice non plane tamquam rex exercitum illuc duxit, sed tamquam sub vexillo comitis Moravie militavit, totam patriam 20 peragrata devastans usque villam de Pennyr, quam flamma voraci incineravit. Secundo cum grandi exercitu et vexillo displicato Angliam intravit, et de tironibus suis quos ibi militari cinxit gladio quinque numero<sup>e</sup> videlicet Stewart, Eglenton, Cragi, Boyde, Fowlarton, dominus Robertus de Ogyl circumveniens dolo et attractos 25 insulcante maresio captivos secum abduxit, et magno auri pondo redemptos regi vacuos transmisit. Tercio in Angliam expeditionem faciens non multum ibi nocuit, sed invasus ab Anglis incolumis repatriavit cum suis. Propter quod exaltatum est cor eius, et pro facili reputabat se posse Anglorum terrarum fines<sup>f</sup> usque Humbir dicioni 30 sue<sup>g</sup> subicere. Tum quia imitator se esse jactitabat felici fortunii patris<sup>h</sup> contra eos, tum quia viribus ipse precellebat et florentem juventutem militum et armatorum bellis exercitatum habebat, tum

<sup>a</sup> + et quiete CA  
<sup>b</sup> + per del.C  
<sup>c</sup> + custodiam del.C  
<sup>d</sup> militari CA

<sup>e</sup> + cum del.C  
<sup>f</sup> interlin.C  
<sup>g</sup> CA; sui C,D  
<sup>h</sup> + sui CA

*The return of King David from France*

When the kingdom had thus had the good fortune to become as [1340-1] peaceful as could be expected, and was prospering more richly in abundance of goods and provisions, the guardian and the three estates of the kingdom thought it appropriate to send a delegation to their king in France. When it had crossed over there honourably, as 5 was fitting, the king of France said farewell to the king of Scotland and then considerably and secretly sent him to Scotland with two barges. He arrived safe and sound in the same year on 2 June at [1341:] Inverbervie together with his wife, the lady queen Joan, and made for 2 June land there. All Scots were delighted beyond belief at his arrival, and held feasts with joy and dancing.

In 1342 on 30 March, which in that year was the eve of Easter, the 1342: noble Alexander de Ramsay, on the advice and prompting of a certain 30 Mar. Scot called Hode Ednam, secretly with his followers climbed up the 15 walls of the castle of Roxburgh with the help of ladders and took it with a strong force, after the whole garrison had been overcome and many killed. Because of this, the king entrusted him with the custody of this castle as well as the sheriffdom of Teviotdale. It was on account of this office that Sir William de Douglas hounded him to his death. 20 King David, however, fully reassured and supported by the knightly young men of military age, made three hostile invasions into England. The first time, however, he led an army there not openly as king, but as if he was fighting under the banner of the earl of Moray; he travelled throughout the land and devastated it up to the town of 25 Penrith, which he burned down with all-devouring flames. The second time he entered England with a great army displaying his banner, and five of his squires whom he knighted there – namely Stewart, Eglinton, Craigie, Boyd and Fullarton – were carried off as captives by Sir Robert Ogle, who cleverly surrounded them once they 30 had been enticed into a quagmire. After they had been ransomed with a great weight of gold, he sent them back to the king with nothing. The third time he made an expedition into England he did not cause much damage there, but after an attack by the English, he went home unharmed with his men. Because of this his spirits were raised, and he 35 thought he could easily subject to his authority the English territories as far as the Humber. He believed this partly because he boasted of having the same luck against them as his father, partly because he himself excelled in strength of purpose, and possessed knights and

quia Angliam milicia evacuatam autumabat. Attento quod rex  
 Anglie Eadwardus cum filio suo Eadwardo principe Wallie ac duce 35  
 Cornubie ac universis fere proceribus et nobilibus Anglie in regno  
 Francie ageret, actibus bellicis contra potenciam Francorum insis-  
 tendo. Hec sibi maxime [oc-] casionem<sup>i</sup> dedere ad Durhame/  
 procedendi. Sed in hiis conicio veram esse sentenciam [Augustinus]<sup>i</sup>  
 de verbis Domini dicentis: 'O homo ideo non vicisti quia de tuo 40  
 presumpsisti.' Nam qui pres- [umit de]<sup>i</sup> viribus suis iam antequam  
 pugnet prosternitur.

i D; lac.C

j -h- interlin.C

49

*De interfeccione Alexandri [de Ramsay]<sup>a</sup>*

G ii,335

fo.292

Anno quo supra xx<sup>o</sup> die mensis junii Alexander de Ramsey custos  
 castri de Roxburgh et vicecomes Thevidalie citatis omnibus dicti  
 vicecomitatus coram ipso apud Hawik pro curia tenenda personaliter  
 accessit, ubi dum in ecclesia eiusdem ville tocius fraudis et mali ingenii  
 ignarus adventum citatorum diucius expectaret suo ad fungendum 5  
 officio, nunciatum est eidem quod dominus Willelmus de Douglas in  
 proximo armata manu venturus esset ibidem. Qui nichil mali  
 suspicatus de eo, quamvis de sevicia eius premunitus, ex quo paulo  
 ante omni sedata discordia denuo renovata fuerat amicitia, adven-  
 tum ipsius Willelmi in ecclesia prestolabatur<sup>b</sup> dimissis hominibus suis 10  
 ad villam solaciandi gracia. Cui Willelmo ecclesiam intranti vice-  
 comes assurgens ac pacifice salutans eum ad consedendum invitavit.  
 Sed Willelmus cum suis ut erat armatus in dictum Alexandrum et tres  
 alios sibi auxilium ferentes crudeliter irruentes in gremio sancte  
 matris ecclesie diris vulneribus sauciatos tenuerunt, ipsumque Alex- 15  
 andrum vinculis ligatum ac jumento impositum abduxerunt. Qui ad  
 castrum de Hermitag' deductus et in quodam penu compeditus sine  
 omni sustentacione corporali xvii diebus vixisse perhibetur. Ferunt  
 tamen quidam quod supra ipsum granarium in quo jacuit frumen-  
 tum, qui per arcissimas rimulas<sup>c</sup> percipiebat interdum grana cadere 20  
 quibus prelibatis vitam miseram hiis diebus transigebat. Et in ipsa  
 sua capcione decima septima die confessus et percepcone salutaris  
 viatici refectus nature debitum persolvit. O inexterminabilis invidia  
 Diaboli! O violenta dominacio eius ad difficile subterfugendum

a D; lac.C

b D; prestolabatur C

c rivulas CA

armed men in the flower of youth who were trained in war, and partly  
 40 because he believed that England was empty of armed forces. He  
 understood that Edward the king of England, with his son Edward  
 prince of Wales and duke of Cornwall and nearly all the magnates and  
 nobles of England, was busy in the kingdom of France, making a  
 stand by acts of war against the power of the French. These  
 45 circumstances, David thought, gave him a first-class opportunity to  
 proceed to Durham. But in this regard I reckon that there is truth in  
 the opinion of Augustine who said about the words of the Lord: 'O  
 man, you did not win, because you have presumed [to rely] on your  
 own strength.' For he who presumes on his own strength is already  
 50 overcome before he fights.

49

*The killing of Alexander de Ramsay*

In the same year on 20 June Alexander de Ramsay, keeper of the 1342:  
 castle of Roxburgh and sheriff of Teviotdale, having called together 20 June  
 all of the said sheriffdom to appear before him at Hawick, came in  
 person to hold his court. While he was waiting for some time in the  
 5 church of that town for the arrival of those who had been cited so as to  
 perform his duty, oblivious as he was of any deception and evil intent,  
 it was reported to him that Sir William de Douglas would soon be  
 coming to this place with an armed force. Although he had been  
 warned of William's brutality, he did not suspect any ill from him,  
 10 because shortly before this all their disputes had been settled and their  
 friendship renewed afresh. He waited for the arrival of the said  
 William in the church after sending his men to the town for recreation.  
 When William entered the church, the sheriff rose, and greeting him  
 peaceably invited him to sit down. But William, who was armed, and  
 15 his men cruelly rushed upon the said Alexander and three others who  
 came to his assistance, and seized and wounded them with terrible  
 injuries in the bosom of Holy Mother Church, and abducted  
 Alexander himself bound with chains and put on a mare. He was led  
 to Hermitage castle, and is said to have lived in fetters in some  
 20 storeroom without any bodily sustenance for seventeen days. For  
 some say that above him there was a granary in which lay grain, and  
 that he sometimes saw grains fall through very narrow cracks, and by  
 tasting these prolonged his wretched life for these days. And exactly  
 25 on the seventeenth day of this captivity he paid his due to nature, after  
 having confessed, and being refreshed by receipt of the redeeming last  
 sacrament.

ca 6 July

How everlasting is the Devil's envy! How powerful is his sway in

armans amicum ad inimiciam induendum! Nulli prius melius  
diligebant, nec huiusmodi delectio in Alexandrum<sup>d</sup> deficiebat. Sed  
verum, fateor, sentit in proverbii Seneca: 'Quamvis agas ut ne quis  
merito tuo te oderit,'<sup>e</sup> erunt tamen semper qui te odient.' Hic utique  
Alexander regi et libertati regni multum utilis fuit; hostes circumqua-  
que prostravit et eorum impetum vehementer repressit. Multas  
victorias optinuit, multa bona fecit, et multo maiora secundum  
humanum iudicium fecisset, si diucius vixisset. Ipse etenim virtute  
armorum et robore virium suo tempore ceteros excellebat. Et sicut  
erat in armis potencior, ita ceteris in conflictu felicior. Cuius probitati  
invidens Antiquus Hostis adversus eum talem adversarium, [suscita-  
vit]<sup>f</sup> qui eius virtutum insignia, predominante invidia, non solum  
prodiciose, sed etiam sacrilege, abstulit et extinxit. Nam circumstan-  
cia multum aggravat delictum ut in sancta ecclesia et in corporis  
ipsius Christi<sup>g</sup> presencia commissum. Inconsulte enim vicecomes  
statuit suam curiam tenere in ecclesiis, quia ait G[regorius] X:

Decet domum Domini sanctitudo, decet ut, cuius in pace factus est  
locus, eius cultus sit cum debita veneratione pacificus. Cessent<sup>h</sup> in  
ecclesia universitatum et societatum quarumlibet contenciones et  
consilia et publica parlamenta. Cessent vana et multo forcius feda  
colloquia | negociaciones et fora; omniumque secularium<sup>i</sup> iudiciorum  
et in ea strepitus conquiescat, ne ubi est peccatorum venia postulanda,  
ibi peccandi detur occasio aut peccata deprehendantur committi.

Hec ille. Cuius quidem Alexandri mortis<sup>i</sup> causam dedisse una cum  
ceteris regis inadvertentia sive negligencia ne dicam inconstancia  
plures arbitrantur. Qui prius antedicto Willelmo et postea Alexandro  
memorato contulit indiscrete vicecomitatum Thevidalie. Et sicut a die  
conflictus de Kilblene usque ad mortem ipsius Alexandri in omni  
eventu guerrarum cuncta prospero exitu agebantur, ita ipso de medio  
sublato versa vice omnia attemptata pro regni utilitate protinus  
infelicem capiebant effectum. Per mortem namque ipsius Alexandri  
quasi immortalis lis et interminabilis discordia orta est in regno, non  
solum inter procures sed etiam mediocres. Ita quod ex tunc mutua  
cede se invicem trucidantes vicissim gladio ceciderunt.

<[Eo]<sup>k</sup> etiam tempore dominus Willelmus Bullok capellanus  
singulari prudencia et compendiosi sermonis eloquencia pre omnibus  
suo tempore claruit. Primo cum Eadwardo de Balliolo camerarius et  
ceterorum Anglicorum<sup>l</sup> thesaurarius, [postremo]<sup>k</sup> cum rege David  
camerarius Scocie et inter primos consiliarios maximus; et periti  
[consilii acumine]<sup>k</sup> propterea nominatissimus fuit atque quasi alter  
Chusi habebatur commendabilis. Sed cum stare put[abat]<sup>m</sup> diversis et

d Alexandro D  
e D; oderit C; oderet CA  
f S  
g + clement del.C  
h Cesset D, CA

i CA; secularum C, D  
j C, D; mortis CA  
k D; lac. C  
l sibi fautorum for Anglicorum CA  
m + in gracia regis et favore regni CA

equipping a friend to achieve a difficult deception, to assume the role  
of an enemy! No men were more loving before, nor had this love died  
in Alexander's case. But I have to admit that it is true what Seneca  
recognized in his Proverbs: 'Even if you behave in such a way that no  
one can with justification hate you, there will still always be persons  
who hate you.' There is no doubt that this Alexander was very useful  
to the king and the liberty of the kingdom; he overthrew their enemies  
all around and forcefully checked their attacks. He achieved many  
victories, did many good deeds, and would have done much greater  
deeds according to human judgment if he had lived longer. For he  
surpassed the others of his time in his excellence with arms and his  
vigorous physical strength. And as he was mightier in arms, so was he  
also more fortunate than the others in battle. Envyng his valour, the  
Old Enemy roused against him the kind of adversary who, possessed  
by envy, both treacherously and sacrilegiously stole and destroyed  
the marks of his honour. For the crime was made much worse by the  
fact that it was committed in a holy church, and in the presence of the  
Body of Christ himself. For it was ill-advised of the sheriff to decide to  
hold his court in churches, because Gregory X says:

Holiness is becoming for the house of the Lord. It is right that he in  
whose peace a place has been built should be worshipped in peace and  
with due veneration. Let the [hearing of] disputes of all kinds of guilds  
and associations in a church cease, and [the holding of] councils and  
public parliaments. There shall also cease all vain and – even more so –  
all foul talk, business deals and courts; and the noise of all secular trials  
in church is to be toned down, lest in the place where forgiveness of sins  
should be sought there should be given the occasion for sin, or sins be  
detected in the act of being committed.

Many indeed think that Alexander's death was caused among  
other [reasons] by the king's inadvertence or negligence, not to say  
vacillating behaviour. He had carelessly conferred the sheriffdom of  
Teviotdale first on the aforesaid William, and then on the renowned  
Alexander. And just as from the day of the battle of Culblean until the  
death of this Alexander everything at every stage of the war was  
carried to a successful end, so when he had been murdered exactly the  
opposite happened, and all campaigns undertaken for the benefit of  
the kingdom straight away took an unfortunate turn. For because of  
the death of the same Alexander an almost eternal quarrel and  
unending strife arose in the kingdom, not only among the magnates,  
but also among those of middle rank. In consequence from then on  
they murdered one another in mutual slaughter and killed each other  
in turn by the sword.

It was also at this time that sir William Bullock, the chaplain, stood  
out among all his contemporaries for his remarkable sagacity and the  
succinct eloquence of his speech. He was first chamberlain under  
Edward de Balliol and treasurer of the other English; then he was



variis fungens<sup>k</sup> officiis regno et rei publice per maxime necessariis, invidia procerum et aliorum [multorum apud regem de]<sup>k</sup> infidelitate delatus, de mandato eius per<sup>n</sup> David Berkley capitur et cum [Molmoran et aliis iniquis]<sup>k</sup> deputatus in Lochyndorb custodie mancipatur, et fame<sup>o</sup> ad modum dicti [Alexandri de Ramsey]<sup>k</sup> defecit, 70 post quorum mortem tristitia felicibus<sup>p</sup> in regno [succreverunt].<sup>k></sup>

<sup>n</sup> + dominum CA  
<sup>o</sup> + et frigore CA

<sup>p</sup> infelicitate CA

## 50

*De pestilencia gallinarum et aliis*

fo.292v

G ii,337

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> xxx<sup>o</sup> xxxvi tanta erat pestilencia gallini generis ut omnes gallos gallinacios et gallinas tamquam immundos et lepra perfusos comedere vel eciam videre homines penitus abhorrent. Ac propterea genus illud fere deletum est.<sup>a</sup> Eodem anno Adam de Karall abbas de Scona v<sup>o</sup> nonas octobris obiit. Hic canonicus 5 Sanctiandr<sup>r</sup> professus per duos<sup>b</sup> canonicos de Scona electus est ceteris canonicis in priorem proprii monasterii sua vota dirigentibus. Sed elec-[cione]<sup>c</sup> ipsius prioris per processum juris rite cassata, predictus Adam per provisionem episcopi Sanctiandr<sup>r</sup> <sive vicarii generalis> | [monasterii]<sup>c</sup> de Scona preficitur in abbatem, presertim quia nullus 10 tunc de dicto collegio ad tante dig-[ni]-tatis<sup>e</sup> regimen idoneus est repertus. | Rex autem David moleste tulit mortem Alexandri de Ramsey, et misit sepius armatam manum ad ipsum Willelmum<sup>d</sup> capiendum. Sed ipse caute insidias declinans, regis gratiam non valuit optinere, donec nepos regis Robertus Stewart, multiplicatis interces- 15 sionibus et expositis quanta pertulit in eius absentia pro<sup>e</sup> libertate regni, regem sibi pacatum reddidit et tranquillum. Qui eciam sibi custodiam castri de<sup>g</sup> Roxburgh cum vicecomitatu Thevidalie com- misit. Quod castrum a morte dicti Alexandri custodivit usque tunc 20 Johannes Berchlay.<sup>h</sup> Interea venit quidam de Anglia qui, fingens se filium cuiusdam burgensis de Abirden et suppressens nomen pro-

<sup>a</sup> + regno CA  
<sup>b</sup> + tantum CA  
<sup>c</sup> D; lac.C  
<sup>d</sup> interlin.C  
<sup>e</sup> + defensione et CA

<sup>f</sup> + tandem del.C; but retained D  
<sup>g</sup> + Jedwod et v del.C  
<sup>h</sup> Johannes Berchlay marked for deletion C; om.D,R,B,E; retained CA and H

chamberlain of Scotland under King David, and the most important 75 of his principal councillors. Because of the intelligence of his experienced counsel he was consequently regarded as most celebrated and praiseworthy, almost like another Chusai. But whereas he imagined that he could remain [favoured by the king and trusted by the kingdom], functioning in various different posts which were most 80 necessary to the kingdom and the state, he came as a result of the envy of the magnates and many others to be denounced to the king for treason. On his orders Bullock was seized by [Sir] David Barclay, assigned with Molmoran and other treacherous men to Lochindorb, committed to prison there, and died of hunger [and cold] in the same 85 way as the said Alexander de Ramsay had done. After their deaths sad events replaced fortunate happenings in the kingdom. [1342: late]

## 50

*A fowl pest and other matters*

In 1336 there was such a great fowl pest that people altogether shrank from eating or even looking at all their cocks and hens on the grounds that they were unclean and riddled with leprosy. And therefore nearly all that species was destroyed.

5 In the same year on 3 October Adam de Crail abbot of Scone died. [1344:] He who had taken his vows as a canon of St Andrews had been elected 3 Oct. by [only] two canons of Scone, while the other canons gave their votes [1341-2] to the prior of their own monastery. But when the election of this prior was annulled by due legal process, the aforeaid Adam was 10 appointed abbot of the monastery of Scone by authority of the bishop of St Andrews or the vicar-general, especially since nobody was then found in that community who was suitable for undertaking such a high office.

Meanwhile King David remained distressed by the death of [1342] 15 Alexander de Ramsay, and repeatedly sent out an armed force to seize William in person. But he, carefully avoiding traps, did not succeed in gaining the king's goodwill until the king's nephew, Robert Stewart, with many interventions and explanations of how much William had suffered in David's absence for the [defence and] liberty of the 20 kingdom, brought the king back to a peaceable and calm attitude towards him. He even entrusted William with the custody of the castle of Roxburgh and the sheriffdom of Teviotdale. He held this castle from the death of the said Alexander until the time when John Barclay held it.

25 In the meantime a man came from England who, pretending to be [1344] the son of a certain burgess of Aberdeen and concealing his own



prium, per xiiii annos in carcere fuisse dicebat. Hic taxata redemp-  
 cione et datis plegiis pro pecunia solvenda, multos de regno et  
 precipue communitatem per plura intersigna et evidencias perspicuas  
 fecit intelligere et firmiter credere quod in veritate erat Alexander de 25  
 Broys. Qui post varias riotas et diversa colloquia cum rege habita et  
 quibusdam magnatibus, timens mortem sibi inferri per eos qui eius  
 terram occupabant, ut dicebat, secessit clam in partes de Carrik, ubi  
 de mandato regis captus et apud Are deductus tamquam seductor et 30  
 fraudis commentor. Ibidem in presencia Roberti Stewart et Malcolmi  
 Flemyng ac aliorum multorum suspendio vitam finivit mense julii,  
 non tamen, ut quidam ferunt, juris ordine usquequaque observato.  
 Propter quod multi adhuc putant ipsum verum fuisse Alexandrum et  
 ob ipsius terras retinendas iniqua morte dampnatum. Hoc anno  
 Alanus de Wynton vi et raptu cepit dominam juvenculam de Seton', 35  
 quem in facto suo manutenebat Willelmus de Moravia custos castri  
 de Edinburgh. Propter quod tantum discidium et discordia orta est in  
 Laudonia quod infra unum annum centum, ut dicitur, aratra  
 sequestrata sunt a cultura. Conquestum est de raptu per parentes de 40  
 rapte domino regi, et apprehenso dicto Alano rege pro tribunali  
 sedente, oblatis sunt ad eligendum juvencule gladius et anulus. Que  
 anulum arripiens adjudicata est Alano ad uxorandum. De qua  
 suscepit filium nomine Willelmum et Margaritam filiam. Verumptam  
 propter insidias<sup>k</sup> uxoris sue amicorum ad Terram Sanctam  
 secessit, et ibidem in Domino obiit peregrinus. 45

i +quidam armiger CA  
 j corrected from rege C

k +parentele CA

name, claimed to have been in prison for fourteen years. When a  
 ransom had been fixed and pledges had been given for paying the  
 money, he with the help of many tokens and clear evidence made  
 30 many of the kingdom and especially the common people understand  
 and firmly believe that he was in reality Alexander de Bruce. After  
 various disturbances and a number of interviews with the king and  
 certain magnates, fearing that he might be put to death (he said) by  
 those who occupied his land, he secretly withdrew into the region of  
 35 Carrick, where he was on the king's instructions captured and taken  
 to Ayr as an impostor and fraudster. There, in the presence of Robert  
 Steward, Malcolm Fleming and many others, he ended his life by  
 hanging in the month of July, although, as some believe, proper July  
 judicial procedure had not in all points been observed. Because of this  
 40 many still think that he was the real Alexander and condemned to an  
 unjust death so that his lands could be retained [by others].

In this year [a certain man-at-arms,] Alan de Wynton, by a forcible [1344-5]  
 abduction seized the lady of Seton, a young girl. He was in this deed  
 abetted by William de Moray, the keeper of Edinburgh castle.  
 45 Because of this such disagreement and discord arose in Lothian that  
 for a year a hundred ploughlands, it is said, could not be cultivated.  
 The parents of the abducted girl complained about the abduction to  
 the lord king, and when the said Alan had been seized and the king  
 was sitting in judgment, there were offered to the young girl a sword  
 50 and a ring to choose between. She quickly took the ring and was  
 awarded to Alan in marriage. By her he had a son named William and  
 a daughter Margaret. However, because of the intrigues of the friends  
 of [the relations of] his wife he went away to the Holy Land and died  
 there a pilgrim in the Lord.

## Notes

### Chapter 1 p.1

The bulk of this chapter is taken from *Fordun* (348-9, annal 135); Bower has added some details to the account of the treasonable conspiracy of 1320 (especially ll.6-12, 'who ... silence'), and to the account of the meeting of King Robert and papal legates at Berwick (ll.27-32, 'urging ... king'); he then introduces (ll.32-35) the 'Declaration of Arbroath', which had not been mentioned by Fordun. *Wyntoun* includes nothing that touches on these topics; *Pluscarden* (251-2) follows Bower, with some passages shorter and some longer; *Extracta* (150) has an abbreviated version of the chapter, misrepresenting Bower by stating that all the four who were executed (and not just David de Brechin) were convicted for remaining silent about the conspiracy.

Bower's scribe in MS C at first copied Fordun's erroneous 'John' in the title for this chapter, and then corrected it to 'William'. Fordun had not included the name 'Black Parliament', which is first found here and then copied by later writers.

1-25. ... *mutilation*: for modern discussions of the Soules conspiracy see Barrow, *Bruce*, 309-10; Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 102-3; and A.A.M. Duncan, 'The war of the Scots, 1306-23', *TRHS*, sixth series, ii (1992), 125-51, especially 129. The story in *Barbour's Bruce* (iii, 208-10 [bk.xix, ll.1-72]) suggests that the aim was to replace Robert as king by William de Soules, an account which Duncan calls 'highly-coloured', 'self-contradictory and improbable to the point of impossibility'; he suggests instead that 'the names of the leading conspirators ... scarcely permit a doubt that this was a group intent upon forwarding the interests of Edward Balliol'. For the names of some additional persons involved see Stevenson, *Illustrations*, 10; cf. *Scalacronica*, 144.

2. *William de Soules*: son of John de Soules the Competitor in 1291; his mother was a Comyn (see next note); he opposed King Robert until making his peace with him in 1314 just after Bannockburn; as hereditary butler of Scotland he sealed the 'Declaration of Arbroath' in April 1320 (see below c.2,l.8); reportedly imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle until his death (*Barbour's Bruce*, iii, 210 [bk.xix, ll.50-52]), which took place before 20 April 1321 (T.McMichael, 'The feudal family of de Soulis', *TDGAS*, third series, xxvi [1949], 187-9; *CDS*, iii, ad indicem), when his lands were forfeited (*RRS*, v, 454; cf. 465, 658).

*countess of Strathearn*: apparently the dowager Countess Agnes, whose husband Malise, the sixth earl, had died in 1313; she was a daughter of Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan (d.1290); for details of her sisters and connections see *Wyntoun*, v, 236-9; *SP*, ii, 256; viii, 249-50; ix, 47; William de Soules was the son of her sister Margaret, and David de Brechin the son of her

sister Elena; her son Malise, the seventh earl, had sealed the 'Declaration of Arbroath' (see below c.2.1.5).

3-5. *After confessing ... imprisonment*: 'et confessi' (text 1.4) was added by Bower to *Fordun*; the fact that these two escaped the death penalty may perhaps have suggested to Bower that the king recognized that William was an unwilling potential alternative king; and possibly that the countess was the unnamed lady whom Barbour (*Barbour's Bruce*, iii, 208-9 [bk.xix, ll.22-30]) understood to have revealed the plot to the king (cf. Duncan, 'War of the Scots', 129, n.13); Barbour also states (*ibid.*, 209 [ll.34-43]) that Soules was arrested when at Berwick with a large liveried following.

5. *David de Brechin*: see J. Bain, 'Sir David of Brechin, executed in 1320', *The Genealogist*, new series, v (1888-9), 22-25; *DNB*, vi, 251; *SP*, ii, 218-22; a great-grandson of David earl of Huntingdon (d.1219), he had succeeded his father (who had married Elena Comyn [see above]) 1286 × 1292; supported the English king for much of the time until 1312 (Duncan, 'War of the Scots', 127); found as witness of two of King Robert's charters towards 1320 (*CDS*, iii, ad indicem; *RRS*, v, 422, 651); listed among the senders of the 'Declaration of Arbroath' in April 1320, to the file-copy of which his wife's seal was attached (see below c.2, 1.9); for lands in Angus that he forfeited see *RMS*, i, app.ii, nos. 455, 481, 663. It is not known how Bower found out that he had been on crusade; Bower's general tone suggests an echo of Barbour's sympathetic picture, but he does not include Barbour's account of the indignant consequent withdrawal from Scotland of Brechin's longtime friend Ingram de Umfraville (*Barbour's Bruce*, iii, 211-12 [bk.xix, ll.73-127]).

13. *Gilbert de Malherbe*: a STL landholder, he served as sheriff of Stirling for the Scots in 1299, when he received the surrender of Stirling castle from its English keeper (*CDS*, ii, no.1949); later adhered to Edward I and Edward II, being allowed in 1304 to succeed to his father's lands in KNT and CAM (*ibid.*, no.1594), before being reconciled to King Robert; he has been called a 'shifty opportunist' (Barrow, *Bruce*, 105-6, 310); for his lands forfeited after his conviction see *RMS*, i, app.ii, no.516.

*John Logie*: held lands of Logie in Glen Almond PER; as the probable son and heir of Malise de Logie he was 1306 × 1309 the young ward of the earl of Strathearn, the husband of the countess mentioned above, to the disappointment of Gilbert de Malherbe as it happens; sealed a copy of the tailzie for the descent of the Scottish crown 27 April 1315 (cf. above, XII c.24); his lands were forfeited after his treason (*CDS*, iii, no.410; *RRS*, v, 343, 448, 495-6, 684; cf. *ibid.*, vi, 492; Barrow, *Bruce*, 310 and 379, n.167).

14. *Richard Brown*: not identified; cf. a Richard Brown, an Ayrshire landholder in 1315 (*RRS*, v, 351), whose lands of Auchendrane AYR were later forfeited to King Robert (*RMS*, i, app.ii, no.329).

16. *Eustace de Maxwell*: lord of Carlaverock DMF by 1312, when an opponent of King Robert; listed among the senders of the 'Declaration of Arbroath' in April 1320 (see below c.2, 1.15); granted lands in LAN by the king Mar.1323 × Mar.1324 (*RMS*, i, app.ii, no.278); but is thought to have forfeited Carlaverock by 31 Dec. 1324 (*RRS*, v, 525-6; cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 318); supporter of Edward Balliol by Oct. 1332 (*CDS*, iii, no.1129) and thereafter; d. 3 March 1342 (*SP*, vi, 472; Nicholson, *Edward III*, ad indicem).

*Walter de Barclay*: possibly the knight described as 'of Kerdaan', who

witnessed the surrender of John Comyn of Badenoch to Edward I 9 Feb. 1304 (*CDS*, ii, no.1741), and who was appointed sheriff of Banff by that king in Sept. 1305 (*ibid.*, p.458 and ad indicem); but the same or others of the same name in 1306 forfeited to Edward the lands of Kercock near Kinclaven PER and Monykebbuck near Newmacher ABD for supporting Robert Bruce (Barrow, *Bruce*, 328); this latter man witnessed the act whereby the earl of Ross came to that king's peace on 31 October 1308 (*APS*, i, 477); rewarded by the king with lands of Belhelvie ABD (*RMS*, i, app.ii, no.42); still acting as sheriff of Aberdeen 25 Sept. 1323 (*RRS*, v, 514).

17. *Patrick de Graham*: has been identified with the son of Sir David de Graham who died in the service of Edward I in Flanders in 1297 (*SP*, vi, 203-4; cf. his supposed cousin of the same name [*ibid.*, vi, 208]); it is not clear that the references are to two persons; submitted to Edward I in 1304, and forfeited to him in 1306 for supporting Robert Bruce (Barrow, *Bruce*, 133, 327); imprisoned in London (*CDS*, ii, no.1849; iii, no.62), but cleared of English charges against him by Dec. 1308, when as son-in-law of John Macdougall lord of Argyll (King Robert's enemy) he was going to Scotland in company of Edward II (*CDS*, iii, no.65); expected to submit again to Edward II in Mar. 1314 and Mar. 1315 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 121, 139); must have made his peace with Robert before being included with his cousin David in the list of senders of the 'Declaration of Arbroath' in April 1320 (see below c.2, 1.13); by 1335/6 his lands in WLO had been confiscated by Edward III (*CDS*, iii, pp. 341, 390).

*Hamelin de Troup*: a BNF landholder who failed to get satisfaction from Edward I in 1304-5; an early supporter of King Robert in 1306; served as sheriff of Banff under him in 1328 before dying in service of Edward III shortly before February 1338 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 133, 157-8, 310, 328; cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 546-7).

18. *Eustace de Rattray*: a PER landholder of this name was a supporter of King Robert in 1306 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 327); can be traced earlier from 1296 (*Coupar Angus Chrs.*, i, 162-5, 168-9; cf. *RRS*, v, 292-3, 376); a father and son of same name were paid expenses for serving with the English at Perth in July 1311 (*CDS*, iii, pp.425-6); it is perhaps the son who is mentioned here; perhaps same as the man of this name who was granted a safe-conduct to visit England 31 Oct. 1357 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 815).

19. *not found in any way guilty*: Professor Duncan observes ('War of the Scots', 129) that the assize in parliament that dealt with these men 'did not fear' to acquit them; yet the king 'succeeded in suppressing all wider knowledge of the nature of the treasons committed'.

20. *Roger de Mowbray*: belonged to a family that supported the Balliols (Barrow, *Bruce*, 281, 309); in Paris along with William Wallace in 1299 (*ibid.*, 110); in service of Edward II by May 1309 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 64-65); served him at Perth in 1310 and Dundee in 1312, and sought with his help in 1311 to marry one of the Abernethy heiresses (*CDS*, iii, ad indicem; *SP*, vii, 402); lost his Cumberland lands for changing to side of King Robert in July or Sept. 1314 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 370, n.2; cf. *CDS*, iii, nos.394, 769, 786); served that king as justiciar *ad hoc* 13 April 1319 (*RRS*, v, 667, no.435), and sealed the file-copy of the 'Declaration of Arbroath' in April 1320 (see below c.2, 1.8-9); his lands (including Barnboulge and Dalmeny WLO) which were forfeited in 1321 can

be traced in *RMS*, i, and *RRS*, v, ad indices. His brother Philip was keeper of Stirling Castle for Edward II in 1314 (*RRS*, v, 665, no.428 note; cf. above XII ad indicem), and is listed in a NTB chronicle (Stevenson, *Illustrations*, 10) along with Roger's son Alexander as additional plotters in 1320 (cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 67).

21. *his body was brought there*: 'This was done because conviction and sentence involving perpetual disinheritance could be pronounced and put into execution only on the body of the convicted person' (Barrow, *Bruce*, 310).

26-32. ... *king*: Fordun (349) baldly mentions a meeting of legates with the king at Berwick on 17 March 'eodem anno'; this would mean 1321 by normal Scottish custom, though from what follows here it appears that Bower at any rate thought it meant 1320, a point which he made specifically clear in MS CA (see textual note h at text l.32). Fordun was, however, probably referring to a visit by two papal nuncios sent by John XXII (Rigaud de Asserio bishop of Winchester and William de Landun OP, bishop-elect of Vienne), who are known to have taken part in abortive negotiations for permanent peace held at Bamburgh NTB not far from Berwick in March-April 1321 (Stones, *Documents*, 146-53; Barrow, *Bruce*, 240-1), and who were reported by Edward II on 14 May 1321 as having been unable to hand over to King Robert (meaning get him to accept?) papal letters addressed to him, because of certain unspecified wording in them (*Foedera*, II, i, 450); the point may well have been the omission of the Scottish king's royal titles; if so, the meeting cannot have been as friendly as Bower's elaboration of Fordun's text here suggests.

32-35. *On observing ... terms*: here Bower introduces the so-called 'Declaration of Arbroath' (see below cc.2-3 for the text), which is not mentioned by Fordun or Wyntoun. The assertion here that the Scottish magnates took the initiative for a gathering at Arbroath Abbey (on 6 April 1320 – see below) is thought by recent writers to have been an error on Bower's part; it is argued that a decision was probably taken at a royal council held at Newbattle Abbey MLO in the second half of March 1320 to have a letter composed in the name of the barons, and that though it was formally dated 6 April, the process of assembling the magnates' seal-matrices took some weeks after that (*RRS*, v, 149; Barrow, *Bruce*, 303); the letter was probably composed at Arbroath Abbey, where Bernard the king's chancellor was the abbot – witness the phrase 'apud monasterium nostrum' [our italics] in the dating clause of the surviving copies of drafts of the letter (see below c.3, text, ll.65-66), though the word 'nostrum' was deleted from the file-copy of the final version; and the seals were attached to the file-copy at least in so 'absolutely uniform' a manner that there can be no question of a round robin (Duncan, 'Making', [cited below c.2, introduction], 185-6; Barrow, *Bruce*, 304; cf. Fergusson, *Declaration* [also cited below], 16); there is no evidence for, or likelihood of, any 'gathering' of magnates at Arbroath on a specific date in this connection as Bower suggests.

## Chapter 2 pp.5-7

The original letter of the Scottish barons to Pope John XXII (commonly known as the Declaration of Arbroath) which Bower includes here in full in cc.2-3 has not survived; but a file-copy which bears traces of some fifty seals of leading lay magnates (i.e. no ecclesiastical magnates were involved) remained in Scotland, and after being kept at Tynninghame House ELO for two centuries (hence its usual siglum 'Tyn') is now in the Scottish Record Office. Though commentators have observed minor textual errors in MS Tyn, it remains an official text with which Bower's text here can be compared (cf. above XI cc.16-17 for a parallel situation regarding the Franco-Scottish treaty of 1295-6); it is clear that Bower's text is derived, not from this file-copy, but from an unsealed draft produced before the letter was put into final form. The clearest proof of this is found in the mention here of the mythical origin of the Scottish nation in Greece and Egypt (l.24), while in MS Tyn its origin is traced to Greater Scythia. It is likely that Bower found his version of this text in a collection of texts such as he had used above in Books XI and XII for materials which he had not found included in Fordun's chronicle; and, as in these earlier cases, his source appears to be different from the collection of texts now to be found in four of the surviving Fordun MSS (FA, FC, FD, FG). That collection also includes a version of this letter, with the text in FD materially different from that in the other three MSS (see below ll.3-18 note). These texts may have been derived ultimately from a similar draft to that which lies behind Bower's text, but by the time the existing Fordun MSS were being written in mid to late 15c they had accumulated sufficient variants to make them distinguishable from the text here. (None of these four Fordun MSS was the one used by Bower, and in fact all may have been written after his text in MS C here.) The existence of these four texts in the Fordun MSS has escaped the notice of modern commentators on this letter, though one of them (FC) has been in print in Latin only since 1722 (Hearne, iii, 787-93). For recent modern literature see Sir James Fergusson, *The Declaration of Arbroath* (Edinburgh, 1970); A.A.M.Duncan, *The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath (1320)* (London, 1970); A.A.M.Duncan, 'The making of the Declaration of Arbroath', in *The Study of Medieval Records*, ed. D.A.Bullough and R.L.Storey (Oxford, 1971), 174-88; G.G.Simpson, 'The Declaration of Arbroath revitalized', *SHR*, lvi (1977), 11-33; Barrow, *Bruce*, especially 303-9; *RRS*, v, ad indicem, p.776.

No full edition of the Declaration is offered here. It should be noted that in Goodall's edition (ii, 275-7) the text was taken without warning from the engraving of MS Tyn published in 1739 in J.Anderson, *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus: Diplomata Scotiae* (Edinburgh, 1739) rather than from the MS E of Bower which Goodall claimed to be following. Here the aim as usual is to print the text from Bower's MS C, with help from MS D where necessary; but selected references are made to the other versions in these editorial notes to illustrate how Bower's text relates to the others. The text in MS Tyn is printed in various places, most simply in *Chron.Picts-Scots*, 291-4. In *Pluscarden* this letter was included twice by the author – a full text at pp.201-5, and a duplicate text at pp.252-4 which stops short at the equivalent of c.3, l.48 here; both versions are based almost wholly on Bower's text rather

than MS Tyn or the Fordun MSS (but see p.204, sixth line [but not p.254, twenty-fifth line], where two words 'genuflexis cordibus' seem to have come from MS Tyn or MS FD [see below c.3, l.37 note; cf. Simpson, art.cit., 15]); and typically the author has felt as free to abbreviate or elaborate a record source as he did literary sources (cf. above Vol.6, p.263); his versions of the Declaration therefore should not be regarded as challenging the belief supported here that the versions found both in the Fordun MSS and in Bower are early drafts of the file-copy (cf. Simpson, art.cit., 16). *Extracta* (150-1) has a brief summary of this letter; there is nothing in *Wyntoun*.

There are obvious parallels with the letter of the barons of England to Pope Boniface VIII in 1301 (see above XI c.39), and the letter of the Irish magnates to Pope John XXII in 1317 (see above XII cc.26-32). Though this letter was sent in the name of the 'barons and freeholders and the whole community of the kingdom of Scotland' (ll.18-19), many of whom are specified by name, it was a product of the king's chancery, which at the same time was drafting a letter (now lost) from King Robert to the pope (Simpson, art.cit., 28; cf. *RRS*, v, 668-9, no.440); the chancery scribe who wrote the file-copy has been identified, if not named (*ibid.*, 174); the most recent suggestion for the author of the letter is Master Alexander de Kinninmonth, who was one of the royal embassy who took it to the papal court (Barrow, *Bruce*, 305, 308; cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 299-301).

It has been observed that the Latin style of this letter follows the practice of the papal chancery in adopting the rhythms of the *cursus*; as many as one hundred instances have been identified, a very high incidence (*RRS*, v, 165); this practice was not customarily followed by the clerks of the king's chancery in Scotland, but was adopted when addressing the pope because it was often the case that it was hoped to obtain a reply incorporating the substance of the original letter; the 1317 letter of the Irish magnates adopted the *cursus* style probably for the same reason (see above Vol. 6, p.xxii); as it turned out in this case the papal answer of 28 August 1320 was brief and did not incorporate any of the phraseology so carefully put together here (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 212, no.433; translation in *SHR*, xxix [1950], 119-20), though the pope did use some of it for a parallel letter to King Edward II (Lord Cooper of Culross, *Selected Papers 1922-1954* [Edinburgh, 1957], 330). The letter also contains a number of biblical allusions, some of which are mentioned in the notes below (see *ibid.*, 326-7; Fergusson, *Declaration*, 34-35; Barrow, *Bruce*, 307). In addition an adaptation from the classical writer Sallust (*Bellum Catilinae* [Loeb edn], 58, c.33, para.4) has famously been included at c.3, text ll.31-35 (J.R.Philip, 'Sallust and the Declaration of Arbroath', *SHR*, xxvi [1947], 75-78; cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 307).

1. *John*: Pope John XXII 1316-34.

3-18. *Duncan ... Straiton*: to the list of 36 names found in the text of MS C have been added here the three additional names (Mowbray, Oliphant and Mowat) which are included in MS Tyn; in that file-copy too the apparent description here of Henry de Sinclair as 'pantler of Scotland' (see below) is omitted. In three of the Fordun MSS (FA, FC, FG) these names are the same as in Bower's list; but MS FD has sizable omissions – John de Menteith is not described as keeper of the earldom of Menteith, the whole entry for Robert de Keith is omitted, John de Fenton is called John Ceton, and all nine names from Eustace de Maxwell to Alexander de Straiton inclusive are omitted. In

the file-copy a further eight names (Alexander de Lamberton, Edward de Keith, John de Inchmartine, Thomas de Meneris, Adam de Kalantyr, Thomas de Morham, Roger Mowat, John Duraunt) are added above or on the 51 seal-tags which are attached to the letter, many of them with seals still preserved (for details see Duncan, 'Making', 182-4). It is clear that the list of senders of this letter changed and grew between the drafting stage and the writing of the file-copy, and then even later as baronial seal-matrices became available at Arbroath until at last the 'top copy' was sent off to Avignon, probably early in May 1320 (*ibid.*, 186-7).

For a discussion of which magnates of Scotland were associated one way or another with this letter and which were not, see Barrow, *Bruce*, 308-9, where it is suggested that at least some magnates 'had been chosen deliberately to join in the letter as a test of loyalty'.

3. *Duncan earl of Fife*: born 1289 or 1290, succeeded his father 1289, died 1353 (*RRS*, v, 356; cf. *HBC*, 508); brought up in England; came to Scotland to support King Robert and be restored to his earldom by 23 August 1315 (*SP*, iv, 11-12; *RRS*, v, 354-60 and ad indicem; Barrow, *Bruce*, 277-8).

3-4. *Thomas Randolph*: see above Vol. 6, ad indicem; longtime supporter of King Robert; earl of Moray from 1312, lord of Man from 1316, lord of Annandale from 1318, d.1332 (*RRS*, v, nos.24, 101, 113, and ad indicem; Barrow, *Bruce*, ad indicem; cf. *SP*, vi, 291-5).

4-5. *Patrick de Dunbar*: held this earldom 1308-1368 (*HBC*, 507; *DNB*, xvi, 150; *SP*, iii, 264-9); his mother was a Comyn of Buchan; adhered to King Robert immediately after helping Edward II to return to England after battle of Bannockburn in 1314 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 231-2, 277; cf. 309), and seems to have been Robert's trusted envoy to France soon after (Duncan, 'War of the Scots', 130); see *RRS*, v, ad indicem; Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, i, 238; and *History of Northumberland*, vii, 78-92).

5. *Malise earl of Strathearn*: held this earldom 1313- ca 1329 (*SP*, viii, 251-2; cf. *HBC*, 521; cf. *DNB*, lv, 35-37); supported King Robert from 1313 onwards (Barrow, *Bruce*, 275-6; *RRS*, v, ad indicem); see C.J.Neville, 'The political allegiance of the earls of Strathearn during the War of Independence', *SHR*, lxxv (1986), 133-53.

5-6. *Malcolm earl of Lennox*: customarily said to have held this earldom 1303 x 1305 to 1333 (*HBC*, 512); but alternatively said to have succeeded his father ca 1290 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 409 ad indicem); see above XII c.11, l.38, and pp.447-9; certainly an inseparable companion of King Robert from 1306 – and arguably a Bruce family supporter from 1291 (*DNB*, xxxiii, 51-52; Fraser, *Lennox*, i, 229-40; *SP*, v, 334-6; Barrow, *Bruce*, 156; cf. 276, and ad indicem; *RRS*, v, ad indicem).

6. *William earl of Ross*: see above XI c.24, l.39, and XII c.11, l.25; held this earldom 1274 x 1284 to 1323 (*HBC*, 518; *SP*, vii, 233-5); an old Balliol supporter, was won over to King Robert in 1308, and became one of his staunchest supporters (Barrow, *Bruce*, 271; *RRS*, v, ad indicem).

*Magnus earl of Caithness and Orkney*: still a boy 1302-3 (Watt, *Graduates*, 517, s.v. Weland de Stiklaw); held this earldom from ca 1312 to 1320 x 1321 (*HBC*, 503; *SP*, ii, 319); involved in the treaty with Norway of 29 October 1312 (*RRS*, v, nos.24-25); otherwise little is recorded of his activities (Barrow, *Bruce*, 270-1).



7. *William earl of Sutherland*: held this earldom 1309 to 1321 × 1330 (*HBC*, 521; *SP*, viii, 323-4); accepted Robert Bruce as king by March 1309, but otherwise little is recorded of his activities (Barrow, *Bruce*, 270-1).

6. *Walter the Steward*: see above XII c.24, l.25 note; held the Steward inheritance 1309-26 (*DNB*, liv, 295; *SP*, i, 14-15); friend and ally of the Bruce family (Barrow, *Bruce*, 196 and ad indicem; *RRS*, v, ad indicem).

8. *William de Soules*: see above c.1, l.2.

*James de Douglas*: see above XII c.19, l.9, and c.25, l.16; he was an inseparable companion of King Robert from 1306 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 156 and ad indicem; *RRS*, v, ad indicem).

8-9. *Roger de Mowbray*: see above c.1, l.20.

9. *David de Brechin*: see above c.1, l.5.

*David Graham*: held the family inheritance 1296 – ca 1329 (*SP*, vi, 208-9); captured at Dunbar in 1296; in the Comyn following; commissioned by Edward I to capture William Wallace in 1304 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 74, 107, 130; cf. 309); probably returned from England after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314 (*RRS*, v, ad indicem).

*Ingram de Umfraville*: see above XI c.15, ll.62-63; c.16, l.21; XII c.22, l.100; opposed King Robert after 1306; captured by the Scots when fighting on the English side at Bannockburn in 1314; not ransomed, but confirmed in his Scottish inheritance by Robert (*RMS*, i, app. i, no.76); already by 20 April 1320 was planning to go overseas through England, and it is argued that he had some sympathy for the Soules conspirators (see above c.1, l.5n); he certainly withdrew to England soon after August 1320 (Duncan, 'War of the Scots', 127-30, where the account in *Barbour's Bruce* (iii, 211-12 [bk.xix, ll.73-127]) is doubted; cf. also Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, i, 211-12; C.H.Hunter Blair, 'Knights of Northumberland in the thirteenth century', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, xxx [1952], 33-54, especially 53-54); we are grateful to Professor A.A.M.Duncan for advice on this note.

10. *John de Menteith*: see above XII c.8 and pp.447-9; cf. *DNB*, xxxvii, 255-7. His description here as 'keeper of the earldom of Menteith' implies that that earldom was then in wardship, presumably because Mary the daughter and heir of Alan the last earl (who had died 1306 × 1309) was still under age; though Alan's brother Murdoch appears to have returned from England (or more likely France, Professor Duncan advises) sometime after January 1317, an act of 5 December 1318 which describes him as earl is considered to be unreliable; it was only sometime 1320 × 1323 that he secured the earldom, which he then held until his death at Dupplin Moor in 1332; he was succeeded by his niece Mary (*RRS*, v, 358; cf. Fraser, *Menteith*, i, 433-56; *SP*, vi, 135-7). It was probably John's death in 1320 or later which allowed Murdoch to become earl; but it has been suggested (*RRS*, v, 111) that possibly he died ca 1318, and that it was his son of the same name who is the keeper of the earldom mentioned here.

*Alexander Fraser*: a supporter of King Robert from 1306 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 325-8); attended his first parliament at St Andrews in March 1309 (*ibid.*, 186; see also 364, n.110); lord of Touch Fraser STL and later of Cowie KCD; had Robert's sister Mary as his wife from about 1316 to her death before 22 September 1323 (*ibid.*, 281; *RMS*, i, app.i, no.72; cf. *RRS*, v, 64); served as chamberlain of Scotland 1319-27 (*ibid.*, 206); died at Dupplin Moor in 1332

(see below c.23, l.13); biography in *Fraser's of Philorth*, i, 49-76, and *DNB*, xx, 202.

11. *Gilbert de Hay*: see above XII c.11, l.38; Barrow, *Bruce*, 285 and ad indicem; *RRS*, v, ad indicem.

*Robert de Keith*: this ELO landholder held the heritable office of marischal of Scotland from ca 1290 to 1346 (*SP*, vi, 30-33; cf. *DNB*, xxx, 326); deserted his English loyalty for King Robert at Christmas 1308 (*CDS*, iii, no.245); remained faithful for the rest of his life, and profited much from the forfeiture of the Comyn lands (Barrow, *Bruce*, 284-5 and ad indicem; *RRS*, v, ad indicem).

12. *Henry de Sinclair*: active as lord of Roslin MLO 1292-1335; supporter of King Robert from some date 1309 × 1313 (*SP*, vi, 565-6; *CDS*, iii, no.121; cf. *DNB*, lii, 308); brother of William de Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld 1312-37, for whom the king had a special affection (see above XII c.25); witness of royal acts from 1313 onwards (*RRS*, v, ad indicem).

*pantler of Scotland*: 'panetarius Scocie' (text l.12) is thus apparently attached to Sinclair's name in the Fordun MSS as well in Bower, but was deleted for MS Tyn; the office of pantler was in fact hereditary in the family of Moray of Bothwell LAN, and at this date had been inherited by the young Andrew de Moray, who was to be a staunch supporter of the young David II in the 1330s after marrying King Robert's sister Christian in 1326 (see above XI c.29, l.19, and below c.12, ll.20-21); his name had apparently been included along with his office at this point in the list of names in a draft drawn up earlier than those which have survived; his name had then been deleted for some unknown reason, but the office remained in all the existing draft texts before being correctly removed for the file-copy (Fergusson, *Declaration*, 21-22; Barrow, *Bruce*, 282, 309; *RRS*, v, ad indicem). The pantler (or paneter) was in 12c one of the officials of the royal household, presumably with responsibilities in the pantry (*RRS*, ii, 36); but by the later 13c this office (like others in the royal household) had become the hereditary possession of a magnate family (cf. Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 21-22).

12-13. *John Graham*: lord of Dalkeith MLO, Abercorn WLO and Eskdale DMF; born ca 1278, succeeded his father 1306; a Balliol supporter until he joined King Robert before Bannockburn and was forfeited by Edward II (*SP*, vi, 195-6); royal approval given to a transaction by him 25 December 1316 (*RRS*, v, no.110; cf. nos. 385, 122, 160, 317, 437); forfeited again by Edward III before his death on 25 April 1337 (*CDS*, iii, p.382).

13. *David de Lindsay*: lord of Crawford LAN and the Byres ELO from some date after 1308 (when a prisoner in England) until sometime before 1357 (*SP*, iii, 10-11); returned to Scotland after 20 November 1314 (*CDS*, iii, no.402); witness of royal acts from December 1314 (*RRS*, v, no.45 and ad indicem).

*William Oliphant*: see above XII c.18, l.92; cf. *DNB*, xlii, 138-9; *SP*, vi, 531-4; the evidence about him is impossibly confused with that for his cousin with the same name (alternatively Olifard); one of them served Edward I in 1304 and Edward II 1311-13 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 194); this one has been identified as one of the Balliol-Comyn party (*ibid.*, 309); witness of royal acts from February 1315 (*RRS*, v, ad indicem).

*Patrick Graham*: see above c.1, l.17.

14. *John de Fenton*: forfeited lands in MLO for supporting King Robert in

1306 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 328); probably held lands in Moray in 1308 (*ibid.*, 178), for his father William had held lands in both ANG and INV (*Coupar Angus Chrs.*, i, no.71; *Moray Registrum*, nos.124, 127); attended Robert's first parliament at St Andrews in March 1309 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 186); presumably faithful to Robert thereafter, but his later activities have not been traced.

*William de Abernethy*: lord of Saltoun ELO by 1296 (*SP*, vii, 403; cf. above XI c.11, l.42); identified as belonging to the Balliol-Comyn party (Barrow, *Bruce*, 309); occurs only once as witness of a royal act in May 1322 (*RRS*, v, no.211).

*David de Wemyss*: held lands of Wemyss FIF from sometime after 1306 until ca 1330 (*SP*, viii, 478-9); served with English army at Dundee in 1312 (*CDS*, iii, p.428); identified as belonging to the Balliol-Comyn party (Barrow, *Bruce*, 309); received a royal grant of lands in barony 3 July 1328 (*RSS*, v, no.349).

**14-15.** *William de Muschet*: i.e. Monte Fixo or Mountfichet; identified as lord of Cargill PER and Kincardine-in-Menteith PER when at parliament at Edinburgh in March 1328 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 258); had served with the English army at Perth in 1312 (*CDS*, iii, p.425); occasional witness of royal acts from 1321 (*RRS*, v, ad indicem); employed as a royal envoy 1318 and 1323 (*ibid.*, nos.434, 222); granted lands at Auchterarder PER March 1428 (*ibid.*, no.337).

**15.** *Fergus de Ardrossan*: in prison in England and then in service of Edward II 1308-12 (*CDS*, iii, ad indicem); confirmed in his lands of Ardrossan AYR by King Robert x 1318 (*RMS*, i, no.51; cf. app.ii, no.326 of 1322-3); noted as one of the very few landholders from the south-west of the country in this list (Barrow, *Bruce*, 308).

*Eustace de Maxwell*: see above c.1, l.16; identified as belonging to the Balliol-Comyn party (Barrow, *Bruce*, 309).

**15-16.** *William de Ramsay*: served with the English forces at Dundee in 1312 (*CDS*, iii, p.429); served on a jury at Edinburgh for the English administration 20 February 1312 (*ibid.*, no.245); but as lord of Dalhousie MLO said to have been a longtime Bruce adherent (*SP*, iii, 88; cf. ix, 64-65).

**16.** *William de Mowat*: forfeited lands in ANG to the English king for supporting King Robert 1306 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 328); probably served in forces of Edward II in 1312 (*CDS*, iii, ad indicem); like earlier members of his family he held the office of sheriff of Cromarty, though in 1315-16 the king invested his brother-in-law Hugh de Ross with rights in it (*RRS*, v, 74); he deserted again to England in May 1321 (*CDS*, iii, no.735); cf. below c.12, l.49.

*Alan de Moray*: probably the landholder of Culbin MOR as well as in FIF, whose lands were forfeited to Edward I for his support of King Robert in 1306 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 326; *ibid.*, 358, n.85); not otherwise traced.

*Donald Campbell*: brother of King Robert's faithful supporter Neil Campbell (*SP*, i, 320-1; cf. W.D.H.Sellar, 'The earliest Campells - Norman, Briton or Gael?', *Scottish Studies*, xvii [1973], 109-25, especially 111, 120); forfeited his lands to Edward I for supporting Robert 1306 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 327); later obtained lands in ARG, AYR and ANG (*ibid.*, 290); witnessed with his brother an early act of the king, ? March 1309 (*RRS*, v, no.385).

**17.** *John Cameron*: probably held lands of Baledgarno PER, which he forfeited to Edward I for supporting King Robert in 1306 (Barrow, *Bruce*,

325; cf. 358, n.89); not traced again until it may have been he who was a witness at Perth 29 June 1344 (*RMS*, i, no.196).

*Reginald le Cheyne*: landholder at Duffus MOR and later at Inverugie ABD; his father was with the English forces at Perth in November 1310 (*CDS*, iii, no.192; cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 266, 309), and died before November 1312, when his widow obtained the protection of King Robert (*RRS*, v, no.26); she resigned lands in WLO in favour of her son with crown approval 28 July 1323 (*ibid.*, no.238); possibly this name rather far down the list in 1320 refers to his son of the same name (Duncan, 'Making', 186).

*Alexander de Seton*: lord of Seton ELO, and apparently lived until 1348 or later (*SP*, viii, 563-70; *RRS*, v and vi ad indices); pledged his support to King Robert 1308 or 1310, but changed to the side of Edward II until deserting him again at Bannockburn in 1314 (*SHR*, xlv, 199; cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 151, 223); envoy from Robert to negotiations at Newcastle early in 1320 (*ibid.*, 240); especially well rewarded by the king as one of his key supporters (*ibid.*, 285); it has been noticed as curious that his office of steward of the king's household is not mentioned here (*ibid.*, 309); and from the fact that his name appears well down in the list it has been suggested that here it was his son of the same name who is mentioned (Duncan, 'Making', 186).

**17-18.** *Andrew de Leslie*: lord of Leslie ABD; apparently succeeded his father after 19 June 1317 and died before 28 November 1324 (*SP*, vii, 268-9).

**18.** *Alexander de Straiton*: perhaps the man of this name serving with the English at Dundee in 1312 (*CDS*, iii, p.429); and possibly the man who served on a jury at Dundee 25 June 1325 (*RRS*, v, no.278), and as sheriff of Kincardine in June 1328 (*ER*, i, 104); cf. the man granted property in Inverbervie KCD 17 January 1369 (*RRS*, vi, no.420).

**18-19.** *and freeholders*: MS FC omits 'et libere tenentes' (text ll.18-19).

**24.** *Greece and Egypt*: reference is made in all the drafts as here to the same version of the Scottish origin-myth as had been used for presentation to the pope in 1301 (see above XI c.49, and I cc.9-17); but for the file-copy (and presumably the 'top copy') 'de Grece finibus et Egipti' (text l.23) was changed to 'de maiori Schithia' (i.e. 'from Greater Scythia'); thus was a different origin-legend relating to the Picts (as in Bede [see above I cc.30-31]) confusingly mixed up with the legend of the origin of the Scots (see discussion in E.J.Cowan, 'Myth and identity in early medieval Scotland', *SHR*, lxiii [1984], especially 116-22; cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 306); it has been well said that 'this was not a period of pernickety historical evaluation' (U.Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* [St Andrews, 1994], 125).

**25.** *Tyrrhenian Sea*: between South Italy and Sardinia.

*Pillars of Hercules*: at the western entrance to the Mediterranean Sea (see above I c.6, ll.2-3).

**27.** *any peoples*: 'gentibus' (text l.26) is in all the draft texts, but is missing from the file-copy.

**27-28.** *one thousand ... years*: for such calculations in Bede and Fordun see above II c.23, ll.20-24.

**28-29.** *crossed the Red Sea*: Exodus 14: 21-31; 'per Mare Rubrum' (text ll.27-28) is in all the draft texts, but missing from the file-copy.

30. *desires*: 'optet' (text I.28) is 'optinet' (i.e. 'holds') in the Fordun MSS and MS Tyn; the word here may be a scribal error.
33. *old histories*: Bower alone has 'prisce' (text I.31), while the Fordun MSS and MS Tyn have 'priscorum' (i.e. 'of men of ancient times').
- 33-34. *One hundred and thirteen kings*: the same number appears in the Scottish arguments prepared for the negotiations at Bamburgh in the following year (see above c.1, II.26-32; P.A. Linehan, 'A fourteenth-century history of Anglo-Scottish relations in a Spanish manuscript', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xlviii [1975], 106-22, especially 114).
- 37-45. *they were almost the first ... for ever*: it was mainly from 1286 onwards that St Andrew in particular was regarded as patron saint of Scotland (Hall, *St Andrew*, ut cit., c.6, especially pp. 124-5, where some evidence is offered for 12c popular belief in Scotland that St Andrew had come in person as a missionary to convert the Scots, whether in Scythia or Britain).
- 38-39. *King of Kings and Lord of Lords*: cf. Révelation 19:16; 'dominancium' (text II.35) appears in all the draft texts, but is omitted in the file-copy.
41. *them to be confirmed*: all the draft texts have the passive 'eos ... confirmari' (text II.38-39), while the file-copy has 'eos ... confirmare' (i.e. 'to confirm them') which is syntactically awkward.
42. *first ... to be called*: see John 1: 40-42; but cf. Matthew 4:18-20 and Mark 1:16-18 (see Hall, *St Andrew*, 1-2); 'vocacione' (text I.39), which is necessary for the sense is omitted in the Fordun MSS and MS Tyn, and correctly included only in Bower's text.
- 43-44. *St Andrew*: 'Sanctum' (text I.40) is found also in MSS FC and FD; but the word appears as 'scilicet' (i.e. 'namely') in MSS FA and FG, and in MS Tyn. This is perhaps a guide to the different MS traditions.

### Chapter 3 pp.7-9

3. *private property*: 'peculium' here (text I.2) can indicate a monk's private property as opposed to the common property of his house (*Niermeyer and Word-List*, s.v.); it suggests the personal interest which St Andrew was supposed to have in the Scottish kingdom and people; cf. the late 12c identification of the Scottish church as the 'special daughter' of the apostolic see, i.e. the see of St Peter, the brother of Andrew (see above VIII c.67).
7. *when it had no head*: Professor A.A.M. Duncan points out that this phrase is disingenuous; Edward I did not attack Scotland in the period 1286-92 when the kingdom had no head; and when he did attack 1296-1304, most Scots (though not always the future King Robert) continued to regard King John as their rightful king.
17. *follows ... healing*: cf. Job 5:18.
20. *Judas the Maccabee*: the leader of the Jews in the 2c BC revolt against the Syrians (*ODCC*, 763-4, s.v. 'Judas Maccabaeus'; see above II c.23, II.20-24 note).

21. *By divine providence*: Bower like MS FD has 'divina disposicione' (text II.18-19), while MSS FA, FC and FG have 'divina disposicio'.
- 24-25. *by whom ... protected*: cf. 1 Samuel 11:13  
*our people*: 'nostro' (text I.22) appears also in MSS FA, FC and FG; but MS FD has 'suo', and the file-copy has no adjective here.
29. *to expel*: for 'expellere' (text I.26) MS FC only has 'expetere', presumably in error.
- 31-32. *as long as ... alive*: see text I.28; the phraseology here is just possibly developed from 'non remanserunt ex eis nisi octingenti viri' (1 Maccabees 9:6); 'vivi' appears in all the texts; 'ex nobis' or 'de nobis' is found in all the drafts, but not in the file-copy (cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 307).
- 33-35. *For ... life*: 'in war' and 'for the laws of our fathers' are additions to this quotation adapted from Sallust (see above c.2, introduction), which are found in all the drafts, but were omitted in the file-copy.
37. *prayers*: MSS FA, FC and FG have 'genubus flexis cordibus', and MS FD and MS Tyn have 'genuflexis cordibus' (i.e. 'with suppliant hearts') after 'instancia' (text I.33); but these words are not in the draft copied by Bower.
38. *since*: 'cum' (text I.35), which is necessary syntactically, is found in all the drafts, but is missing in the file-copy.
39. *there is ... Greek*: cf. Romans 2: 9-11.
- 43-44. *since ... more*: a reference to the Heptarchy, the seven kingdoms in Britain in the early Anglo-Saxon period.
47. *your position*: MS C has 'vestrum' (text I.42) clearly; but all the Fordun MSS and MS Tyn have 'nostrum'; 'our position' is the more probable reservation for the Scots to have in mind.
55. *covering up*: 'ponentes' (text I.49) is the form in MS FD and MS Tyn; MSS FA and FC are like Bower MS C with 'ponentem' (MS FG has a correction here and is unclear).
- 64-65. *too credulously ... fully*: thus in all the draft texts; but the file-copy has 'non' inserted before 'adhibeat' (text I.56), giving the translation 'giving too much credence to the tales of the English does not trust all this'; presumably the change was intentional, and suggests that the Scots were nervous about the way in which the pope would react to their letter.
- trusts*: for 'fidem sinceram' (text I.56) MS FC has 'fidem futuram', presumably in error.
67. *destruction*: all the drafts have 'exterminia' (text I.57), while the file-copy prefers 'exicia' (with the same meaning).
69. *ready*: 'parati' (text I.60) is found in all the drafts, but has been omitted from the file-copy; it is necessary for the sense.
74. *our monastery*: 'nostrum' (text I.66) is found in all the drafts, but was dropped from the file copy; for its implications see above c.1, II.32-35 note.
- 77-78. *... as above*: this note is written normally in MS C within the main text area, though it displays awareness that cc.2-3 should have been inserted before c.1.

Chapter 4  
pp.11-13

After an initial paragraph (II.1-8) taken from an unidentified source, Bower bases the rest of this chapter on *Fordun* (349-50, annals 136-7) with additions (see below). *Wyntoun* has nothing parallel here; *Pluscarden* (255-6) has a shorter account than here, partly re-written, with an addition that Edward II brought 100,000 armed men on his expedition to Edinburgh, and the erroneous statement that the earl of Warenne was killed there; *Extracta* (151-2) has an abbreviated version following MS CA, but also exceptionally includes in its main text the marginal note in MS C about Dryburgh Abbey (see below I.40n).

1. *Thomas earl of Lancaster*: see above XII c.19, I.5; a cousin of Edward II and a leading figure in the politics of his reign, Lancaster was now in open rebellion; the earl was captured on 16 March and executed on 22 March 1322 (J.D.Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster* [Oxford, 1970], 311-12).

*Boroughbridge*: north-west of York on boundary of YOW and YON.

2. *Andrew de Harclay*: a WML knight, experienced in the Scottish wars, who was created earl of Carlisle on 25 March 1322 for his services at Boroughbridge (*DNB*, xxiv, 317-19; *CP*, iii, 31); but see below II.57-58.

3. *Pontefract* YOW: Lancaster was executed in his own castle there.

4. *miracles*: Lancaster was revered as a popular saint, as suggested in the rubric to this chapter (*DNB*, lvi, 148-51, especially 151); cf. his ancestor Simon de Montfort (see above X c.26, II.11-15).

5-6. *earl of Hereford*: Humphrey de Bohun, eighth earl of Hereford 1299-1322, a brother-in-law of the king (*CP*, vi, 467-70); he had been captured at Bannockburn in 1314 and exchanged for King Robert's queen (*DNB*, v, 309-10).

6-8. *many ... sake*: see list in *Lanercost*, 245.

10-12. *Also ... famine*: Thomas Randolph earl of Moray (see above c.2, II.3-4) is said to have raided as far south as Pontefract for a fortnight in January 1322 along with the other Scottish leaders James de Douglas and Walter Stewart (*ibid.*, 241-2).

12. *at the beginning of the famine*: Bower has substituted 'in principio famis' (text I.10) for 'fame' in *Fordun*; presumably he did not regard 'famine' as an instrument of war.

13-15. *... Lancaster*: this campaign, beginning on either 17 June or 1 July and ending on 24 July 1322, reached as far south as Furness LNC and fifteen miles south of Preston LNC, rather than just to Stainmore on the WML-YON boundary as *Fordun* states here (*Lanercost*, 246).

15-43. *After ... them*: Bower has elaborated *Fordun*'s account of this last expedition by Edward II to Scotland by inserting 'and other foodstuffs' (I.21), 'because ... ships' (II.23-24), 'On account ... poverty' (II.25-32), 'blind' (I.36) and 'silver' (I.39). Some of these extra details have parallels in the much more elaborate account in *Barbour's Bruce*, (iii, 194-8 [bk.xviii, II.229-341]); this suggests that Barbour and Bower had a common source that was not known to *Fordun*.

Edward is first traced in Scotland at Roxburgh ROX on 13 August, and last found on his way south at Auchencrow BWK on 30 August (*Itinerary of Edward II*, 229-30).

22. *fifteen days*: Barbour states that he spent just three days at Edinburgh.

25-32. *On account ... poverty*: in *Barbour's Bruce* (iii, 196 [bk.xviii, II.270-85]) these two anecdotes (which Bower has inserted into *Fordun*'s text) are combined into one story with different details.

28-29. *earl of Warenne*: John de Warenne held the earldom of Surrey or Warenne 1304-47 (*CP*, xii, pt.i, 508-11; *DNB*, lix, 368-72); his biographers do not confirm that he was in fact present on this expedition; Bower appears to have found his name in a different source from the one which he first used for this anecdote, and then added it in the margin of MS C, perhaps after finding it in the same source used by Barbour, who also mentions this earl, but provides a longer speech for him than Bower offers here - 'it cost ane thousand pounnds and mar'.

29. *Tranent*: a coal-mining area ELO.

32-39. *Nevertheless ... stolen*: *Fordun*'s story about Edward's visit to Melrose Abbey ROX is quite different from that in *Barbour's Bruce* (iii, 197-8 [bk.xviii, II.291-338]), which centres on an attack on the English by James de Douglas. Bower has embellished the story here by stating that the two lay brothers who were killed by the English were blind, and that the pyx (i.e. a vessel for holding the consecrated bread) which was stolen was made of silver; cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 243.

40. *Dryburgh ... destroyed*: in the margin of MS C Bower has a note about this Premonstratensian abbey BWK, which is in the text-hand, but is not marked for insertion in the text (and was not copied into MS D or MS CA):

Hic Dribugh comburitur primo; secundo per regem Ricardum ii<sup>m</sup>; tercio casuali incendio anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup> xliii.

For the second of these destructive fires see below XIV c.47, I.12. Despite these fires the famous ruined remains of this abbey date largely from 12c and 13c (J.R.Baldwin, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Lothian and the Borders* [Edinburgh, 1985], 118-19, no.68).

44-56. *... victory*: *Fordun*'s account of King Robert's second expedition of 1322 to England (which Bower includes unaltered) can be compared with essentially similar accounts in *Lanercost* (247-8) and *Scalacronica* (149-50). The tale in *Barbour's Bruce* (iii, 198-207 [bk.xviii, II.342-568]) is much extended. *Lanercost* states that the campaign started on 30 September and ended on 2 November, and that it reached as far as Beverley YO; the battle at 'Byland' (see below) was fought on 14 October (*CDS*, iii, no.791).

47. *Byland*: for argument that this site was in hilly country on the western edge of Scawton Moor, not far from Old Byland YON and Rievaulx Abbey (I.52), see Barrow, *Bruce*, 243 and 371-2, n.45.

52-53. *John of Brittany*: a cousin of Edward II and earl of Richmond 1306-34; had already been a prisoner of the Scots after Bannockburn in 1314 (see above XII c.20, I.15); not released on payment of a substantial ransom until 4 May x 24 September 1324 (*CP*, x, 817).

53. *Henry de Sully*: a French nobleman who held office as butler of France 1317-34 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.2179); released by the Scots without ransom during following Lent (i.e. 9 Feb.-26 Mar. 1323) because of his status as an envoy ('nuntius') from Charles IV king of France to King Edward (*RHF*, xxi, 59, 679; *Cal.Pat.* 1321-4, 236, 268); cf. Barbour's imaginary portrayal (*Barbour's Bruce*, iii, 205-6 [bk.xviii, ll.504-47]) of a scene when King Robert for emotional reasons distinguished between John and Henry. By May 1323 Sully was helping to arrange an Anglo-Scottish truce (Barrow, *Bruce*, 244).

57-58. *In the same year ... decapitation*: Harclay (see above) was accused of treasonably negotiating with the Scots without authority; Fordun's date is wrong; he was arrested at Carlisle on 25 February and executed there on 3 March 1323 (*Lanercost*, 249-51).

## Chapter 5 pp.13-15

Bower follows *Fordun* (350-1, annal 138) for ll.1-10, and then collects from unknown sources three poems in celebration of the birth of the future King David II, which presumably date from the time of the birth in 1324. *Wyntoun* (v, 372-5) is similar to the passage from *Fordun*, but places the birth of David before the story of the embassy to France and Rome; *Pluscarden* (256) follows ll.1-10 here only, but misleadingly connects the embassy to Rome with the sending of the 'Declaration of Arbroath' in 1320 (see above cc.1-3); *Extracta* (152) also has a shortened account of ll.1-10 only.

1-10. ... *successful*: Fordun (and all the others who followed this passage) is misleading about the date of this embassy; the envoys to France were appointed at Dundee only on 20 April 1325 (*APS*, xii, 5; *RRS*, v, 557, no.299); the leader was Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, and three clergy were included – James Ben archdeacon of St Andrews, Adam de Moray, and Walter de Twynham canon of Glasgow (for whom see Watt, *Graduates*, 36-38, 405-7 s.v. 'Moravia', 549-50); the Franco-Scottish alliance of 1295 (see above XI cc.16-17) was renewed at Corbeil, dép. Seine-et-Oise, in April 1326, and ratified by King Robert at Stirling STL on 12 July 1326 (*APS*, xii, 5-6; *RRS*, v, 556-9, no.299).

5-6. *The embassy was also to achieve*: the meaning of the Latin text is not certain; an alternative interpretation would consider 'et eciam pro unitate' (text l.5) to be still dependent on 'ad tractandum' (l.2) and so mean that the negotiations in France were to aim also at a joint approach to the pope.

6-7. *accord with the Roman church*: no agreement with the pope is known to have been reached by this embassy, which was appointed to visit France only; but Fordun's dating perhaps points to an earlier visit by the earl of Moray to the papal court at Avignon in January 1323/4, when in face of continuing English lobbying there, he persuaded the pope to recognize Robert Bruce's royal title for the first time, in anticipation of a future visit to Avignon by a more formal embassy from Scotland (*Foedera*, II, i, 541; Theiner, *Monumenta*, 227-8, no.452; Barrow, *Bruce*, 250-1); Adam de Moray probably

visited Avignon in person in January 1326 (Watt, *Graduates*, 406), and James Ben acted there as a resident envoy from Scotland from late 1326 to late 1328 (*ibid.*, 37); but it was only after protracted negotiations (specifically involving both Moray and Ben again among others) that the pope on 15 October 1328 gave full recognition to King Robert at a price (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 240-2, no.474). Fordun's outline of all these negotiations does not do justice to their complexity.

11-12. ... *rejoiced*: Bower has altered these lines to fit his introduction to the verses that follow; in *Fordun* the date 'quinto die Martii die Lunae in prima ebdomada Quadragesimae' is given for the date of birth i.e. 5 March 1324.

13-50. ... *bears*: see discussion of these and earlier verses above Vol. 6, pp.xvii-xviii.

18. *two-fold offspring*: allusion not identified.

28. *Bernard abbot of Arbroath*: for this man and his earlier versifying see above XII c.22, l.13n.

40. *monk of Arbroath*: not identified.

49-50. *the man whose name he bears*: i.e. the biblical King David.

51-53. *This year ... birth*: Bower appears to imply a date before the end of his year 1323 i.e. before 24 March 1323/4; in fact a thirteen-year truce had been arranged at Bishopthorpe near York on 30 May 1323; this remained in force while negotiations for permanent peace were held at various times between 15 July 1324 and 8 March 1325, by which time they had foundered (*Foedera*, II, i, 561, 570, 577-8, 595; Barrow, *Bruce*, 249-50); there was no need for a new truce for only one year during this period; Bower's statement is therefore erroneous.

## Chapter 6 pp.17-19

Bower now devotes four chapters to a full transcription of a literary work on the characteristics of life after death in Purgatory by John Gobi junior, a Dominican friar who in 1323 (other manuscripts say 1324) was prior of the house of his order in his native town of Alès, dép. Gard, north-west of Avignon in France; this work adopted the device of an imaginary dialogue between the author and a ghostly unseen voice, which is identified as that of Guy de Corvo (hence the title *The Ghost of Guy*), who was the recently dead husband of a woman of Alès; using the question and answer methods of scholastic disputation, the author expounds current orthodox beliefs about Purgatory; as stated here (l.12) and at the end (c.9, ll.60-62) Gobi's composition was sent to Pope John XXII at nearby Avignon and apparently given a mark of papal approval as if it was the record of an actual happening; certainly it came to be widely distributed throughout western Christendom, whether in Latin or vernacular languages, so much so that in its most recent edition it has been called a 'best seller' (Polo, *Dialogue* [see below], p.xi).

Two versions of this work were produced – the shorter version, written in



the first person, presumably soon after the dates mentioned in the story (December 1323 – January 1324), and the second version, written in the third person, in much more developed form with a change of devotional emphasis (ibid., 11) towards the supposed date of Gobi's death in 1350, with various tinkering to the text by later hands (ibid., 157, 161, n.77). Bower has copied the shorter version, though uniquely he incorporates a section (below c.9, ll.5-36 i.e. text ll.4-5 'Cum hoc mulier' to l.30 'audivimus') which is found in extended form only in manuscripts of the longer version; and Bower's ending (c.9, ll.52-62 i.e. text l.45 'Post huiusmodi' to the end) is different from the fuller ending found in other manuscripts of the shorter version. In an article on the works of Gobi by C.V. Langlois in *Histoire littéraire de la France* (xxxv [Paris, 1921], 532-56) it was argued (p.546) that the former of these two sections was a part of Gobi's original text that was suppressed when the distinctive longer version was developed. Langlois suggested that Bower uniquely combined passages from both the shorter and longer versions, and Madame Polo (see below) in supporting this point of view advises that none of the thirty-eight other manuscripts of Gobi's work now known is identical to the version here.

Bower's unique text of this work has attracted the attention of Gobi's editors; G. Schleich, *The Gast of Gy* (Berlin, 1898) prints (pp.lv-lxi) Bower's text as printed by Goodall, still arranged as cc.6-9; a translation into modern French (which makes reference to Bower's text while based mainly on other manuscripts) is provided in Jean Gobi, *Dialogue avec un fantôme*, ed. Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris, 1994), 49-61, in advance of a full critical edition of the Latin texts which is to be published by Madame Polo and Professor Donatelli. Thanks are due here to Madame Polo for bibliographical assistance; the modern forms of the personal names used in the translation here follow usage in her recent edition. For short discussions of this work in the context of 14c beliefs about Purgatory see J. Chiffolleau, *La Comptabilité de l'au-delà* (Paris, 1980), especially 403-8; M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu, 'Recueil d'exempla Méridionaux et culte des âmes de Purgatoire', in *La papauté d'Avignon et le Languedoc 1316-1342*, in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, xxvi (1991), 257-8; and J.-C. Schmitt, *Les Revenants. Les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris, 1994), 175-8 and ad indicem.

No manuscript of Gobi's work is listed as surviving in Scotland in T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, ii (Rome, 1975), 444-6; it is not known when this work was first known in Scotland, though from the argument above it appears likely that at least one version of the text which eventually came to Bower's knowledge in the 1440s may have reached distant Scotland quite quickly before it was decided to cut out a section of it; it is known that a copy was sent from Avignon to Walter Reynolds archbishop of Canterbury before his death in 1327 (Polo, *Dialogue*, 36, 68), and there were Scots at the Roman court at the same time, such as James Ben and Adam de Moray (see above c.5, ll.6-7 note), who could have followed suit; Latin versions of Gobi's work are found in English MSS, and they came to be translated into Middle English in couplets, prose and quatrains in the late 14c and early 15c (*The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, ed. G. Watson, i [Cambridge, 1974], col.458; *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers*, ed. C. Horstman [Berlin, 1895-6], ii, 292-333; and especially *The Gast of Gy. A Middle English religious prose tract preserved in*

*Queen's College, Oxford, MS 383*, ed. R.H. Bowers, *Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, vol.32 [Leipzig, 1938]).

Bowers identifies the literary form as a devotional treatise or pious tale, in which the miracle involved merely serves to attract the reader's attention to the ensuing debate between the spirit and the prior. The debate itself is a rhetorical device which enables the author to write with conviction, for the spirit is never bested in the argument and speaks with authority (ibid., 16-17). There is no trace of Gobi's work in Scotland until Bower included it here. But attention is drawn by Bowers (ibid., 11) to a Latin text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 23, a mid-15c miscellaneous MS which besides a Gobi text contains also versions of the texts of Scottish interest included by Bower above XI cc.40-43, 47-56 and 57-64. So far as Bower was concerned, it corresponded with his interest in the visionary works of St Bridget of Sweden (see Indexes of Authorities Cited; cf. J.-C. Schmitt in Polo, *Dialogue*, p.xi). Mrs Priscilla Bawcett has kindly advised that Gobi's story must have become well known in Scotland in the later 15c and 16c, to judge from casual references in the works of William Dunbar and Sir David Lindsay; the latter charmingly reminisces in the introduction to his poem *The Dreame* on how he used to entertain the young King James V with singing, dancing, and mimicking the devil or 'the greislie Gaist of Gye' (*HLF*, xxxv, 539, n.7; cf. Polo, *Dialogue*, 151-2).

11-15. *And how ... church, etc.*: these sentences are part of the covering letter mentioned above ll.1-2.

18. *Guy de Corvo*: the name attached to the ghostly voice varies in the manuscripts, but the first name is usually 'Guy' (Polo, *Dialogue*, 155, n.3).

24. *Millau*: a town, dép. Aveyron, west of Alès, which had a Dominican convent (ibid., 155, n.4).

26. *G. Carcossi, etc.*: other manuscripts have additional names here (ibid., 51).

44. *Body of Christ*: i.e. the consecrated bread in the Eucharist (*ODCC*, 182).

## Chapter 7 pp.19-21

1. *nine lessons ... litany*: probably a series of prayers for the dead in Purgatory (cf. *ODCC*, 381, 826).

7-8. *Peter Bruguière*: a notary of Alès (Polo, *Dialogue*, 33, 155, n.7).

19-44. *I charge you ... relief*: Chiffolleau (*La Comptabilité* [see above c.6, introduction], 403-5) recognizes in this passage an act of exorcism by the Dominican friar to help the widow through her mourning, while she was still hallucinating about the presence of her dead husband. See below c.9, ll.5-36 for the passage unique to Bower's text which deals with the widow's torment regarding sin committed with her husband, which they had confessed, but for which she had not yet made amends.

45. *seven penitential psalms*: a selection of seven Psalms normally recited in the liturgy for Fridays in Lent (*ODCC*, 1265).

### Chapter 8 pp.21-23

18-19. *indulgences ... gave them to him*: indulgences were particular acts of remission by the church of the temporal penalty due to forgiven sin, in virtue of the merits of Christ and the saints (ODCC, 700); here it was the benefit of the Dominican friar's merits which was being transferred at his wish to the sinner in Purgatory; Chiffolleau (*La Comptabilité*, 406) describes this transfer of benefits to a soul in Purgatory as the use of 'une sorte de lettre de change spirituelle'.

22. *as a belief*: there is a deliberate contrast here between 'fidem' and 'credulitatem' (text ll.18-19), for demons could hardly be said to have the theological virtue of 'faith' (Polo, *Dialogue*, 155-6).

27. *intelligibly*: 'literaliter' (text l.23) is alternatively explained as meaning 'in Latin' (Langlois in *HLF*, xxxv, 545, n.1).

### Chapter 9 pp.25-27

21-22. *she has not yet made amends*: cf. above c.7, ll.19-44.

25. *God did not wish it*: 'Le texte ne révèle pas cette faute, que protège le secret de la confession, mais qui concernait certainement le comportement sexuel des époux à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un infanticide' (Schmitt, *Les Revenants*, 178).

27. *removed from God's attention*: Madame Polo (*Dialogue*, 159, n.49) observes here that since the time of St Augustine theologians have held that the same sacrament cannot be repeated.

44. *The Word became flesh*: John 1:14.

54-55. *suffering in [common] Purgatory ... in that particular place*: the contrast between the place where all souls suffer in common and the places where individually they had sinned is suggested in the commentary in Chiffolleau, *La Comptabilité*, 406.

### Chapter 10 pp.27-31

In cc.10 and 11 Bower continues on the theme of ghostly appearances of spirits from the world of the dead to living persons; after an introduction (ll.1-9) he takes three exempla from Helinand of Froidmont, *De Cognitione Sui* (PL,212), where the first two (ll.26-87 here and c.11, ll.1-40) follow each other in cols. 731-3; Bower then misses out the next exemplum in *Helinand*, and takes the fourth one there (cols.734-5) as the third one here (c.11,

ll.41-57). The full text from *Helinand* is to be found also in *Vincent*, XXX cc.117-20; it is not known which was Bower's source.

3. *Gregory*: this is a general reference to the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, ed. A. de Vogüé, iii (Sources chrétiennes, Paris, 1980), where bk.IV is entitled 'Death and the Hereafter' by the editor.

5-6. *spiteful spirits which ... appear*: the syntax is faulty here, moving from a singular noun to a plural verb.

9. *poets*: Bower's linking of the souls of poets with those of infidels and pagans is curious.

10. *Macrobius*: cf. Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, bk.I, c.9, para.2 (Teubner edn, 40), where the author quotes Juvenal, *Satires*, no.11, l.27 (Loeb edn, 222): 'de caelo descendit "gnothi seauton"' i.e. 'the maxim "Know thyself" comes down to us from the skies'.

11. *Delphic answer*: 'Know thyself' was the famous exhortation carved on the temple at Delphi, Greece (OCD, 322-3, s.v. 'Delphic oracle').

12-16. *And he says ... has fallen*: cf. Macrobius, *Commentarii*, bk.I, c.9, para.3 (altered).

18. *... stars*: the quotation comes from Virgil, *Aeneid*, bk.VI, l.641 (Loeb edn, 550); but there Virgil is describing attributes of the blessed groves of Elysium rather than of the underworld.

19-20. *the frivolous... death*: this is not a quotation from Virgil; after 'death' Bower omits three lines from the *Aeneid* (bk.VI, ll.653-5 [Loeb edn, 550]) which appear in *Helinand* at this point, namely:

Quae gratia curram,  
armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentes  
pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.

Virgil's suggestion here that the dead took the same interest in chariots, arms and horses after death as they had done while alive is in fact mentioned by Bower in his argument below c.11, ll.1-4.

20. *I am mistaken*: i.e. Helinand.

25. *Hellequin's rabble*: for an account written in the 1130s of a supposed encounter between a Norman priest and a large company of souls of the dead mounted on horseback, where the apparitions were identified as the 'familia Herlechini' i.e. Hellequin's rabble (a term already long widely familiar in folklore) see *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, iv (Oxford, 1973), c.17, pp.236-51, especially 242-3; see also discussion at pp.xxxviii-xl: 'Stories of nocturnal hosts of the dead, sometimes armies, sometimes hunts, that swept across the country with fearful shrieks, occur in various forms in most parts of western Europe'; the phrase 'Hellequin's hunt' or 'La mesnie Hellequin' is sometimes preferred for this phenomenon, the latter meaning a lord's following of knights grouped around him, sometimes used in a disparaging sense like 'crew', as in the English word 'meinie' (OED) or the Scots word 'menyie' (CSD); cf. below l.84n. For a discussion of this line of thought from Classical times to the 13c (including Helinand's reference to it here) see Schmitt, *Les Revenants*, c.5, 'La mesnie Hellequin', pp.115-45, especially 136-8; the phenomenon is said to be attested in various forms until

the present day (ibid., 115); Schmitt argues that Helinand's treatment of it suggests that the 'mesnie' 'plutôt qu'une armée damnée, est une sorte de purgatoire itinérant' (ibid., 138).

26. *Henry bishop of Orleans*: Henry de Dreux, bishop 1186-98 (Mas Latrîe, *Trésor*, col.1460).

54. *committed himself to the demons*: presumably by swearing an oath of some kind (cf. Schmitt, *Les Revenants*, 137).

76. *tower of Parma*: perhaps the free-standing campanile of the 11c cathedral at Parma in northern Italy (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn, xx, 850).

77. *its beauty ... pardon*: the beauty of the cloak symbolizes his hope of pardon based on his last confession (Schmitt, *Les Revenants*, 137).

84. *Charles V*: Helinand's attempt at etymology here ('Karliquinus' from 'Karolus quintus' [text l.73]) is scorned as the absurd speculation of a scholar trying to explain folklore, not least because before Helinand's time there had been only four rulers called Charles in Francia (F.Lot, 'La Mesnie Hellequin et le comte Ernequin de Boulogne', in *Romania*, xxxii [1903], 422-41, especially 435-6). Alternatively it has been pointed out that if it is Charles V, king of France 1364-80, that is meant, it is necessary to suppose an interpolation in the text, since Helinand died ca 1230 (Schmitt, *Les Revenants*, 276, n.47).

86. *Denis*: the patron saint of France (*ODS*, 116-17).

## Chapter 11 pp.31-33

1. *I*: i.e. Helinand. (see above c.10, introduction).

1-4. *... alive*: Bower starts the chapter by referring back to c.10, ll.19-20 above (see note), where he had in fact omitted from Helinand's text the quotation from Virgil which is necessary for understanding his explanation here.

5-40. *Hellebaud ... of this kind*: for a brief analysis of this exemplum see Schmitt, *Les Revenants*, 137-8.

5. *Henry the late archbishop of Rheims*: Henry de France, archbishop 1162-73 (Mas Latrîe, *Trésor*, col.1470).

7. *Arras, dép. Pas-de-Calais, France*.

18. *provost of Arques*: an ecclesiastical official at Arques, near St Omer, dép. Pas-de-Calais (*DHGE*, iv, cols.683-4).

33. *... weapons*: Ezekiel 32:27.

34-36. *which ... doing right*: cf. Romans 6:13.

41-57. *... demons*: Helinand had considerably re-written this exemplum when taking it from the *De Miraculis* of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny

in Burgundy 1122-56 (PL, 189, col.910, bk.ii, c.1; cf. *ODCC*, 1075); and Bower has in turn elaborated the story here by adding 'sacrilegus .. ecclesiasticarum' (text ll.37-38; 'satellitibus ... expoliatis' (text ll.40-41); and 'nigerimo' (text l.41). These additions make the story more specific without changing its general tenor; Bower may have found them in some unidentified intermediate source; he did not find them in the version in *Vincent* (see above c.10, introduction); the first addition appears to indicate knowledge of the context of the exemplum as set out in the text of Peter the Venerable (cols.909-10).

41-42. *man from Mâcon*: this was in fact William II count of Mâcon 1101-1107 x, a neighbour of the monks of Cluny, who had been censured by the abbot for harming his abbey (ibid., note; cf. Mas Latrîe, *Trésor*, col.1632).

## Chapter 12 pp.33-39

For this chapter Bower returns to *Fordun* (351-2), and in ll.1-40, 46-61, 71-72 and 114-20 includes annals 139-41; in MS C he makes two marginal additions at ll.41-45 and 62-70 (the latter in the wrong place [see below]); and then at l.77 he introduces the text of a long document for which there was no room in the margins in the usual way, so that it is written in the top half of a fresh leaf of the MS (fo.277) just opposite (see below c.12a for the rest of that leaf). *Pluscarden* (256-8) covers most of the ground of this chapter in a shorter re-written form, adding original reflections on the peace treaty of 1328; it then places later (258-9) the marginal material in MS C found here at ll.41-45, and includes a variant text of the act of resignation by Edward III (cf. ll.77-113 here), wrongly adding that it was issued at a parliament at London (instead of York); *Extracta* (153-6) has a shortened version, puts the death of Walter Steward in 1328, but includes the whole document at ll.77-113; *Wyntoun* (v, 374-9) covers ll.1-20 here only; *Barbour's Bruce* (iii, 215-16 [bk.xix, ll.205-28]) covers the death of Walter Steward, and offers a very detailed account of the 1327 campaigns in England (ibid., 216-38 [bk.xix, ll.229-820]); it then briefly touches on the Norham-Alnwick expedition, the peace of 1328 and Prince David's betrothal (bk.xx, ll.1-62).

1-7. *... death*: Queen Isabella (not Elizabeth) landed from Holland in Suffolk on 24 September 1326; King Edward II was captured in Wales on 16 November; his supporters Hugh Despenser and his father the earl of Winchester were executed at Bristol and Hereford in October-November; Walter Stapledon bishop of Exeter was lynched at London on 15 October; and the earl of Arundel was executed on 17 November (McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 83-88).

8-11. *... Purification*: the young Edward III was in fact aged fourteen (born 13 Nov. 1312 [*HBC*, 39]), and was crowned on 1 Feb. 1327 i.e. a day earlier than stated here (McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 96).

14-20. *... Bruce*: this meeting at Cambuskenneth Abbey near Stirling was a

parliament, at which the laymen present are known to have agreed on 15 July 1326 to grant the king an additional income for life (*RRS*, v, 581-3, no.335); there was at one time a written record also of the approval given on the same date to a revised tailzie of the Scottish crown as described here (cf. above XII c.24, and below c.12a) to take account of the birth of Prince David and the death of Walter Steward (see above c.5, ll.11-12, and below ll.41-42), but only the title of this document is now known (*RRS*, v, 559-60, no.301; cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 294).

15-16. *with all the people gathered there*: cf. the more technical phraseology ('and others from the community') in the similar act of 1318 (below c.12a, ll.13-14); by this date a meeting of parliament customarily included 'some form of representation of men below baronial or knightly rank' (*ibid.*, 300); for some reason Bower decided to omit this phrase from his text in MS CA (see textual notes).

16. *in fealty and homage*: this phrase was added by Bower to Fordun's text; there is a parallel phrase in *Wyntoun* (v, 378-9).

20. *Andrew de Moray*: see above c.2, l.12 note; see also *RRS*, v, 65, 133.

22-25. *...nothing*: in fact while negotiations were in hand until as late as June 1327, the Scots had attacked Norham Castle NTB on 1 February, and the English were from 5 April onwards assembling an army in northern England, with the young King Edward at York or further north from 23 May onwards (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 15-23).

26-27. *the Scots ... sword*: this attack was reported in York by 17 June (*ibid.*, 23).

28-40. *...St Laurence*: for a detailed account mainly from English sources of what is called 'The Weardale Campaign', which is regarded as continuous from the start of the Scottish attack on 15 June, see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 26-41, with map; see also Barrow, *Bruce*, 252-3; the course of events and dates are hard to establish.

28. *October*: Fordun had correctly dated the following campaign to August 1327; Bower has changed this to October and adds a date for the Scots' return home (see below ll.39-40) which can be read as either 9 August or 16 October; it is not known why he made these misleading changes.

*earl of Moray*: see above c.2, ll.3-4.

29. *James de Douglas*: see above c.2, l.8.

32. *Weardale*: on the south side of the river Wear, opposite Stanhope (cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 373, n.83).

34. *eight days*: including the first week of August.

35. *slaughter*: after 'affixerunt' (text l.29) Bower has omitted 'congressum tamen belli vitabant' in *Fordun*, perhaps for reasons of chivalric honour.

38-39. *made ... captive*: this is unlikely, considering the relative size of the two armies. The men from Hainault (now in Belgium) had come to England with Queen Isabella under the command of John of Hainault, the uncle of young Philippa who was betrothed to Edward III.

40. *St Laurence*: here Bower has an addition in MS CA:

Caute enim egerunt Scoti in premeditacione fuge, quia cum essent

obsessi maxima Anglorum multitudine et victualia omnino eis defuerunt, nocte hac qua de districtu Anglorum dilapsi sunt simulabant, se velle expectare, fulciantes focos suos lignorum maxima materie. Propter quod, impercepti Anglorum ab quasi vigilibus, per medium eorum ibant. Simile scribit Fortinus quod Alexander ut falleret Darium, volens tantam multitudinem sapienter declinare, in suo recessu canes et asinos ligatos in castris reliquit, quos tamen latrantes rudentesque hostes audire crederent Alexandrum remanere.

For this story about abandoned fires cf. *Barbour's Bruce*, iii, 226-7 (bk.xix, ll.500-6). Bower has misremembered the quotation from Frontinus, *Strategems*, bk.I, c.5, para.25 (Loeb edn, 50), where it is Darius who left dogs and asses in his camp to deceive his Scythian enemies while stealing away.

41. *In the same year*: the dating of this marginal entry in MS C is ambiguous; from what has gone before it appears to mean 9 April 1327; but the corrected dating of the next entry in MS CA (where these two items are inserted at the end of this whole chapter rather than here) shows that Bower meant this item to be dated 1326.

42. *Walter Steward*: see above c.2, l.7.

43. *Elizabeth*: see above XII c.23, ll.222-4.

45. *Dunfermline*: the Benedictine abbey FIF; King Alexander III had been buried there in 1286 (see above X c.40, l.43), as Elizabeth's husband Robert I was to be in 1329 (see below c.13, ll.63-64).

46-48. *...Alnwick*: this expedition has been dated August-September 1327 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 253-4; see also Nicholson, *Edward III*, 43-44); both castles are in NTB.

49. *William de Mowat*: for the death of this Scottish knight see *Scalacronica*, 155; perhaps the same as the erstwhile sheriff of Cromarty, who was listed in the 'Declaration of Arbroath' in 1320 (see above c.2, l.16), but had deserted to the English side by 1321 (*CDS*, iii, no.735; *RMS*, i, ad indicem; *RRS*, v, 74, 368; Barrow, *Bruce*, ad indicem).

*John de Clapham*: perhaps the same man who had been paid in 1312 for fighting with the English at Dundee (*CDS*, iii, p.428).

49-50. *Malise de Dover*: in the Fordun MSS this man's first name is given either as Robert or as John; a Malise de Dover had been witness to a transaction in Angus 1304 x 1305 (*RMS*, i, app.i, no.77, p.464).

51-53. *...peace*: 17 March 1328 is in fact the date of the conclusion, rather than the start, of negotiations at Edinburgh for a permanent peace between England and Scotland (see text and translation in Stones, *Documents*, 164-70, no.41c); cf. account in Barrow, *Bruce*, 256-60).

60-61. *form of the peace*: after equivalent of 'continentur' here (text l.50), two MSS of *Fordun* (MSS FD and FB, written 1450 x 1465 and 1475 x 1496 respectively) continue: 'quarum literarum tenorem reperies circa finem aliarum cronicarum superius scriptarum' (*Fordun*, 352, n.10); this appears to refer to the contents of the lost exemplar of these two MSS, which must have contained at least one other chronicle (now unknown) copied before Fordun's work and including a main text of the 1328 treaty; such a text is not included among the collections of texts included in both these MSS further



on. This lost exemplar of Fordun is presumably not the source known to Bower (cf. below ll.71-75 note).

**63-70.** ... *world*: these verses are wrongly placed here in the margin of MS C, for they relate to the thirteen-year truce of 30 May 1323 rather than to the final peace of 1328; the error may have arisen because Bower had made no specific reference to the earlier truce (cf. above c.5, ll.51-53); for such versifying see above c.5, l.28 under Bernard abbot of Arbroath.

**71-75.** *And so ... Scotland*: Bower has amended Fordun's text here, first by mentioning King Edward's act of resignation (which was presumably not known to Fordun), and then by adding at a later date 'in the following terms' (ll.75-76) to introduce the text of this act itself. The scribe of the Fordun MS FB (but not also MS FD this time [see above ll.60-61 note]) knew of this act of resignation in some other chronicle: 'ut alia cronica testatur' (cf. *Fordun*, 352, n.11); and since he was writing well after Bower's death, it is likely that he was referring to the text here.

**77-113.** ... *of this etc.*: in MS C this text has been inserted on the top half of a blank leaf (fo.277), introduced by 'huiusmodi sub tenore' (text l.61). This leaf is part of a bifolio which was introduced into this section of the MS after c.13 was written but before the scribe reached c.33 below (cf. c.13, l.52n for the current state of the MS). As with marginal additions in this MS, a caret has been inserted after 'Scocie' (text l.60) to show where this extra material is to be inserted in later copies – as it is, for example, in MS R and MS D.

Bower's source for this act of resignation by Edward III is not known; it appears not to have been to hand when this chapter was first composed. The text here conforms almost exactly with the modern printed edition with translation in Stones, *Documents*, 161-3, no.41(a); for a partial translation with comments see Barrow, *Bruce*, 256. Bower here omits the clause regarding the formal swearing of an oath for the keeping of this act, and also the dating clause: 'at York, 1 March in the second year of our reign' [i.e. 1328].

**114-20.** ... *Scotland*: Bower has altered Fordun's text, but retained the same general effect; his different text in MS CA suggesting that King Robert was acting with the assent of the three estates of his kingdom is 15c phraseology rather than the language of the time.

**117.** *thirty thousand marks*: this sum was expressed as £20,000 in the official agreement (RRS, v, 598-603, no.345); for discussion of its purpose see Barrow, *Bruce*, 259).

**119.** *Joan of the Tower*: i.e. of the Tower of London; born 5 July 1321 (*HBC*, 39), she was older than David, and lived until 7 Sept. 1362 (*ibid.*); see Barrow, *Bruce*, 374, n.105 for her death and burial beside her mother Queen Isabella (and see below XIV c.18, ll.34-37). For documents detailing the marriage treaty see RRS, v, nos.342-4, all dated 17 March 1328.

#### Chapter 12a pp.39-43

Bower takes the opportunity offered by vacant space on the bottom half of MS C fo.277 (following the text of Edward III's act of resignation [see above

c.12, ll.77-113)) and on the back of the same leaf of that MS to insert a full text of the second tailzie or entail of the Scottish crown, which had been approved at a parliament at Scone PER on 3 December 1318; see above XII c.24 for the first such tailzie approved at Ayr on 27 April 1315; the need for revised arrangements had arisen as a consequence of the death of Edward Bruce in Ireland on 14 October 1318 (see above XII c.37, ll.5-7), for he had been recognized as the king's heir failing a male heir of the king's body.

Bower had not previously mentioned this second tailzie; probably he did not know of it until this text came to hand at the same time as he had found Edward III's act of resignation and was adding it to c.12 above; he took the chance to enter it immediately after that act, even though chronologically well out of place (cf. below XIV c.25, ll.27-29 note). At the same time he added a marginal note in MS C at the end of his chapter containing the first tailzie (see above vol.6, pp.380-1) drawing attention to the inclusion of this second tailzie in Book XIII after Chapter 13 ('opposite' would have been more accurate than 'after'), and for MS CA Bower brought the text here right forward to follow immediately after the first tailzie, though this was too early a position in the story for it to be understood. The scribe of MS R followed Bower's instruction and placed this item (both explanatory introduction (ll.1-8) and text) at the end of c.13 as part of that chapter without any gap; the later scribes of MSS D, B, H and E treated it as part of c.12, with no title in the first two cases, with the title used here in MS H, and with the whole of ll.1-8 set out as a title in MS E; this last pattern was followed by Goodall (ii, 290), who chose to go further and count the item as a separate c.13, so having to renumber all the remaining chapters in Book XIII one digit higher than the numbers allocated and kept by Bower in MS C. It is convenient here to follow the practice of most of the MSS and place the item immediately after c.12, since ll.14-20 of that chapter (see above) concern the agreement reached on a third tailzie in 1326, whose text is lost, but which is likely to have up-dated the general principles laid down in this second tailzie; it is here numbered as a chapter outwith the main series, so that Bower's original numbering of the remaining chapters can be retained.

*Pluscarden* (259-61) includes a shortened version of this text, considerably adapted in places, and anachronistically mentioning a function for the three estates (rather than the community of the kingdom) in deciding when a future young king was fit to be entrusted with rule; *Extracta* (155) has a short summary, dated wrongly 1328; nothing in *Wyntoun*.

**5-6.** *common assent of the three estates*: Bower is again using the language of his own day in this introductory passage rather than that of the early 14c.

**9-77.** ... *document, etc.*: a very similar text is printed from two 17c transcripts in *APS*, i, 465-6 and *RRS*, v, 560-1, no.301; for discussion see Barrow, *Bruce*, 294.

**20-21.** *with all their strength*: 'pro viribus' (text l.20, and again l.51) is 'pro iuribus' in the text based on these transcripts; in each case the reading in MS C is clear.

**30.** *Robert*: later King Robert II 1371-90; reputedly born 2 March 1316 (see above XII c.25, ll.61-62; cf. *HBC*, 59, and *RRS*, v, 652).

**31.** *Marjorie*: see above XII c.24, l.25.

**32.** *Walter Steward*: see above c.2, l.7.



41. *Thomas Randolph*: see above c.2, ll.3-4, and XII c.24, l.47; he had been lord of the Isle of Man as well as earl of Moray since 1313 (Barrow, *Bruce*, 277).
43. *James lord of Douglas*: see above c.2, l.8.
62. *regarding inferior fiefs*: especially regarding the normal feudal law which allowed for the division of a fief among heiresses in the absence of a male heir (E.L.G.Stones and G.G.Simpson, *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290-1296* [Oxford, 1978], ad indicem s.v. 'Scotland, partibility or partition of realm of').
- 62-63. *no custom ... kingdom*: this assertion rejects the validity of Edward I's judgment in favour of John Balliol in 1292, which was acceptable at the time—except to the Bruce family!
71. *imperial law*: *ibid.*, ad indicem s.v. 'law, Roman (or imperial)'.

### Chapter 13 pp.43-45

Only ll.1-6 and 45-47 are taken from *Fordun* (353, annals 142-3). *Pluscarden* (257-8) covers just the same two matters, adding the information that the young King Edward did not attend his sister's wedding at Berwick; see also *Wyntoun* (v, 378-9, 382-3), and *Extracta* (155-56), where ll.65-71 here are also included. *Barbour's Bruce* (iii, 241-3 [bk.xx, ll.65-111]) covers the wedding, and then Bruce's death (iii, 244-8 [bk.xx, ll.153-262]). The sources of the bulk of this chapter are otherwise unknown, and it is not certain what was composed by Bower and what was derived from writers in 1328-9 (see below).

2. *sister of Edward of Windsor*: see above c.12, l.119.
- 2-3. *Edward of Caernarfon ... earlier*: Edward II had died in prison on 21 Sept. 1327 (*HBC*, 39).
3. *Isabella*: Bower again (cf. above c.12, l.1) copies *Fordun* in mistakenly calling this lady Elizabeth.
- 6-12. *But ... bitter*: comments by Bower with an eye to his knowledge of future events.
- 11-12. *... bitter*: Bower uses the same untraced quotation again below XV c.4, ll.37-38.
- 13-44. *... ruin*: Bower curiously introduces this lamentation over the death of King Robert before mentioning that fact below at ll.45-46. The whole passage is put into the mouth of someone living in 1329 ('What I am saying' [l.41] i.e. 'Quod autem dico' [text ll.31-32]); but the ending 'you will understand later ... ruin' (ll.42-44) shows knowledge of future events. Therefore the passage was probably composed by Bower.
- 27-28. *orphan of the Shunammite*: cf. below XVI c.33, l.25 for another reference by Bower to a Shunammite woman. This reference too is puzzling; it seems far-fetched to follow 1 Kings 1:1-4 and see King David of Israel as an abandoned orphan, when in his old age he required the comfort of a young

woman from Shunam to keep him warm in bed; cf. the allegorical treatment of this story in *Select Letters of St Jerome*, no.52 (Loeb edn, 191-9).

33. *From the east a radiant star*: cf. Matthew 2:2: 'We have seen his star in the east.'
- 43-44. *him ... ruin*: presumably a reference to King Edward III, whose childish plans for Scotland could hardly be known to anyone living there at the time.
46. *Cardross DNB*: for this site on the right bank of the river Leven opposite Dumbarton, where the king chose to build a house in which he died, see Barrow, *Bruce*, 319-22.
- 47-62. *He was ... love*: Bower replaces 'ultra omnes viventes suis diebus miles strenuus' in *Fordun* with this passage which with its emphasis on the 'pretended peace' of 1328 and its literary allusions must surely have been composed by Bower himself. The reference to 'other kingdoms' alludes to the Bruce brothers' activities in Ireland and possible plans for interference in Wales (cf. *ibid.*, 380, n.17; see below c.16, ll.34-36).
52. *kingdom*: after 'regni' (text l.40) this chapter in MS C moves from the foot of fo.276v to the top of fo.278. An extra leaf (fos.277-277v) has at a later stage been introduced to break the original continuity of this chapter in this way (see above c.12, ll.77-113 note and c.12a). In fact at present (January 1996) as a result of an error when this MS was last rebound this intervening leaf contains fos.286-286v, while the other part of the bifolio containing fos.277-277v appears between fos.285v and 287 (see below c.33, l.15). From the original arrangement of this bifolio it is clear that it was inserted so that at least the first document now on fo.277 (and probably both documents) might be entered as part of c.12 and all of c.12a here at some stage before the scribe came to write c.33 in the usual way.
- 57-58. *... before*: quotation listed in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.14,117 from here.
- 61-63. *... love*: these lines are listed in Walther, *Initia*, no. 4862, and also in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.6518 from here and many other sources, including *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. H.Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), 679, no.277, which could be where Bower found them (cf. below XV c.29, ll.36-50).
63. *love*: after 'amoris' (text l.48) MS CA has this addition:
- Hec igitur hic prestrinximus ut sciatis quia iste rex Anglie Eadwardus tanquam vestimeno ovis clamidatus perpetuam pacem cum Scotis continuavit, sciens eum pro tunc non posse se contra eos vi et virtute armorum ullatenus posse contraire. Sed audita morte regis nostri Roberti necnon et custodis regni nobilis Thome Ranulphi comitis Moravie, quos maxime dum viverent pertimescebat, qualem se prius pretendebat mente, tanquam lupus rapax monstravit in opere, ut in sequentibus plenius notum erit.
- For the death of the earl of Moray see below c.18, l.112.
63. *buried ... Dunfermline*: his tomb was beside that of Elizabeth, his late queen (see above c.12, l.45).
- 65-71. *... Heaven*: for such versifying see above c.5, l.28 under Bernard

abbot of Arbroath, who in 1328 had become bishop of the Isles (Watt, *Fasti*, 201-2).

67. *twice ten and four years*: only twenty-three years by modern calculation.

68-69. *The letter D ... tomb*: meaning unexplained.

#### Chapter 14 pp.47-51

This chapter appears only in Bower, except that *Extracta* (156) has King Robert's brief epitaph (ll.90-94).

1-88. ... *Heaven*: this long poem is the work of someone with knowledge of classical literature and history and of the Bible.

4. *Paris*: a younger son of King Priam of Troy with whom in the *Iliad* Helen of Sparta eloped. The spelling of his name here (text l.3) is unusual.

*Hector*: the warrior eldest son of Priam of Troy in the *Iliad*.

7. *Socrates*: the Athenian philosopher (469-399 B.C.).

*Cato*: the Roman Cato the Censor (234-149 B.C.), famous for his speeches.

*Maro*: not certainly identified; perhaps an error for Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 B.C.), the prolific Roman writer.

8. *Priam*: king of Troy in the *Iliad*.

*Achilles*: a Greek commander at the siege of Troy in the *Iliad*, who killed Hector.

10. *Ajax*: a Greek commander at the siege of Troy in the *Iliad*.

*Ulysses*: the king of Ithaca and hero of the *Odessey*.

11. *the Macedonian*: Alexander the Great.

*Arthur*: the legendary hero king of the Britons.

13. *Maccabee*: Judas the Maccabee, the leader of the people of Israel against the Syrians.

14. *Aeneas*: the hero of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

15. *Pompey*: Roman commander and politician (106-48 B.C.), rival of Julius Caesar.

16. *Andrew*: St Andrew the apostle, characterized as 'most gentle' above (c.2, ll.43-44).

17. *Jonathan*: son of Saul king of Israel and devoted friend of David.

18. *Saturn*: an Italian god associated particularly with the Capitol at Rome; the connection with Crete is obscure.

22. *Simeon*: the old man at Jerusalem who recognized the child Jesus as the Lord's Messiah.

23. *King Charles*: presumably the emperor Charlmagne.

24. *Solomon*: the king of Israel famous for his wisdom.

25. *Gaius*: the famous Roman jurist of 2c A.D.

26. *Dido*: the queen of Carthage who in the *Aeneid* fell in love with Aeneas and was deserted by him.

27. *Jason*: the Greek hero from Thessaly who successfully sailed with the Argonauts to acquire the Golden Fleece.

*Sejus*; not identified.

*Helicon*: mountain in Greece sacred to the Muses, in which rose the Hippocrene spring, the inspiration of poets. This is possibly a reference to Bruce as the inspiration of Barbour's poem; but such an interpretation depends on a late date for the writing of this poem (cf. below l.57n).

28. *Samson*: the Hebrew hero with enormous strength.

*Bartholomew*: St Bartholomew the apostle, who was said to have been martyred by being flayed alive (*ODS*, 32-33).

29. *Simon*: presumably St Peter the apostle.

29-30. *Sabaeen perfume*: perfume from the Sabaeen people of Yemen i.e. perfume of Arabia (*OED*).

32. *under Juno's Jupiter*: perhaps the morning star is regarded here as marking the handing over from Juno the goddess of the night to Jupiter the god of daylight.

51. *their king retreats*: e.g. at the battle of Bannockburn.

57-58. *our lyre has recently celebrated it*: if this refers to poems about Bannockburn, the author can hardly have been the English Carmelite friar Robert Baston (see above XII c.23); but he could be Bernard (lately) abbot of Arbroath (XII c.22, l.13), or the anonymous author of another Bannockburn poem (XII c.21) which in format has some similarity to other works by Bernard (see above c.13, ll.65-71).

59. *master of Byland*: a reference to King Robert's victory at Byland YON over Edward II, 14 Oct. 1322 (see above c.4, ll.44-56).

61. *solemn truce*: the thirteen-year truce of 30 May 1323 (see above, c.5, ll.51-53; c.12, ll.62-70).

*false peace*: the peace made at Edinburgh on 17 March 1328 (see above c.12, ll.51-61). This description of the peace requires a date at least a few years later for the composition of this poem.

90-94. ... *Heaven*: this marginal addition in MS C is perhaps the epitaph from Robert's tomb in Dunfermline Abbey.

#### Chapter 15 pp.51-53

Bower's source for the story here at ll.12-52 and continued in c.16 is unknown. *Pluscarden* (261) and *Extracta* (157-8) both include shortened versions of it; nothing in *Wyntoun*.

It is probably more a work of imagination than an account of an actual event at the English court; but if the story has some basis in fact, it must be dated sometime after the battle of Bannockburn in June 1314, when one of

the principal characters was killed (see below); but there is not likely to have been any time before the deposition of Edward II in 1327 when Robert Bruce would have been given the title of king at the English court.

4. *rumours of wars*: cf. Mark 13:7.

8. *Barbour ... tongue*: this is useful evidence for the circulation of John Barbour's verse (not prose as here) in the 1440s; it is a striking fact that Bower never refers to, let alone praises, the verse chronicle of his fellow-Augustinian canon in Fife, Andrew de Wyntoun.

15-16. *Edward de Caernarfon*: i.e. King Edward II.

19. *Robert the King [of Arms]*: the title 'Le Roye' before Robert's name, or 'rex haraldorum' after the name, was a style used at this period for leading members of the group of heralds and minstrels in the royal household (N.Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry 1254-1310* [Oxford, 1965], 54-60); this King Robert is found as one of several kings of arms at the famous Feast of Swans under Edward I in 1306 (ibid., 55), and at another royal feast at York under Edward II in February 1312 (P.Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston* [Oxford, 1994], 78).

22. *three knights then living*: in fact only the third knight discussed later in the story was still alive.

27-28. *Emperor Henry ... empire*: Henry count of Luxembourg was crowned king of the Romans at Aachen, Germany, 6 Jan. 1309; king of Italy at Milan, 6 Jan. 1311; and emperor at Rome 29 June 1312 (CMH, vii, 93-102).

30. *as long as he lived*: this was only until 24 Aug. 1313 (ibid., 101).

31. *Giles de Argentan*: a knight of unknown origin, whose surname is spelled variously by modern writers – Argenten, Argenteyn, Argentein, Argenteim, Argentine; after service with Edward I in Scotland from 1302 onwards (C.Moor, *Knights of Edward I* [Harleian Society, London, 1929-32], i, 19), he is found challenging allcomers at a tournament at Stepney, London, in May 1309 (*Chronicles ... Edward II* [RS, 76], i, 157), in the retinue of Piers Gaveston earl of Cornwall at Berwick in Sept. 1310 (J.S.Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston* [Detroit/London, 1988], 82; cf. 43, n.50), and leaving for the Holy Land in Feb. 1311 (*Cal. Pat. 1307-13*, 324); reported to have fought in the Emperor Henry's wars (*Scalacronica*, 142-3); a prisoner at Salonika, Greece after capture on his way to Rhodes, Aug.-Oct. 1313, when Edward II was seeking help for his release (*Cal. Close 1313-18*, 71, 76); killed at Bannockburn, June 1314 (see above, XII c.23, ll.193-4).

33-35. *three fights ... two pagan dogs*: *Barbour's Bruce* (iii, 62 [bk.xiii, ll.324-6]) picks up the same point about his fights with Saracens (though without specification of where they took place), and also (ll.321-2) a grading of his reputation as 'the thrid best knyght ... in his day', which must surely have some connection with what is said here.

46. *inferior*: perhaps a mistake for 'superior'.

## Chapter 16 pp.53-57

8-15. *You have seen ... surrendered*: a description which is probably based on King Robert's behaviour at Bannockburn.

31-32. *not five men ... wavering*: a reference to the period 1306-7 after the battle of Methven (see above XII cc.11-12).

36. *earl of Carrick as he was then*: this ignores his inauguration as king in March 1306.

39. *expelled all his enemies*: this points perhaps to a date in 1318 or later (cf. above XII c.37, ll.24-32).

45. *before and throughout one year*: apparently refers to the year June 1313 – June 1314, during which Edward was challenged to come to the relief of Stirling Castle, or it would be surrendered to Robert (*Barbour's Bruce*, ii, 269-70 [bk.x, ll.824-30]).

48. *there*: at Bannockburn (the herald is being tactful!).

64-66. *... Count Morian*: source unknown.

66. *king of Sicily*: Robert the Wise of Anjou, king of Naples (not including the island of Sicily at this time), 1309-43 (CMH, vii, ad indicem).  
*Count [Robert] Morian*: not identified.

## Chapter 17 pp.57-59

Bower has not found in *Fordun* any of the undated tales about the guardianship of Thomas Randolph that follow in cc.17-18 here; but for ll.1-46 he has followed the same source (perhaps a lost *Life of Randolph*) that lies behind Wyntoun (v, 384-95). *Pluscarden* (261-2) covers ll.1-26 only in rewritten form; cf. *Extracta* (156-7).

2. *arranged in a tailzie*: see above c.12a, ll.38-42; cf. c.12, ll.14-19.

8. *issued a law*: there is no other evidence for the legislation mentioned here.

16. *peasant*: 'agricola' (text l.13) has no specific meaning within the general peasantry (DML).

18. *bondman*: cf. *Word-List*, s.v. 'rusticus'; and see Duncan, *Kingdom*, 339-48 for discussion of grades of peasant. Wyntoun uses the words 'man' and 'carle' as equivalents here.

28. *Wigtown* WIG.

37. *Inverness* INV.

49-58. *For we read ... action*: source of this exemplum untraced.

49. *Poitiers*: dép. Vienne, France.

51. *John de Melun*: bishop of Poitiers ca 1235-57 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 399).

Chapter 18  
pp.59-65

Again nothing here comes from *Fordun*; in this chapter *Wyntoun* (v, 392-5, 400-1) is similar only for ll.1-7 and 62-70; *Pluscarden* (262-3) covers ll.68-114 in a much re-written form; *Extracta* (157 and 158-9) copies the Eilean Donan and Cambyes stories (including the verses), following MS CA variants as usual, and then covers the story leading to Randolph's death in shortened form.

1. *coroner*: an officer appointed by a justiciar to secure the attendance of criminals and others before the justiciar for judgment (cf. Duncan, *Kingdom*, 496).

*Eilean Donan*: an island castle in Loch Duich near Dornie ROS (J.Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Highland and Islands* [London, 1992], 532-4).

10-13. *Nowadays ... emptied*: a comment by Bower on his own day.

14-17. *... cunning*: Peter of Blois, *Letters* (PL, 207), col.90, no.25.

18-36. *a lion ... beaten*: fable not traced.

36-37. *Barabbas ... crucified*: Luke 23: 18-19, 25.

38-61. *... sentiments*: not traced in the printed works of Helinand of Froidmont (PL, 212). A shorter and different version of the story and just four lines of the verses (ll.49-51, 57-59 here) are found in Higden, *Polychronicon* (RS, 41), iii, 172-4.

38-39. *Cambyes ... Persians*: Cambyes II was king of the Persians 529-22 B.C. in succession to his father Cyrus II the Great, who died in 529 (*Chambers Encyclopedia* [1967], ii, 794-5; iv, 326-7); for the forms Artaxerxes and Assuerus see 1 Esdras 4: 6-7 (*Vulgate*); 2:16-17 (*NEB*).

49-61. *... sentiments*: these lines are listed in Walther, *Initia*, no.17,466 from here and elsewhere. In MS CA they are re-arranged in the following order: ll.49-51, 60-61, 56, 52-55, 57-59.

63. *four years three years* by modern calculation.

68-69. *they arranged ... poison him*: there is no confirmation of this tale as an explanation of the character of Randolph's mortal illness; but it was believed also by Barbour (*Barbour's Bruce*, iii, 263 [bk.xx, ll.619-20]).

70. *Wemyss*: presumably on the estate of this name on the Firth of Forth FIF; *Wyntoun* (v, 400-1) says it was 'by the sea'; but no confirmation of land-holding by Randolph there has been traced; and the castle (now called 'Macbeth's Castle' at East Wemyss) was then apparently owned by Sir Michael Wemyss, so that Randolph was there as a guest rather than in his 'own hall' (cf. Fraser, *Wemyss*, i, pp.xxvi-vii, 33-35); see also *Midlothian Chrs.*, 46-48 for evidence that he witnessed an undated charter issued by Sir Michael sometime 1329 x 1352.

*after this*: note the addition in MS CA after 'supervixit' (text l.62), suggesting that the poisoner fled to Edward III as he was approaching the Scottish border with Edward Balliol; Balliol had indeed returned to England after years in France perhaps sometime in 1331 (cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 71-73). The story which follows (ll.71-107) must be largely imaginary, for

King Edward was not in the north of England in the weeks before Randolph's death, and Balliol did not set out for Scotland until 31 July 1332, and then by sea rather than land (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 79).

The text in MS C originally went straight from 'supervixit' (text l.62) to 'et Scociam ... m° ccc° 32°' (text l.98); then first the extra facts 'et xiii die ... Muskilburgh' (text ll.62-63) were added in the margin, and second the long story in text ll.63-98 was added in the bottom margins of two folios, presumably taken from a different source from that which Bower had hitherto been following for this chapter.

71. *Musselburgh MLO*.

13 August: cf. below c.21, ll.1-2, where the date is 20 July; this latter date is apparently the correct one; in c.21 Bower has taken the date from *Fordun* in the form '13 kal. augusti'; but in this marginal entry in MS C (presumably added in the light of the information gathered for c.21) the 'kal.' has been omitted, so giving the wrong date 13 August.

72. *the king*: i.e. Edward III.

82. *came to Cockburnspath BWK*: probably there was some kind of military summons to this place on the route to Berwick in the light of news of warlike preparations south of the Border (cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 79); but the details which follow are fanciful.

96. *is now nearby*: not so; therefore any conflict supposedly planned for the following day was impossible.

107. *disgrace*: after 'reflexit' (text l.94) MS CA has the following extra passage:

Aliter hodie a plerisque ducibus ad prelium properatur, qui cum nichil mali senciant, fingunt se infirmos vel si sibi properandum sit. Audi quid de talibus sentit Petrus Ravennas, 'quod si milites nostros ire in expeditionem quandoque oporteat, summarii non ferro sed vino, non lanceis sed caseis, non ensibus sed utribus, non hastis sed verubus onerantur; quod si eos sic incedentes videris, credes eos ire ad domum convivii, non ad conflictum belli. Clideos deferunt optime deauratos, in quibus depingi faciunt statuas faleratas, ut se quadam imaginaria visione delectent in pugnīs, quas actualiter ingredi aut videre non audent.' Hec ille.

Peter of Ravenna in North Italy, i.e. St Peter Chrysologus, archbishop of Ravenna ca 431-ca 450 (*NCE*, xi, 214); this quotation has not been found in his collected sermons (PL, 52).

112. *on the date mentioned above*: i.e. the wrong date entered in the margin of MS C before this long marginal passage was in its turn inserted (see above l.70n.). In *Extracta* (159) 13 August 1332 is taken to be the date of the funeral, a double misunderstanding.

113. *Dunfermline FIF*: he was buried in this abbey along with King Robert and Queen Elizabeth (see above c.12, ll.44-45; c.13, ll.63-64).

# Chapter 19

## pp.65-67

None of this chapter comes from *Fordun*; Bower has instead followed a source similar to that which lies behind the shorter account in *Wyntoun* (v, 394-9) – both accounts offer the same general explanation for why and when Edward Balliol in France was roused to seek the throne of Scotland; *Pluscarden* (263) has a shorter version of the chapter, not mentioning the character of Lourison's crime, and wrongly stating that Douglas had succeeded Randolph as guardian before going overseas; there is also some sympathy for Balliol, who is described as 'infelix homo'; *Extracta* (159) has a brief account.

1. *as ... last*: Bower here moves back in time to 1329.
- 2-4. *he bequeathed ... Sepulchre*: the king's precise wishes are not certain (A. Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560* [Edinburgh, 1985], 73-74).
4. *James de Douglas*: see above c.2, l.8.
5. *king's death*: 7 June 1329.
- 5-6. *making his preparations*: he was granted a safe-conduct by the English government on 1 Sept. 1329 (*Cal. Pat. 1327-30*, 436), and left Scotland in March or April 1330 (Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 76-77).
- 8-50. *... adultery*: there is presumably some substance to the story here, which may come from the lost *Life* of James de Douglas mentioned in *Pluscarden* (264); but we need not believe that Edward Balliol was stirred into action just on the urging of one shady character; the story may have been preserved so as to suggest how little justification Balliol was thought to have had in seeking the Scottish throne.
8. *William Eckford*: a Scottish lawyer practising in the church courts, who may well have held the post of official of Glasgow for a spell between 1325 and 1335 (Watt, *Graduates*, 170; cf. Watt, *Fasti*, 188, 190).
12. *Twynam Lourison*: not otherwise known. It is curious that his first name is similar to the surname of a clerk in the king's employment at this time, namely Walter de Twynham (Watt, *Graduates*, 549-50).
24. *time*: after 'fulminat' (text l.18), the following repetitive passage occurs in MS CA: 'Ut quem Dei timor a malo non cohercuit, censura spiritualis redderet formidantem, sentenciam excommunicationis in contemptorem fulminat.'
27. *Ayr AYR*.
29. *two hundred pounds*: this information added in the margin of MS C is not found in *Wyntoun*.
33. *There ... Balliol*: Edward Balliol had been resident on the family estates in Picardy in France for some years since the death of his father in 1313 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 71-72).
38. *James de Douglas has set out*: i.e. after March-April 1330 (see above).
42. *Black Parliament*: of 1320 (see above c.1, ll.1-25); it is not clear whether this name was in Bower's source, for there is no mention of it in *Wyntoun*'s

shorter account; this sentence may be an addition of Bower's own in the light of his use of this name in c.1 above.

47. *enlist the help of the king*: despite the Treaty of Edinburgh (see above c.12, ll.51-61) the young Edward III was to give Balliol substantial help.
- 47-49. *There is no doubt ... Twynam*: Bower is more positive than *Wyntoun* in emphasizing the supposed role of Lourison in stirring Balliol into action.
- 49-50. *How great .. adultery*: *Wynton* ends by generalising on how 'a little thing' can cause great harm; Bower in his moralizing way takes the chance to blame the wars that follow improbably on the evils of adultery.

# Chapter 20

## pp.67-73

Bower returns to *Fordun* for the two central themes of this chapter – ll.1-19 from pp.353-4, annal 144, and ll.75-84 from p.354, annal 145; the source of the verse that fills up much of the rest of the chapter is unknown; and there is also extra untraced factual information at ll.73-74 and ll.103-5. Bower had available to him (see ll.20-21) Barbour's very much more extensive account of the Douglas expedition to Spain with Bruce's heart (*Barbour's Bruce*, iii, 246-63 [bk.xx, ll.182-611]). *Pluscarden* (264) has a very brief reference to this chapter, omitting David's coronation entirely, and wrongly stating that Douglas and the king of Spain went to the Holy Land itself; it interestingly refers to a lost vernacular *Life* ('legenda') of Douglas, which may well have provided the substance of Barbour's long account; *Extracta* (159) has a brief summary of the facts in the chapter; nothing in *Wyntoun*.

- 1-17. *... lives*: for a modern account of Douglas's Crusade and death see Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 75-79, and B.K. Heredia, 'Sir James Douglas's death in Spain, 1330', *SHR*, lxxix (1990), 84-90.
1. *26 August*: this is a scribal error for 25 August; *Fordun* has 'viii kal. septembris', confirmed by the alternative source used below (text l.55), while here in MS C we find 'vii kal. septembris'.
- king of Spain*: i.e. Alfonso XI, king of Castile 1312-50, who was campaigning against the Moorish kingdom of Granada; Douglas and his party were seeking a chance to fight the Moslem Moors on their way to the Holy Land (Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 75-76).
2. *who ... heart*: Bower adds this detail to *Fordun*; see *Barbour's Bruce*, iii, 246-8 (bk.xx, ll.182-253); cf. Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 73-74.
- 2-3. *fought against a sultan*: i.e. against a Moorish commander; in fact the engagement was near the castle of Teba in Malaga province in the Sierra de Yeguas south of Cordova (see below l.68; cf. Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 77-79).
- 15-16. *William de Sinclair*: has been identified as the holder of Roslin MLO (Barrow, *Bruce*, ad indicem).
16. *Robert Logan*: not identified; a Walter Logan was killed with him (*Barbour's Bruce*, iii, 257 [bk.xx, ll.483-4]); the two of them may have belonged to the family of Walter Logan lord of Hartside LAN, who was a



Bruce supporter in 1306 (Barrow, *Bruce*, ad indicem).

**22-72.** ... *spare him*: probably a contemporary composition; the first sixteen lines (text ll.20-35) are separate from those which follow as an acrostic, with the initial letters of the lines making 'Jacobus de Douglas'. Towards the end (ll.67-70) these verses preserve the date and place of Douglas's death, which facts are not mentioned in Barbour's elaborate account.

**27.** *his bones being lost*: Barbour's *Bruce*, iii, 262 (bk.xx, ll.585-600) states that his bones were brought home for burial at Douglas LAN.

**73-74.** ... *English*: this marginal addition in MS C may well have come from the lost *Life* of Douglas mentioned in *Pluscarden* (see above).

**75.** *24 November*: 'ca 30 November' is the date of the coronation in *Lanercost* (266-7), where some extra details are given.

**76.** *Scone PER*: the traditional place for inaugurating Scottish kings (see above XII c.9).

*James Ben*: bishop of St Andrews 1328-32 (Watt, *Graduates*, 36-38).

**77.** *specially authorized*: by a bull dated 13 June 1329 Pope John XXII (1316-34) authorized the inauguration of Scottish kings in future with a rite including unction and coronation, to be performed by the bishop of St Andrews, whom failing the bishop of Glasgow (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 244-5, no.480). This set a seal of international respectability on the royal house of Bruce.

**80-83.** *The young king ... memory*: the exchequer approved payments for the gear required by Stewart and Randolph for their knighting (*ER*, i, 398).

**80.** *eight years old*: David was only seven by modern calculation.

**80-81.** *girded with the belt of knighthood*: this was after he himself had been knighted the day before (see below ll.97-99).

**81.** *John Stewart*: nephew of Thomas Randolph; had been newly created earl of Angus (on the forfeiture of the Umfraville line) ca 1328 (*SP*, i, 169-70; vi, 294; Barrow, *Bruce*, 274, 282, 375, n.36); died 9 December 1331 (see below ll.104-5).

*Thomas Randolph*: first cousin of John Stewart; was to hold the earldom of Moray for only a short time 20 July-11 August 1332 (cf. *SP*, vi, 295), for he was killed at the battle of Dupplin.

**85-102.** ... *crown*: verses that contain information from a source different from that used by Fordun for ll.75-84.

**85-92.** ... *crown*: refers to the new practice of inaugurating a king at Scone with a crown.

**93.** *feast of St Chrysogonus*: 24 November.

**97-98.** *girded ... knight*: i.e. the young David was himself knighted the day before his coronation, so that he was then qualified to dub others as knights; cf. above X c.1, ll.49-59 for knighting of the boy-king Alexander III in 1249.

**99.** *earl of Moray*: i.e. Thomas Randolph senior still.

**103.** *Joan of the Tower*: see above c.12, l.119; c.13, ll.1-3.

**104.** *earl of Angus*: see above l.81.

## Chapter 21 pp.73-75

Bower follows *Fordun* (354-5, annal 146) for ll.1-5 here, and then for ll.31-41; otherwise for ll.5-31 he follows the same source that is behind *Wyntoun* (v, 398-401), except for ll.20-25, which have no parallel in *Wyntoun*; ll.29-31 are similar to *Wyntoun*, v, 402-3. *Pluscarden* (264-5) follows this chapter in partly-rewritten form, introducing a reference to nobles who felt that they had been wrongly treated in the Black Parliament of 1320 (see above c.1), and giving a wrong date (8 August) for the landing at Kinghorn; *Extracta* (159-60) is very brief and re-arranged.

**1-2.** ... *died*: Bower repeats information about Randolph's death, using *Fordun* as his source this time, and including the correct date, 20 July 1332 (cf. above c.18, ll.62-71).

**4-5.** *Donald earl of Mar*: he had spent most of his life in England; since his mother Christian was a sister of King Robert I, he was a first cousin of the young King David (*SP*, v, 581-3).

**5-6.** *at the instigation ... adulterer*: see above c.19, ll.8-50.

**6-7.** *Edward de Balliol went to England*: perhaps sometime in 1331 (see above c.18, l.70n.).

**10-13.** *The principal parties ... disposition*: cf. below c.24, ll.1-7; for these 'Disinherited' as a group see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 57-74, c.5, 'The Disinherited', and ad indicem.

**10-11.** *David earl of Atholl*: i.e. David de Strathbogie III (see above XI c.13, ll.14-15, and below c.24, l.3); recognized only in England as heir to his father as earl of Atholl, 28 July 1327, when aged 18; his mother Joan Comyn had been heiress to half of the lands of the John Comyn lord of Badenoch who had been killed by Robert Bruce in 1306; he married Katherine, daughter of Henry de Beaumont; died 30 November 1335 (*SP*, i, 430-2, 509-10; *CP*, i, 307-8; *CDS*, iii, no.927); see below c.35, l.42.

**11.** *the Comyns*: cf. below c.24, l.6 for one Walter Comyn; there were two men of this name who supported Edward Balliol, one of whom was probably the son and heir of the William Comyn who had held the lands of Kilbride LAN (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 70, 80, 104).

*the Talbots*: cf. below c.24, ll.5-6, for Richard Talbot, d.1356 (*CP*, xii, pt.i, 612-14; cf. *ibid.*, viii, 406; *DNB*, lv, 329-30); he was married to Elizabeth Comyn, the other heiress of half of the lands of John Comyn of Badenoch (*SP*, i, 509-10; Nicholson, *Edward III*, ad indicem).

*the Mowbrays*: see above c.1, l.20n.; c.2, ll.8-9 note; and below c.24, ll.3-5 for Alexander, Geoffrey, John and William de Mowbray; for various members of this family see Nicholson, *Edward III*, ad indicem.

**12.** *Henry de Beaumont*: see above XI c.13, ll.14-15, 23; a Frenchman who had been active on the English side in Scotland since 1302; recognized in England as earl of Buchan by right of his wife Alice Comyn when she came of age in 1312; died shortly before 10 March 1340 (*SP*, ii, 258-9; *CP*, ii, 59-60; cf. *HBC*, 502).

16-20. *because ... battle*: an improbable account of Beaumont's opinion of Randolph, which comes from the same source as Wyntoun used.

21. *as the Italians say*: Bower's source here is untraced.

22-24. *they arranged ... wine*: Wyntoun agrees that there was a plot to poison Randolph and that it was the Disinherited who planned it; but only Bower adds here to the account he had given above (c.18, l.69) the supposed fact that the murderous friar was Randolph's own chaplain.

25. *stated*: Bower adds here in MS CA: 'Ecce quomodo moritur justus; et ne imo percipit corde, viri justi tolluntur et pauci considerant, sed in memoria eterna erit justus, ut ait P.' The identity of the author cited here has not been traced.

26-27. *put a fleet to sea*: Balliol and his force set sail from the Humber up the east coast on 31 July 1332 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 79).

27. *500 or 600 armed men*: Wyntoun mentions 1500 fighting men; for a discussion of the various numbers found in different sources see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 80-81.

30. *nine years old*: he was in fact eight.

31. *On this day*: presumably 2 August 1332 (see above l.3).

33. *31 July*: Fordun's date here is impossibly early, since it was on this date that the expedition left the Humber.

34. *Kinghorn FIF*: for a map showing the progress of this expedition see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 82.

*Alexander de Seton*: the son of a man of the same name listed in the 'Declaration of Arbroath' (see above c.2, l.17; see *SP*, viii, 569, n.3); probably it was the earl of Fife who led the defending force (see *Lanercost*, 267; *Scalacronica*, 159).

37. *monastery of Dunfermline FIF*.

38. *Dupplin Moor*: PER: on the north side of the river Earn between Forteviot and Perth.

*eleventh day*: Nicholson (*Edward III*, 86) accepts Fordun's dating here, though the commonly accepted date has been 12 August; but Bower is wrong to have added the alternative dating 'eve of St Laurence's day', which is 9 August; 'eve' is probably a slip for 'morrow'.

39. *serious battle*: for details see below cc.22-23; for accounts from the Balliol side see *Scalacronica*, 159-60, and *Anonimale 1307-34*, 149-51.

## Chapter 22 pp.75-77

Bower describes the battle of Dupplin Moor and its aftermath in detail in this chapter and in c.23, ll.1-61; none of this chapter is derived from *Fordun*; much of it appears to follow the same source as was used for the account in *Wyntoun* (v, 404-11), except ll.12-16, 22-33 and 37-41; it is not clear whether Bower

found these latter passages in a different source, or composed them himself as elaborations of the story. *Pluscarden* (265-6) is similar to Bower, though rearranged; it has different reflections parallel to ll.27-33 here, quoting the Bible rather than Seneca; it also has extra information at l.44 (see below). *Extracta* (160) is very brief.

For a modern account of the battle, based on English as well as Scottish sources, see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 85-90.

7. *Patrick earl of March*: see above c.2, l.4; presumably held his office with military responsibilities south of the Forth under the earl of Mar as guardian of Scotland.

9. *30,000 armed men*: Wyntoun gives the same inflated figure.  
*Earl Donald*: i.e. Donald earl of Mar.

12-16. *There was ... kingdom*: the rumour may have been based on the fact (mentioned also in *Wyntoun* [v, 404-5]) that Edward Balliol sent a ship or ships from Kinghorn round by sea to the Tay estuary (see above l.3).

18. *Forteviot PER*: on the south bank of the river Earn, within sight of Dupplin Moor, which lay on higher ground to the north on the other side of the river.

26-28. *saying ... day*: for references to this insult popularly directed at the English that they had tails, see *DML*, s.v. 'caudare'; Bower probably knew the version of it in the 'prophecies' of John of Bridlington (which he cites elsewhere, e.g. below c.24, l.11), where in the context of the battle of Poitiers in 1356 the French are described as accusing the English of having tails, whilst the English called the French chickens (*RS*, 14, i, 176-7). See also below c.23, l.17n, and above IX c.32, l.65n.

28-33. *But ... base*: probably a comment by Bower himself.

32-33. *success ... base*: a reference to *The Suasoriae of Seneca the Elder*, ed. W.A. Edward (Cambridge, 1928), 8, bk.II, c.3, ll.12-13. Wyntoun (v, 408-9) prefers a saying attributed to Scipio.

35. *Auchterarder PER*: a town nearby, also to the south of the river Earn.

37-41. *Certainly ... weakness*: probably a reflection by Bower.

44. *by one of our people*: *Pluscarden* (266) unusually contributes the unique information that it was the lord of Gask (see next note); but see below c.24, ll.43-47 for a different identification of this man. Sir Alexander Mowbray (see above c.21, l.11n.) is credited with guiding Balliol's army in *Anonimale 1307-34* (149).

45. *Gask and Dupplin*: both places lay on the higher ground north of the river.

49-50. *Thomas ... Moray*: see above c.20, ll.81-82.

50. *Murdoch earl of Menteith*: *SP*, vi, 135-7.

51. *Robert Bruce*: cf. *SP*, i, 8; Nicholson, *Edward III*, 87.  
*Alexander Fraser*: see above c.2, l.10.

52. *three hundred*: while naming the same list of leaders, Wyntoun (v, 410-11) says that they had a force of 800 men.

### Chapter 23 pp.77-81

Continuing the story of the battle of Dupplin Moor Bower's account at first (ll.1-2) is different from that in *Wyntoun* (v, 412-19), and incorporates at ll.11-23 ('standard') with minor additions the brief account in *Fordun* (355, latter part of annal 146); then ll.27-61 follow the same lines as the story in *Wyntoun*'s version. ll.62-68 come from *Fordun* (355, first part of annal 147), with *Wyntoun* following the same source. *Pluscarden* (266) offers a much shorter account than is given here, but again does offer some extra personal information (see below ll.12-13 note); *Extracta* (160-1) is rather fuller.

**12-13.** *guardian ... Fraser*: this list from *Fordun* is the same as that included above (c.22, ll.49-51); the two earls are Moray and Menteith. *Pluscarden* adds the information that knights of the households of the lords of Erroll and Graham were also among the killed (cf. *SP*, iii, 559-60; vi, 211).

**17.** *revenge*: after 'divina' (text l.15) Bower in MS CA adds the following additional passage:

Nimia eciam etenim superbia Scotorum in multitudine confidencium armatorum turpiter eos dejecit. Propter quod G[regorius] in Morali-bus: 'Omnis superbia eoipso in imo jacet, quo in alto se erigit, et inde magis supposita cuncta sit, unde cunctis appetit superesse.' Qui predie dicebas te de caudis Anglorum facere tibi funes ad ipsos vinciendos, nunc veris vinculis vinciris non attendens ad illud poeticum:

Actibus et verbis homo tu quicumque superbis,  
hoc retine verbum frangit Deus omnes superbum.

Dixi supra quod non vis humana sed Scotos prostravit ulcio divina.

The quotation is from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job Libri XI-XXII* (CCSL, 1979), 869, bk.XVII, c.21, ll.28-30. For the tailed English see above c.22, ll.26-28 note. The two lines of verse are listed in Walther, *Proverbia*, no. 303 from many sources.

**20.** *Duncan earl of Fife*: see above c.21, l.34n.

**21-22.** *three hundred and sixty*: *Wyntoun* (v, 420-1) gives the same number.

**23.** *three thousand*: *Wyntoun* agrees (v, 420-1; cf. 412-13).

**34-36.** ... *pride*: *Wyntoun* (v, 414-15) has his own version of this speech.

**37.** *Earl Patrick was approaching*: the earl of March was arriving too late from Auchterarder see above c.22, ll.7-9, 34-35).

**38.** *a man-at-arms*: identified by *Wyntoun* (v, 416-17) as one of the Murrays of Tullibardine PER, a fact which Bower inserted in MS C, but then rejected; but traditionally the head of this family was partial to Balliol at this time (cf. *SP*, i, 454). See below c.24, ll.43-47.

**44.** *Lamberkine PER*: on the road between Dupplin Moor and Perth; cf. above XII c.18, ll.63-72 for similar use of timber to cross the moat at an earlier siege of Perth.

**53.** *Henry de Beaumont*: see above c.21, l.12. *Wyntoun* (v, 418-19) attributes a speech to him that is similar to the one that follows here.

**58.** *it dispersed*: for details of an abortive attack on the ships of Balliol's supporters at Perth which led to this, see *Anonimale 1307-34* (151-3).

**62.** *24 September: Lanercost* (269) dates this ceremony 4 October 1332; but see discussion in favour of Fordun's date here in Nicholson, *Edward III*, 94.

**63.** *in his own fashion*: 'more suo' (text l.55) was added by Bower to Fordun's text; perhaps he is suggesting a less elaborate and more traditional ceremony than the one held the year before for David's coronation (see above, c.20, ll.75-80).

*Duncan earl of Fife*: cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 151-2 for the part played by his aunt Isabel when standing in for him in performing the enthronement of King Robert at his inauguration in 1306; this function was a traditional privilege of his family.

**64.** *William de Sinclair*: bishop of Dunkeld 1312-37 (Watt, *Graduates*, 496-7); he had previously been a particularly favoured supporter of King Robert (see above XII c.25, ll.25-60); it is not known why he agreed to help with Edward's inauguration in the absence of the bishop of St Andrews (cf. above IX c.1; X c.1; below c.24, ll.36-37); he had an episcopal residence near Dupplin Moor at Tibbermore PER, and may well have been the only bishop available at Scone on 24 September; since the earl of Fife was a captive (see above ll.20-21), he may have been there also (but see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 93).

**66-67.** *Fife ... Gowrie*: Fife, Fothrif and Gowrie were deaneries of the diocese of St Andrews (*Historical Atlas*, 138), and Strathearn was probably an adjacent deanery in Dunkeld diocese (cf. Watt, *Fasti*, 123-4). *Lanercost* (269) specifies the abbots of Dunfermline, Coupar Angus, Inchaffray, Arbroath and Scone as coming to Edward's side at this time.

### Chapter 24 pp.81-85

The general framework and order of the items in this chapter follow *Fordun* (355-6, second part of annal 147 and all of annal 148), namely ll.1-10 and 36-69; but there are additions, some of which are found also in *Wyntoun* (v, 424-9); ll.25-35 are different from both these sources, and Bower adds ll.11-24 in the margin of MS C from his own reading; for MS CA he made a change in the order of the items, bringing ll.25-38 here forward before l.1 ff., and adding a long extra passage at l.48 (see below). *Pluscarden* (266-7) covers the whole chapter; *Extracta* (161-2) has a summary following MS CA.

**1-7.** ... *others*: here Bower takes a list of the 'Disinherited' from *Fordun*; cf. above c.21, ll.7-13, where the list is taken from another source; biographical notes on persons mentioned in both lists are not repeated here.

**3-4.** *Henry de Balliol ... Geoffrey de Mowbray*: these four names are added in the margin of MS C from an unknown source.

**3.** *Henry de Balliol*: Edward's brother (*SP*, i, 7); see below l.63; presumably different from the knight of this name who was active in the south of Scotland

under King Robert (*CDS*, iii, no.470 [3]; *RRS*, v, 609, 614; cf. Barrow, *Bruce*, 279-80, and Nicholson, *Edward III*, 104).

*John Mowbray*: the connection of this member of the Mowbray family with Strathbogie ABD is unknown; for the other Mowbrays mentioned here see above c.21, l.11.

4-5. *Henry de Ferrers with his two brothers*: Henry Lord Ferrers was active 1325-43 (*CP*, v, 344-7), and had one brother called Thomas, who lived until 1353 (*ibid.*, 345, note d); Henry went to Scotland in 1332 as one of the 'Disinherited' (*Scalacronica*, 159), having claims to lands in Galloway and the Lothians (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 66).

6. *Radulph baron of Stafford*: Bower has added this name also to Fordun's list here, but this time in the main text of MS C rather than in the margin; Radulph (or Ralph) had succeeded as Lord Stafford after a minority in 1323, became earl of Stafford in 1351, and died 1372 (*CP*, xii, part i, 174-7; *DNB*, liii, 456-8); he sailed from the Humber with Edward Balliol in 1332 (*Lanercost*, 267).

7-8. *six hundred*: cf. above c.21, l.27 (not from *Fordun*); in *Pluscarden* this is changed to 1000.

8. *thirty thousand*: this figure is not mentioned elsewhere; cf. above c.22, l.9 for the similar size of March's force.

10. *three thousand*: cf. above c.23, l.23 (not from *Fordun*).

11. *long before been prophesied*: in fact like other 'prophecies' by 'John of Bridlington' the following lines relating to the Dupplin Moor campaign were probably written by John Erghome after 1361; for the full 'prophecy' plus the author's own explanation of its obscure meaning (which is referred to in the notes which follow here), see *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. T. Wright, vol. i (RS, 14), 141-3; see Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii, 59 for authorship and dating; cf. below c.26, ll.32-34 and XV c.12, ll.78-83 (both excerpted from the same 'prophecy' as here); see also XV c.36, ll.56-68.

14. *bailiff*: 'ballivus' (text l.12) refers to Edward Balliol.

*not renowned*: text in RS edition has 'iam nominativus' i.e. 'already renowned'; perhaps a deliberate change by Bower.

15. *the bull*: i.e. King Edward of England.

16. *wooden horses*: i.e. ships.

*lion of his device*: his heraldic device as king of Scots.

19. *Scottish horns*: i.e. Kinghorn in the Scottish tongue, which formed two parishes (Cowan, *Parishes*, 112).

21. *winged creatures*: i.e. arrows.

22. *happy place*: i.e. the battle site which the Scots had approached light-heartedly.

25-35. *... age*: cf. shorter and different accounts in just one MS (MS FB) of *Fordun* (355, n.8) and in *Wyntoun* (v, 422-3); all three sources misdate the year of David's move to France, for in fact he left in May 1334 (*ER*, i, clviii).

26. *nine-year old*: David was ten years old in May 1334.

28. *Rankin More*: not identified. The chamberlain of Scotland during most of the 1330s was Reginald More (*HBC*, 185).

29. *Sir Malcolm Fleming*: served the young Prince David as his steward, and remained in his service after he became king in 1329; certainly held office as sheriff of Dumbarton 1329-30 (*ER*, i, ad indicem); see below c.28, l.65 for him as keeper of Dumbarton Castle in early 1334; was to be created earl of Wigtown after David's return to Scotland in 1341, and lived until 1357 x 1362 (*SP*, viii, 520-3; *HBC*, 522; *RRS*, vi, 85-86, no.39, and ad indicem).

31. *Andrew Moray*: son of the Andrew de Moray killed in 1297 (see above XI c.29, ll.19-20; see also above c.2, l.12n., and c.12, l.20); lord of Bothwell LAN, and since 1326 husband of Christian Bruce, King Robert's sister (*SP*, ii, 127-8); presumably made guardian soon after the death of the earl of Mar at Dupplin Moor in August 1332; but since he was a captive in England for some considerable time after October 1332 (see below c.26, ll.4-18), he cannot have been in office in Scotland when David was sent to France.

33. *eight years*: in fact seven years.

35. *in 1341*: he landed at Inverbervie KCD on 3 June 1341 (see below c.48, ll.8-10).

*eighteen*: in fact seventeen.

36. *James Ben*: bishop of St Andrews since 1328; see above VI c.44, ll.1-26, where his date of death is given as 22 Sept. 1332; see also above c.5, ll.1-10 note.

39-48. *... ground*: Bower adds to Fordun's account the names of the two Frasers and Keith, and the fact that the walls of Perth were levelled, information taken from the same source as Wyntoun used; but the third sentence here added in the margin of MS C is not found elsewhere.

40. *James and Simon Fraser*: these two (and also Andrew Fraser) were younger brothers of Alexander Fraser who had been killed at Dupplin (see family tree in *Fraser of Philorth*, i, xiii; cf. above c.22, l.51); James occurs as witness to a crown charter along with Alexander at Scone, 29 November 1331 (*RRS*, vi, 58, no.8); Simon is discussed as first lord of Lovat INV in A. Mackenzie, *History of the Frasers of Lovat* (Inverness, 1896), 32-36.

*Robert Keith*: described in *Wyntoun* as 'young Robert', and is assumed to be a grandson of the Robert de Keith listed in the 'Declaration of Arbroath' in 1320, and as such still under age in 1332 (*SP*, vi, 33; cf. above c.2, l.11).

42. *daughter*: this was Isabella, Earl Duncan's only known child and heir (*SP*, iv, 13-14).

43. *Andrew de Tullibardine*: Andrew Murray held the lands of Tullibardine near Auchterarder PER (*SP*, i, 454).

45-47. *This man ... side*: neither *Fordun* nor *Wyntoun* includes this explanation of Murray's treason; this marginal addition to MS C was added after MS R was copied (i.e. after Bower's death), but it summarizes a substantial addition which Bower had included in MS CA after 'ad solum' (text l.41) as follows:

Convictus enim fuit dictus Andreas post subversionem oppiidi, quia nocte precedenti bellum de Duplyn ad significandum Balliolis transmeacionem vadi fixit palum in *le Dernford* aque de Ern', cuius indicio Eadwardus de Balliolo dolose nostros decepit. Nam in rei veritate Balliolus ultro cum suis terga dedisset quando infra acram molendi-

narii se circumseptum ex omni parte a multitudine utriusque exercitus deprehendi cognoverat, attendens si ad austrum fugeret quod exercitus comitis Marchie eum arceret; si ad aquilonem, exercitus custodis eum cum suis paucioribus penitus suffocaret. Et ideo ipse Eadwardus tanquam res desperata animam suam in manibus propriis commisit, gubernaculo nichilominus Dei dirigendam. Propter quod Vigecius De Re Militari libro ii<sup>o</sup> ait: 'Plerique rei militaris ignari pleniorum victoriam credunt, si adversarios aut locorum angustiis aut armatorum multitudine circumdederint, ne aditum non inveniunt recedendi. Sed econtra clausis ex desperatione crescit audacia. Sed cum spei nichil est, sumet arma formido. Libenter cupit commori qui sine dubio scit se moriturum. Ideoque Scipionis laudata est sententia, qui dixit viam hostibus, qua fugerint, inveniendam. Nam cum abcedendi aditu patefacto mentes omnium ad prebenda terga concesserunt, inulti more pecudum trucidantur. Nec insequencium ullum periculum est, cum victi quibus defendi poterant, arma in fugam converterunt.' Hec ille.

See Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* (Teubner edn), 111, ll.5-16, bk III, c.21. Cf. above c.22, l.44; see also above c.23, l.38n., where Bower had included a different story about one of this family (as in *Wyntoun*), and then excised the reference, probably after this addition to MS CA was made.

50. *Archibald de Douglas*: see *SP*, iii, 140-2; identified below as 'the Tyneman' (c.26, ll.47-48, and XIV c.6, l.12); for a discussion of the possible meaning of this nickname (which cannot be traced further back than Bower) see Jamieson, *Etymological Dictionary*, new edn, iv (Paisley, 1882), 581; it hints at his reputation for losing his troops; perhaps means 'the Loser'; he had become guardian after the capture of Andrew Moray in October 1332 (see below c.26, ll.46-48).

52. *Moffat DMF*.

*with one thousand picked men*: Bower has changed this phrase from Fordun's 'with a few other nobles'; the number 'one thousand' is found also in *Wyntoun* v, 426-7).

54. *Annan DMF*: for Balliol's movements see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 94, 96-97, 103-4.

54-57. *Edward ... join him*: this visit to Irvine AYR must have been in early October 1332; it is not mentioned in *Fordun*; see similar account in *Wyntoun*, v, 424-5.

56. *Alexander Bruce*: illegitimate son of Edward Bruce, the brother of King Robert; had been created earl of Carrick since the accession of King David in June 1329 (*SP*, ii, 436-7; cf. *HBC*, 504); not known to have held the lordship of Galloway (cf. *SP*, iv, 144); his two titles are not given in *Fordun*, but appear in *Wyntoun*.

58-59. *who had been sent by the guardian*: a misstatement by Bower, for Douglas the guardian was present.

62-63. *one leg ... bare*: a picturesque improvement by Bower on *Wyntoun*'s assertion (v, 428-9) that Edward fled 'with leggis bare'.

63. *Henry de Balliol*: Edward's brother (see above l.3); *Wyntoun* also has the story of him fighting with a long staff.

66. *16 December*: probably 17 December is meant in this marginal addition to MS C.

66-67. *John de Mowbray*: see above l.3.

67. *Walter Comyn*: see above l.5.

*Richard Kirkby*: a name added by Bower from an unknown source; not identified; a John Kirkby had just been consecrated as bishop of Carlisle in July 1332 (*HBC*, 235).

69. *saved from death: Pluscarden* (267) states wrongly that Bruce was put to death by the earl of Moray.

## Chapter 25 pp.85-87

The bulk of this chapter consists of reflections by Bower on the perfidious character of the English, seemingly a comment on his own day; but ll.6-10 (more precisely text l.6 'ruptis' to l.9 'erant') are taken from *Fordun* (356, part of annal 149), a passage which has brief echoes in *Wyntoun* (vi, 4-5) also. Nothing in *Pluscarden*; *Extracta* (162-3) has a brief account including the lines of verse at ll.28-29.

4-5. *disregarded ... letters*: i.e. the treaty of Edinburgh of 1328 (see above c.12, ll.51-61).

28-29. *... enemy*: see variant versions cited from here and other sources in Walther, *Initia*, no.1033, and *Proverbia*, nos.1043a and 1055.

29. *enemy*: after 'cave' (text l.24) Bower in MS CA adds: 'Dixi quod Anglicus angelus est transformatus scilicet in angelus lucis; sed verius anguis dici potest quia angit vel anguis ab anguilla.'

32. *eels*: after 'anguillis' (text l.27) Bower in MS CA adds: 'predicatur unde poeta', and inserts the four lines of verse below (ll.61-65) which are in the margin of MS C, before proceeding with the rest of the text as here (l.33 ff.); in MS CA the chapter ends with the two lines of verse (below ll.57-60) as originally in MS C.

34-35. *as is clear ... Chapter*: Bower is referring back to evidence of English treachery in the time of Charlemagne which he had found in *Fordun*; probably the reference should be to cc.58-59.

42. *the Scottish people*: in addressing a single Scot Bower is thinking of him as representing the Scottish people at large.

58-60. *... peace*: the first line is a quotation from Virgil, *Aeneid*, bk.ii, l.390 (Loeb edn, 320); cf. Walther, *Initia*, no.4716 from here, and Walther, *Proverbia*, no.6252c from various sources; probably Bower added the second line.

61-65. *... dragon*: the source of these lines is unknown; for MS C it was intended that they follow the previous two lines as here; but see above l.32n. for the change of position in MS CA.



Chapter 26  
pp.89-91

For both c.26 and c.27 Bower follows the same outline story that is found in *Wyntoun* (v, 428-33 and vi, 2-7 for c.26, and vi, 8-19 for c.27); the account in *Fordun* (356-7, annal 149) is much shorter and follows a different and confused order of events; but at five places most of *Fordun*'s material is interspersed at the relevant places, namely c.26, ll.23-28 ('dearly'), 37-39, 43-45, and c.27, ll.31-38 ('The names ... individually'), 40-44 ('possessions'); it is clear that Bower had more confidence in the source that he shared with *Wyntoun* than in *Fordun* for this story; from other reading he included c.26, ll.28-34 ('But ... guilt') himself. *Pluscarden* (268-9) gives a shortened version of c.26 including some errors (see below), and covers c.27 at pp.269-70; *Extracta* (163-4) gives the substance of both chapters following MS CA as usual.

1. 1333: this date as introduced by Bower; in *Fordun* (356) and *Wyntoun* (vi, 2-3) it relates to the events mentioned in the second and third paragraphs here, not the first; the correct date for this first paragraph is 1332.

2-3. *Patrick earl of March*: see above c.23, l.37 for his part at Dupplin Moor.

3-4. *Alexander Seton*: see above c.2, l.17, and c.21, l.34n.

4-5. *the guardian ... Roxburgh*: see above c.24, ll.30-31; Moray's capture at Roxburgh is dated 14 October 1332 in *Lanercost* (270). *Pluscarden* wrongly identifies this Andrew Moray as 'le Riche'; but that nickname properly belongs to an earlier Sir William de Moray who died 1299 × 1300 (*SP*, ii, 124-5).

5-18. *where ... himself up*: see *Wyntoun* (v, 430-3) for a more elaborate account of this fight; later (vi, 2-3) *Wyntoun* dates Moray's presentation to Edward III in April 1333; see also *Salacronica*, 161.

18. *at this time*: 25 March 1333 according to *Lanercost* (272-3).

19-20. *Lochmaben*: in Annandale DMF.

20-21. *William de Douglas of Liddesdale*: *SP*, vi, 339-42; *DNB*, xvi, 355-7.

22. *difficulty*: after 'liberatus est' (text l.19) Bower in MS CA adds: 'Consimiliter custos Scocie per biennium captivatus et multo precio redemptus, Anglicis se satis infestos reddiderunt.' Cf. below c.28, ll.28-29.

23-24. 12 April: the date of King Edward's arrival at Berwick is variously reported; some *Fordun* MSS have 12 April 1333 as here, some 31 March; *Wyntoun* has no date; *Lanercost* (273) has 1 May; *Anonimale 1307-34* (159) has 16 May; modern scholarship based on records gives 9 May (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 117).

24. 19 July: this is the correct date for the surrender of Berwick after the battle of Halidon (see below c.27, ll.40-44), which Bower has taken from *Fordun*; but he then entered in the margin of MS C a misleading equivalent date, referring to the feast of St Mary Magdalene i.e. 22 July.

25-28. *On this day ... dearly*: Bower follows *Fordun* in mentioning the battle of Halidon here before describing the events of the siege of Berwick that led up to it. For further details of the battle (including the names of many Scottish participants) see *Anonimale 1307-34*, 163-9.

28-34. *But ... guilt*: Bower cites here two further lines of one of the 'prophecies' of 'John of Bridlington', which come from just after the 'prophecy' regarding Dupplin Moor cited above (see c.24, l.11n.).

30. *you*: presumably God.

32. *Holy Hill*: i.e. Halydone or Halidon.

34. *Berwick*: John Erghome explains 'ursina fronte' (text l.28), which literally means 'with bear-like appearance', as a play on the vernacular place-name 'Berwyke' or 'Berefrount'.

[*not*] *without guilt*: Bower has substituted 'sonte' (text l.28) for 'ponte' in RS, 14, p.141, which was a reference to the broken bridge over the river Tweed at Berwick; the meaning here is not clear.

35. *Meanwhile*: the story steps back in time here; Edward Balliol had started to besiege Berwick in the first week of March 1333 (*Scalacronica*, 162; cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 110).

38. *William Seton*: see *SP*, viii, 568-9; he was a brother of the Alexander de Seton killed in 1332 in Fife (see above c.21, ll.34-35).

42. *a certain time*: the reference is to the terms of a truce for fifteen days ending on 11 July 1333 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 123-4).

45. *Thomas [de Seton]*: *SP*, viii, 568; see below c.27, ll.9-11.

47. *Archibald de Douglas*: see above c.24, l.50.

50-51. *sixty thousand*: this is the figure given also in *Wyntoun* (vi, 6-7).

55-56. *And as ... planned*: this opinion is expressed similarly in *Wyntoun* (vi, 6-7).

59. *Sunnyside NTB*: a hill less than a mile south of the river Tweed opposite Berwick; the Scots were there on 12 July (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 125; see map p.120).

61-62. *continued ... planned*: Brian Scott advises that the grammatical construction 'ceptum iter ... sunt arrepti' (text l.50) is highly unusual in medieval Latin i.e. the use of 'arripio' as a deponent along with an accusative of respect ('rushed off in respect of the journey they had begun').

Chapter 27  
pp.91-93

For Bower's sources in this chapter see above c.26 introduction.

4-5. *Overcome ... people*: see *Wyntoun* (vi, 6-7) for a similar judgment: 'Thaitrowit [trusted] to that entyscement.'

6. *Duns BWK*: about fifteen miles west of Berwick; the Scots arrived there on 18 July (see below).

8. *before the day of the contract*: both Bower and *Wyntoun* are misleading here; the hanging of Thomas de Seton took place before the Scottish army came to Duns; it followed the end of the truce on 11 July, when the Scots had not handed over the castle and town as arranged; after the hanging a new

contract was agreed on 15 July whereby Berwick would be handed over on 20 July if not relieved before then (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 126-7); it was this latter contract which forced the Scots to come to fight at Halidon on 19 July.

12. *feast of St Margaret the Virgin*: i.e. 20 July; Bower and Wyntoun both have the wrong dating; it should have been the *eve* of that saint's day i.e. 19 July (as in *Lanercost*, 273), as Bower had already noted above (c.26, l.24) from *Fordun*.

13. *Halidon*: a small hill two miles north-west of Berwick; for a detailed account of the battle there from English as well as Scottish sources see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 132-8.

20. *Hugh*: earl of Ross 1323-33; he had been married to Matilda Bruce, a sister of King Robert (*SP*, vii, 235-7; cf. ii, 435).

31-38. *The names ... individually*: Bower is following *Fordun* here, but includes also the names of three Steward brothers which are found only in *Wyntoun*; these supposed sons of Walter Steward (see above c.12, l.42) are identified by the compilers of *The Scots Peerage* (*SP*, i, 13) as sons of Sir John Stewart of Bunkle BWK; James and Alan at least may be identified with Stewards of that name who are listed in the Scottish order of battle at Halidon (*SHS Misc.*, ii, 28); for some additional names of those killed see *Anonimale* 1307-34, 167-9.

34. *Archibald de Douglas*: see above c.26, l.47.

35. *Kenneth*: earl of Sutherland 1321 × 1330 – 1333 (*HBC*, 521; *SP*, viii, 324-5).

36. *Alexander de Bruce*: see above c.24, ll.56, 68.

36-37. *Andrew, Simon and James Fraser*: see above c.24, l.40.

39. *ten thousand*: the same figure appears in *Wyntoun* (vi, 14-15).

45. *castle of Dunbar* ELO: see C.McWilliam, *The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian except Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 184.

46. *at great expense to himself*: in fact it appears that the earl 'imposed upon Edward's credulity and won from him large grants of money that were no doubt spent upon its fortifications' (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 144).

50. *Dumbarton DNB*: for this castle see J.B.Stevenson, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: The Clyde Estuary and Central Region* (Edinburgh, 1985), no.34.

*Sir Malcolm Fleming*: see above c.24, l.29; see *ER*, i, ad indicem.

51. *Loch Leven KNR*: see B.Walker and G.Ritchie, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Fife and Tayside* (Edinburgh, 1987), no.50.

*Alan de Vipont*: a landholder in KNR under King Robert (*RMS*, i, app.ii, no.687); by November 1333 he was planning to visit England (*CDS*, iii, no.1099); payments were made to him as constable of Loch Leven castle 1337 × 1338 (*ER*, i, 467, and ad indicem).

*Kildrummy ABD*: see I.A.G.Shepherd, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Grampian* (Edinburgh, 1986), no.30.

52. *Christian de Bruce*: sister of King Robert, grandmother of the young earl of Mar (as widow of Gartnait earl of Mar), wife since 1326 of the Andrew de Moray who in 1333 was a prisoner in England (*SP*, v, 579; see above c.12, ll.20-21; c.26, l.22n.).

*Urquhart INV*: see J.Close-Brooks, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: The Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1986), no.45.

53. [*Robert*] *Lauder*: the corrected first name in MS CA is the right one (as in *Wyntoun*, vi, 18-19); his father, a knight with the same name, was justiciar of Lothian under King Robert and was still in office 1331-2 (*RRS*, v, ad indicem; cf. p.11; Stones, *Documents*, 170; *RRS*, vi, 56-57, 60); reported to have fought at Halidon while his father was still alive i.e. identified then as 'the son' (cf. *SHS Misc.*, ii, 29); granted lands in the neighbourhood of Urquhart 6 Dec. 1334 (*Moray Registrum*, 155), and was a witness there on 4 July 1342 (*RRS*, vi, 506, no.485); held lands of Quarrywood near Elgin MOR by 1362 (*Moray Registrum*, 309-10); see un referenced account of him in J.Young, *Notes on Historical References to the Scottish Family of Lauder* (Glasgow, 1884), 35-38.

54. *Loch Doon AYR*: see J.B.Stevenson, loc.cit., no.35.

55. *John son of Thomas*: paid for supplies for Loch Doon Castle 1337 × 1338 (*ER*, i, 467).

## Chapter 28 pp.95-97

In this chapter Bower follows the same selection and order of events as in *Wyntoun* (vi, 20-29), though with differences in the balance of detail; where parallel material is available in *Fordun*, Bower retains his text – ll.1-8 (358, annal 151), ll.9-21 ('September') and ll.26 ('Sir Alexander') – 40 ('England') (357, annal 150), leaving the last sentence of annal 150 omitted (see below c.32, introduction); ll.21-26 and 41-67 have no equivalent in *Fordun*. *Pluscarden* (271-2) covers the whole chapter; *Extracta* (164-5) has a brief account, erroneously stating that Richard Talbot was killed in Lothian, rather than captured.

It should be noted that the first paragraph here is placed out of its chronological order; in *Wyntoun* it is similarly placed, but in *Fordun* it correctly forms a separate annal after the equivalent of ll.9-40 here. There are difficulties too about the dating of the third and fourth paragraphs (ll.41-52 and 53-67) – see discussion below; if they are brought forward in their chronological placing, it helps to fill an otherwise unexplained gap in Bower's story (Aug.1333 – Aug.1334) between c.27 and c.28.

1. *4 March 1334*: the year-date here is 1334/5; the month and day are taken from *Fordun*..

*envoys of the king of France*: the bishop of Avranches and Peter de Tierlieu; for their negotiations see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 192-3.

3. *envoy from Pope Benedict XII*: Benedict was elected pope on 20 December 1334 (*ODP*, 217); it was probably April 1335 before he sent his envoys to plead for peace so that a crusade might be mounted (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 197).

9-15. ... *succession*: the John de Mowbray who died at Annan in December

1332 (see above c.24, ll.66-67) left three daughters as his heirs; their husbands were Anselm de Gyse, Robert Gower and David Mareschal, and at least some of the land in dispute lay near Dumfries (*CDS*, iii, pp.318-19); John's brother Alexander was claiming the estates as heir male (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 168). Beaumont, Atholl and Talbot were all 'Disinherited' who had come to Scotland with Balliol (see above c.24, ll.2-6). The date here is August 1334.

14. *as true heirs*: 'veras heredes' (text l.12) added by Bower to *Fordun*.

16. *Edward to Berwick*: before 29 September 1334 (*Lanercost*, 278).

17. *Dundarg*: a stronghold on a promontary on the coast near New Aberdour ABD, associated with the earldom of Buchan, which Beaumont was claiming by right of his wife (W.D.Simpson, *Dundarg Castle* [Edinburgh, 1954]; cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 185; see above c.21, l.12 n.).

17-18. *in Buchan ... of Buchan*: added by Bower to the *Fordun* text, parallel to lines in *Wyntoun*, vi, 22-25.

19. *Lochindorb*: see above XII c.3, l.11; this was a Comyn of Badenoch stronghold to which he claimed a right through his mother (see above c.21, ll.10-11 note).

19-20. *Richard Talbot ... captured*: for details of his capture see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 168-9; see below c.39, ll.24-29.

21-26. *When ... Earl David*: this is an addition by Bower to the *Fordun* text, developing material expressed more briefly in *Wyntoun*. David had already been made Steward of Scotland by Balliol before 30 August 1333, and it has been argued that he was granted the Steward's lands at the same time (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 148); here a date in autumn 1334 is implied (but see below l.35 ff.).

23-24. *the departure ... another*: quotation untraced.

28-29. *Andrew de Moray ... ransom*: he had been in English hands since October 1332 (see above c.26, ll.4-18), and had probably been ransomed before 22 July 1334 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 166).

29-40. *As soon ... England*: this account of the siege and surrender of Dundarg on 23 December 1334 comes from *Fordun*; *Wyntoun* wrongly places this siege later in early 1336 (vi, 70-73), and Bower blindly follows the same source to the extent of including a second account of the siege below (c.36, ll.1-9); see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 185-6.

41-52. *... fortresses*: Bower has more detail in this passage (which is not from *Fordun*) than *Wyntoun* (vi, 24-27); it is possible to read *Wyntoun*'s brief account to mean that it was Atholl who feasted at Renfrew RNF and had keys brought to him etc. (cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 148); and certainly Renfrew was a burgh of barony belonging to the Steward family, not a 'royal town' as Bower mistakenly says here (cf. G.S.Pride, *The Burghs of Scotland* [Oxford, 1965], nos.11, 86); but Bower's account makes it clear that he had read his source to mean that it was Edward Balliol who was the central figure in this paragraph.

41. *In the meantime*: the dating of this paragraph is uncertain; in *Wyntoun*'s account as here both it and the next paragraph are associated with events of late 1334; but the next paragraph must surely relate to the period late 1333 x early 1334 (see ll.53-54 note), and this paragraph deals with Balliol's

actions following his confiscation of the Steward lands, which seems to have happened by August 1333 (see above ll.21-26); Balliol's visit to Renfrew therefore may have followed his stay at nearby Glasgow in late September 1333 (cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 148).

46. *Rothsay and Dunoon*: Rothsay castle on the Isle of Bute was held by the Steward (*OPS*, II, i, 225-6; see G.Ritchie and M.Harman, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Argyll and the Western Isles* [Edinburgh, 1985], no.32); Dunoon castle in Cowal ARG was a royal castle (*OPS*, II, i, 64).

46-47. *Thomas de Wooler*: not identified.

47. *Alan de Lyle*: not identified; see below c.31, l.14.

49. *another Chusai*: a learned allusion taken by Bower from *Fordun*'s discussion of Bullock in his annal 159 (p.364); not found in *Wyntoun*. Professor R.J.Bartlett advises that 'Chusy' (text l.45) is a variant form of the biblical name 'Chusai' or 'Hushai' (e.g. 2 Kings 15-17 [*Vulgate*]; 2 Samuel 15-17 [*NEB*]; Hushai was a faithful servant and friend of King David, who deceived David's rebellious son Absalom on David's behalf. Bower is suggesting that Bullock's adherence to Balliol was a subterfuge for his true loyalty to David II.

50. *William Bullock*: origin unknown (*ER*, i, pp.clv-vi; *CDS*, iii, ad indicem); it is argued that he must have been appointed in late 1333 after Balliol had been re-established on the throne (Webster, 'Scotland without a king', 231, n.1).

51. *castle of St Andrews FIF*: the property of the bishop of St Andrews; but the see was vacant 1332-42 (Watt, *Fasti*, 293-4); see official guide, *St Andrews Castle*, by R.Fawcett (Edinburgh, 1992).

51-52. *castle of Cupar FIF*: no trace of it remains; it was a royal castle at the seat of the sheriffdom of Fife; see *CDS*, iii, no.1220 for a payment from the English treasury to Bullock as keeper of this castle 1335-6; see below c.38, ll.32-33 and c.44.

53-54. *At this time ... fifteen years old*: at the end of this paragraph Robert Steward is said to have met up with Sir Malcolm Fleming at Dumbarton; this must have been before Fleming left for France with young King David in May 1334 (see above c.24, ll.25-30), say late 1333 or early 1334; in *Wyntoun* (vi, 26-27) Robert is said alternatively to be aged 16 or 14; he had been born in 1316 (see above XII c.25, ll.61-62 note); he must have been about eighteen in early 1334.

54-55. *in Rothsay castle*: i.e. on his own property as heir to the Steward inheritance (see above l.46).

57. *John son of Gilbert*: alternatively called Gibson in *Wyntoun*; held office as bailie of Bute 1329 (*ER*, i, 184, 190, 196); cf. *RMS*, i, app.i, nos.100 and 102 for two different landholders of this name in Galloway in 1329. Cf. below c.31, l.26.

60. *Inverkip RNF*: on the coast across the Firth of Clyde from Bute.

63. *'Wimercannoch' RNF*: spelled 'Overcunnok' in *Wyntoun*; this place cannot now be identified, but must have been further up the left bank of the river Clyde.

64. *Dumbarton castle DNB*: see above c.27, l.50.

65. *Sir Malcolm Fleming*: see above c.24, l.29.

66-67. *waiting ... winds*: presumably a metaphorical usage for awaiting developments in general.

# Chapter 29 pp.97-101

For cc.29-32 Bower has taken nothing from *Fordun*; for some of this chapter (ll.1-19, 36-41, 66-68) and c.30 (ll.1-13, 21-27) he is following the same source used in *Wyntoun* (vi, 28-37), but with some different details; this leaves the source for the whole story of the attempt to raise the level of Loch Leven unidentified; it has the air of a traditional tale with little factual substance. For a shorter version see *Pluscarden* (272-4), and for an even shorter one see *Extracta* (165).

1. 1335: this year-date is found also in *Wyntoun* (vi, 28-29), but it must surely be wrong; the siege of Loch Leven Castle is said below (ll.5-6) to have begun on Mid-Lent Sunday (cf. *ODCC*, 792), which in itself raises a chronological ambiguity – it might mean 26 March 1335 or 10 March 1335/6; but from John de Strivelyn's movements (see below) neither date seems possible; perhaps therefore 6 March 1333/4 is intended.

*John de Strivelyn*: though said to be a Scot by birth (*Lanercost*, 293), he was a landholder at Swinburn in Tynedale, north of Hexham NTB in 1330-1 (*CDS*, iii, no.1027; cf. p.xliii; and many references in the index; see also *Rot.Scot.*, ad indicem); occurs in service of Balliol as his sheriff of Perth, 8 May 1334 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 225, n.3); this would therefore be a possible time for his siege at Loch Leven KNR; taken prisoner by the anti-Balliol party along with Richard Talbot 8 September 1334 (*Scalacronica*, 164; see above c.28, ll.19-21 for date); not released on ransom until on or after 8 October 1335 (*CDS*, iii, no.1183); served Edward III as the English sheriff of Edinburgh and keeper of Edinburgh Castle 15 October 1335 – 29 September 1336 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 225-6).

3. *Michael de Arnot*: he followed Strivelyn to serve in the English garrison at Edinburgh 1336-7 (*CDS*, iii, p.363).

*Michael and David de Wemyss*: for Michael see above c.18, l.70; David was his first cousin once removed (*SP*, viii, 477, 480; see also Fraser, *Wemyss*, i, 409; ii, 11-13); both men had attended coronation of Balliol in September 1332 along with the earl of Fife (*Lanercost*, 269).

4. *Richard de Melville*: perhaps the man of this name who had served in the garrison of Edinburgh Castle for Edward II 1311-12 (*CDS*, iii, p.408).

6. *castle of Loch Leven*: see above c.27, l.51; it was built on an island near the western shore of the loch quite near to the town of Kinross KNR; the water level of the loch has been lowered in modern times, making the island much more extensive than in 14c.

11. *Fale*: this name is not in *Wyntoun*, and is known only from Bower's account here.

12. *boundaries of the consecrated cemetery*: the old Kinross parish church site is on the shore of the loch just opposite the castle island.

12-14. *In this way ... robbers*: *Wyntoun* (vi, 30-31) offers a similar moral judgment, with some differences in detail.

15-16. *Alan de Vipont*: see above c.27, l.51.

16. *James Lamby*: the mention in this context of a citizen of St Andrews FIF is surprising; he had been in royal service since the end of King Robert's reign, with a regular fee or pension from the crown revenues in the early 1330s, which was still being paid in 1342 (*ER*, i, ad indicem); a citizen of the same city with the same name is found a century later (*St Andrews Copiale*, 94, 100), whose name connected him with the lands of Lambielesham to the south of St Andrews.

19. *castle*: Bower does not include here the statement in *Wyntoun* (vi, 32-33) that the besiegers were frequently reinforced by men from Perth, where presumably Strivelyn was still sheriff (see above).

23-24. *outlet ... hollow*: this outlet is the start of the river Leven, which flows from the extreme south-east corner of the loch; *Extracta* unusually supplies the additional information that this area was called 'lie Gullatis', which corresponds with the place on the modern map called New Gullet.

25-31. *they forced ... exception*: this is a very improbable enterprise; even if the castle walls were quite low because of its safe situation, the likelihood of raising the level of the loch (and in so short a time too) high enough to flood over the walls is nil, considering the flat land surrounding this large loch, which would soon be extensively flooded keeping the water level quite low.

31. *exception*: Bower has an addition here in MS CA: 'Nam ad illud peficiendum non sine magnis impendiis traxerunt aquam de Doven per scissuras terrarum milibus usque ad villam de [ ] prout adhuc vestigia contemplantiibus dant indicium.' [MS P supplies the name 'Kinross' where a blank was left in MS CA.] The river Devon at its nearest point is about five miles from Loch Leven; a diversion such as is described here, even if the line of the Gairney Water were used for much of the way, is hardly possible in the time, whatever traces of earthworks were apparent in the 15c.

32. *adviser ... Serf*: see above III c.9, l.1 note, s.v. 'Servanus'; one of the places which enjoyed the spiritual patronage of St Serf was the small priory on another island in Loch Leven; since 1152/3 it had been an Augustinian house dependent upon St Andrews cathedral priory (*MRHS*, 93; cf. 50); it is curious that *Wyntoun*, who held the office of prior of Loch Leven Isle, did not include this tale in his book.

36. *annual celebration ... Margaret*: presumably the feast of her translation held every year on 19 June (*ODS*, 284); cf. above X c.3.

39. *Dunfermline FIF*: the abbot of Dunfermline was among those who are reported to have attended Balliol's coronation in September 1332 (*Lanercost*, 269).

58. *for a month and more*: an improbably short time for building a major dam.

61. *to the sea*: the river Leven enters the Firth of Forth some twelve miles from Loch Leven.

65. *still show traces*: again a reference to the 15c configuration of the ground; it may well have been such traces (as above l.31) which gave rise to a legendary story to explain their existence.

### Chapter 30 pp.101-3

At ll.1-27 Bower continues the story from c.29 (see above); for ll.28-45 he follows the same source as *Wyntoun* (vi, 36-39; cf. i, 114). *Pluscarden* (274-5) covers the same topics, but places the Glasgow visit before the shipwreck in the Forth; *Extracta* (165-6) summarizes the same items.

4-7. *After ... appearance*: the details here differ considerably from those in *Wyntoun*.

13-20. *But ... untenable*: since this passage is not paralleled in *Wyntoun*, it may present Bower's own attitudes rather than those of his unknown source.

26. *his own accustomed strongholds*: not defined.

28. *In the same year*: 1335 is certainly meant here (cf. above c.29, l.1 note).

28-31. ... *'The Wolves'*: this event is part of the story developed (from *Fordun*) at greater length below c.33, l.13 ff.; for details of the English offensive in Scotland in 1335 see Nicholson, *Edward III*, c.XIV.

31. *'The Wolves'*: not identified; cf. rocks now called 'Oxcars' and 'Cow and Calves' near Inchcolm in the middle of the Firth of Forth.

31-32. *king ... Glasgow*: Edward III entered Scotland from Carlisle CMB on 12 July 1335, while Balliol moved north from Berwick on the same day (*Lanercost*, 281); they met at Glasgow at the end of July (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 206; cf. 211).

33. *Atholl*: his appointment as lieutenant is not mentioned here by *Wyntoun*; *Pluscarden* alters the text to suggest that it was Edward III alone who made the appointment; Bower has been misled here by his source; in fact the appointment was not made until both Edwards received Atholl into their peace at Perth in mid-August 1335 – as Bower states below c.35, ll.7-10, when following *Fordun*.

34. *they set out for England*: both Bower and *Wyntoun* have been misled by their source here; the two Edwards in fact went north to Perth (see below c.33, ll.19-21; c.35, l.13).

34-36. *This David ... overlord*: the story now goes back in time; Atholl had apparently been granted the Steward's lands by Balliol July x August 1333 after the battle of Halidon (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 148); Atholl's actions as described here cannot have happened as late as his appointment as lieutenant in August 1335, for by then the Steward was his ally (see below c.35, ll.6-8 note); see also below c.31, ll.1-3, and c.32, ll.20-22; for lists of some of the Steward's lands see Barrow, *Kingdom*, 337-61, and G. Barrow and A. Royan in Stringer, *Essays*, 167-8.

37-45. *After that ... liberty*: this account of Atholl's activities in the north

must date after his disagreement with Balliol in August 1334 (see above c.28, ll.11-16), and before his surrender to the earl of Moray's pressure to come to King David's side in September 1334 (see below c.32, ll.29-30).

38. *regions beyond the mountains*: i.e. beyond the Mounth hill barrier, probably in Strathspey and perhaps Aberdeenshire.

39. *lands and domains of the Comyns*: this is ambiguous; *Wyntoun* is more specific, referring to the lands of the late John Comyn i.e. the lord of Badenoch INV who had died on the English side at Bannockburn in 1314, leaving two sisters as co-heiresses, the elder of whom (Joan) was Earl David's mother, dying in 1326 (*SP*, i, 509-10; see above c.21, ll.10-11); he was now therefore claiming part of his inheritance, which had been forfeited in Scotland because of the Comyns' and his allegiance to England. But the reference here to 'the Comyns' (plural) may imply that he was interested also in securing at least some of the Aberdeenshire lands of the Comyn earldom of Buchan, which were until December 1334 being sought by Henry de Beaumont as the husband of another Comyn heiress (*SP*, ii, 259); but Atholl's wife was a daughter of Beaumont (*SP*, i, 432), and the two men were allies (see above c.28, ll.11-13).

43. *freely*: cf. 'hilariter' i.e. 'light-heartedly' in MS CA and 'apertly' i.e. 'openly' in *Wyntoun*.

45. *future liberty*: *Wyntoun* more specifically refers to King David's gaining of authority; he then adds a reference to a distich of Cato by way of moral reflection – which Bower is unlikely to have omitted had he found it in the source he was following.

### Chapter 31 pp.103-5

For ll.1-28 and 29-42 Bower follows a source similar to that used by *Wyntoun* (vi, 40-45), but with different details (see below); the verses at ll.29-34 may be by Bower himself, as also are probably ll.43-51. *Pluscarden* (275-6) follows Bower with minor changes; *Extracta* (166) summarizes ll.1-28 only, then includes the verses.

1. ... *Dumbarton*: Bower is following the same order of events as *Wyntoun*, but adds 'At the same time' here; in fact the story here continues after the end of c.28 above, say summer 1334 after the departure of Sir Malcolm Fleming with young King David.

2-3. *David ... in this way*: see above c.30, ll.34-36.

4-5. *lord of Lochawe ... Dougal Campbell*: the current lord of Lochawe was Colin Campbell, who had both a younger brother and a younger son called Dougal; it is assumed that the source used by *Wyntoun* and Bower was mistaken about the correct first name here (*SP*, i, 324-5).

7. *siege-equipment*: not mentioned in *Wyntoun*.

8. *castle of Dunoon*: see above c.28, l.46.

11. *neyfs*: i.e. peasants (Duncan, *Kingdom*, 328-34).



12. *Brandans*: the traditional name for the men of Bute (see above XI c.34, l.46; cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 166, n.1).
14. *Alan de Lyle*: see above c.28, l.47.
22. *taking ... present*: a detail not in *Wyntoun*.
24. *gratefully*: Wyntoun adds that the Steward gained nine hundred marks worth of land.
26. *castle of Bute*: i.e. Rothesay castle (see above c.28, ll.46, 54-55).  
*John son of Gilbert*: this may be the same man as had earlier helped the Steward to escape from Rothesay castle (see above c.28, l.57; cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 148, 166), but this has been thought impossible (*Wyntoun*, i, 114, s.v. 'Gibson'); presumably same as the man of this name found as bailie of Bute in the royal accounts of 1329 (*ER*, i, 184, 190, 196; see also *RRS*, v, 651).
28. *and did homage to him*: a detail not in *Wyntoun*.
- 35-41. ... *Steward*: Bower's version here is more elaborate than that in *Wyntoun*, where Carruthers is said to have been accompanied by just one brother.
36. *William de Carruthers*: later granted lands in Annandale by King David II as lord of Annandale DMF, undated, perhaps 1344 (*RRS*, vi, 120-1, no.81); a John de Carruthers was a witness then as David's chancellor in Annandale; see also *ibid.*, 314, no.282.
42. *Thomas de Bruce*: perhaps a natural son of Edward de Bruce, the brother of King Robert I (*ER*, i, cxxxiii); more definitely the same as the holder of lands in Clackmannan at his death before 1348 (*SP*, iii, 467); his connection with Kyle AYR has not been traced.
- 43-51. *While ... peoples*: this praise for the later King Robert II probably dates from after 1371 when he became king, and may well have been composed by Bower himself.

## Chapter 32 pp.107-9

For nearly all of this chapter Bower follows the same source as Wyntoun used (vi, 45-51), usually with more detail, notably giving the first names of the knights Hering and Haliburton (ll.49-50), which are not found in *Wyntoun*; in choosing to follow this source, Bower was deliberately omitting Fordun's short account (357-8, last seven lines of annal 150) which overlaps with ll.1-2 and 20-31 here with some extra information (see below); ll.43-47 ('However ... release') are derived from some other unidentified source. *Pluscarden* (276-7) has a much shortened version of this whole chapter; *Extracta* (166-7) has an even shorter account, identifying William de Douglas (l.37) as the lord of Liddesdale.

1-3. ... *Dumbarton DNB*: Bower's statement here differs in various ways from both *Wyntoun* and *Fordun*; Wyntoun, in following on from the equivalent of c.31 above, starts 'And soon after', compared with 'In the

meantime' here; Fordun states that Moray had gone to France after the fight at Annan on 17 December 1332 (see above c.24), and dates his return sometime before '27 September', presumably in 1334; it appears that he returned from France with cash from King Philip VI to pay for the expense of moving King David from Dumbarton to France in May 1334 (*ER*, i, 464; cf. p.clviii); Bower's statement here therefore that Moray came 'from King David' (which is not found in *Wyntoun*) is erroneous, and was presumably inserted in accordance with his belief that David had gone to France in 1332 (see above c.24, ll.25-28); Bower's error is repeated in *Pluscarden* and *Extracta*.

11. *barons of Renfrew*: presumably the principal tenants of the Steward's estates RNF.
13. *Godfrey de Ross*: described as an Englishman by Wyntoun; perhaps the knight Sir Godfrey de Roos who was killed in the service of Edward III in Scotland before April 1344 (*CDS*, iii, 260, no.1432); see also *Rot.Scot.*, ad indicem; see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 169, 215.
15. *Carrick, Cunninghame and Kyle*: the three regions of the sheriffdom of Ayr.
- 16-17. *The magnates ... kingdom*: Moray and the Steward were apparently acting as guardians by July 1334 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 166).
- 20-22. *tyranny ... the Steward*: Wyntoun makes no mention of attacks by Atholl on Steward lands at this time (cf. above c.28, ll.18-19; c.30, ll.34-36; c.31, ll.1-3), and specified only that Atholl was active 'in the north country', which appears to match the reference here to Moray's 'own lands'; 'terris suis' (text l.18) probably refers to the adjacent lordships of Badenoch and Lochaber INV held before 1306 by John Comyn, and by now claimed by both Moray and Atholl (Barrow, *Bruce*, 277; cf. above c.30, l.39).
25. *neys*: see above c.31, l.11.
- 29-30. *he came over to King David's side*: Bower omits here the date 27 September, presumably 1334, which is given in *Fordun* (358). See Nicholson, *Edward III*, 172.
32. *lieutenant of the North*: this appointment is mentioned by Wyntoun and Bower, but not by Fordun.
- 37-38. *William de Douglas ... English*: he had been captured near Lochmaben in March 1333, and is said above (c.26, ll.20-22) to have remained a captive for two years; but the events here appear to date one month before March 1335 (see *SP*, vi, 339).
- 37-43. *Intending ... book*: Bower writes here at much greater length than Wyntoun, apparently in admiration of his subject.
48. *Alexander de Ramsay*: lord of Dalhousie MLO (*SP*, iii, 89; *RRS*, v, 343, no.58; *RRS*, vi, 79, 86, nos.32, 40); see below c.40, l.3.
49. *Laurence de Preston*: see *RRS*, vi, 62, no.14; 440, no.412; his lands at Tranent ELO were forfeited by Edward III (*CDS*, iii, pp.337, 385); held Tullibardine PER in 1337 (*ER*, i, 453); see below c.39, ll.15-18.  
*John de Hering*: cf. *RMS*, i, no.350 of 1370.
50. *John de Haliburton*: perhaps the man mentioned in *SP*, iv, 332; cf. ix,

101; he forfeited land at Lambden BWK to Edward III (*CDS*, iii, p.370; cf. p.325). See below XIV c.9, l.52.

### Chapter 33 pp.109-11

Bower now abandons the source which he had for four chapters followed in common with Wyntoun both for the order of events and for details about the parliament at Dairsie (cf. *Wyntoun*, vi, 56-57), in favour of returning for ll.1-22 to the text of *Fordun* (358-9, annal 152), making alterations as noted below; ll.22-52 are presumably taken from a traditional account preserved at Inchcolm. *Pluscarden* (277-8) follows Bower with minor changes for ll.1-22, and then gives a brief account of the English raiders on Inchcolm; *Extracta* (167-8) follows most of ll.1-22, then gives a rather longer summary of the rest.

2. *then guardians*: see above c.32, ll.16-17; *Fordun* has only Moray as 'custos' (singular), and *Pluscarden* only the Steward.

*Dairsie*: a small estate and parish between Cupar and St Andrews FIF (cf. above XII c.37, l.38).

3. *Andrew de Moray*: while guardian he had been captured by the English at Roxburgh (see above c.26, ll.4-18), and was released ca July 1334 (see above c.28, ll.28-29); it was Bower who added the misleading statement 'who had just been freed from England by means of a large ransom' here to the *Fordun* text, perhaps influenced by the source behind *Wyntoun* (vi, 56-57), where it is said that Andrew came home at this time.

4. *Patrick earl of March*: see above c.27, l.41.

4-5. *Alexander de Mowbray*: see above c.28, ll.10-11. 22-23).

5. *William de Douglas*: see above c.32, l.37.

7. *David earl of Atholl*: see above c.32, l.26.

9. *Steward*: *Fordun* here adds: 'qui tunc non magna regebatur sapientia'; this uncomplimentary phrase has been omitted by Bower, presumably out of a respect for the later King Robert II which *Fordun* did not have.

10. *earl of Moray*: see above c.32, ll.31-33.

*and William Douglas*: added by Bower to *Fordun*; cf. above c.32, ll.43-47; in the source used by Wyntoun Bower would have read that Atholl came to Dairsie intending to kill Douglas, but Douglas escaped with the help of friends.

13-15. *Meanwhile ... sea*: Bower adds this link-passage to *Fordun* in the light of c.30, ll.28-29 above, which he had already incorporated from the source used by Wyntoun; he now duplicates and amplifies the story of the invasion by Edward III and Edward Balliol in July 1335 in its correct chronological place with additional information derived from *Fordun*.

15. *by land and by sea*: for MS C fos. 286-286v (text l.14) see above c.13, l.52n.

21. *Perth*: the Edwards were probably at Airth STL on 31 July 1335 before

crossing the river Forth then and reaching Perth PER by 7 August (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 211-12, 214, n.1).

21-22. *waited for the earl of Atholl*: see below c.35, ll.1-10.

22-57. *... wondered*: Bower relates this tale concerning his own monastery on Inchcolm in a manner that typically reflects his belief in the efficacy of prayers to the saints and in the active protection provided by St Columba for the monastery dedicated to him.

46. *admitted to Inchkeith*: this island in the middle of the Firth of Forth east of Inchcolm was apparently inhabited.

47. *Kinghorn-Regis*: a royal manor on the south coast of Fife nearby (see above X c.40, l.38).

52. *St Abb's Head*: near Coldingham BWK.

55. *Broichan*: the magician mentioned in *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. A.O. and M.O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1961), II, 34, pp.404-7, against whose claim to have power to raise an adverse wind on Loch Ness Columba successfully set sail to confound him. Bower was apparently familiar with Adomnan's book.

### Chapter 34 pp.111-15

For ll.1-4 Bower returns to the source used by Wyntoun (vi, 52-53); then for the story of the count of Namur he incorporates the wording in *Fordun* (359, annal 153, first half) mainly at ll.5-11 ('March'), 52-64 ('garrisons'), and ll.71-72 into a much more elaborate account; since some of the additional details in this account are found in *Wyntoun* (vi, 52-57), Bower was probably indebted to their common source; but Wyntoun includes some material not used by Bower, and the latter must have had some other unidentified source to hand for factual details (as opposed to probable literary elaboration) e.g. the mentions of Richard Shaw (l.15), the Pentland Hills (l.24) and David de Annan (l.29). *Pluscarden* (278-9) covers the whole chapter; *Extracta* (168-9) has a summary with some details re-arranged.

1-4. *... side*: the date of this incident is uncertain; Bower follows Wyntoun's source in placing it before the expedition of the count of Namur, but in Wyntoun these two episodes are placed before the Dairsie parliament of April 1335 (see above c.33, ll.1-2), while Bower knew from *Fordun* that Namur did not come to Scotland until July 1335.

2. *Tarbert ARG*: a royal castle much developed by Robert I in the 1320s (see J.G. Dunbar and A.A.M. Duncan, 'Tarbert Castle', *SHR*, I [1971], 1-17).

3. *John*: lord of the Isles 1330-87; he was closely associated with Edward Balliol, with whom he was to conclude an agreement on 12 September 1336 (*SP*, v, 37-39; Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 212).

6. *count of Namur*: for an account of this man's expedition to Scotland in 1335 see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 212-13; he was Guy count of Namur (now in

Belgium), a cousin of Queen Philippa wife of Edward III; had succeeded his brother as count in April 1335; accepted Edward III as his lord in return for a pension; expected by Edward 12 July 1335 to come to Scotland; killed in a tournament 12 March 1336 (*Biographie nationale de Belgique*, viii [1884-5], cols. 558-9). He is not to be confused with William count of Juliers (now Jülich in Germany, west of Cologne), who was also serving Edward III in Scotland at the same time (*Wyntoun*, i, 115); his identity is clear in *Lanercost* (282); but the Scottish chroniclers wrongly give his title in what appears to be a form of Guelders (now in Holland), and Bower is logical in calling his followers 'Gellerena' (text l.13) or 'Gillereni' (text l.20, etc.). Cf. Francisque-Michel, i, 61-62 for an account from French sources.

8. 30 July: this date in 1335 is found in *Fordun*, but no date is given in *Wyntoun*.

10-11. *overbearing ... Atholl*: see above c.33, l.8.

11. *earl of March*: see above c.33, l.4

*William de Douglas*: see above c.33, l.5.

12. *Alexander de Ramsay*: see above c.32, l.48; the names of Douglas and Ramsay are not in *Fordun*, but are in *Wyntoun*, along with that of [Laurence de] Preston (see above c.32, l.49).

*fought a battle*: it has been assumed that this battle was fought on 30 July 1335 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 213); but since this is given as the date of the count's entry into Scotland, the battle is likely to have been fought rather later.

13. *Burgh Muir*: this name is found in *Wyntoun*; for the Muir's boundaries on the plan of modern Edinburgh see *Old Edinburgh Bk.*, x, 4-5, 55, and frontispiece.

13-21. *There ... woman*: no source is known for this improbable tale; Richard Shaw has not been identified.

23-24. *Douglas ... Pentland Hills*: this information is not found elsewhere; cf. below c.41, l.56.

27. *Friars' Wynd*: mentioned in *Wyntoun*'s account; now called Blackfriars Street, running south from High Street.

28. *St Mary Wynd*: to the east of Blackfriars Street at the Netherbow, now called St Mary's Street.

29. *David de Annan*: presumably the same man was to be taken prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 (*CDS*, iii, ad indicem); he was a frequent witness of crown charters under David II 1353-69 (*RRS*, vi, ad indicem); cf. act of Robert I in 1315 (*RRS*, v, 343, no.58); see also *ER*, i, 547, and *RMS*, i, ad indicem; this story about him is not found in *Fordun* or *Wyntoun*.

34. *Corynaeus*: not certainly identified; possibly same as Corynetes (i.e. the club-wielder), another name for Periphetes (*OCD*, 802).

38-51. *The men ... country*: see similar account in *Wyntoun*, where the deserted castle site is called just 'the Crag'.

40-41. *where ... English*: Maidens' Castle was the traditional name for Edinburgh castle; it had been demolished after capture by the forces of King Robert I in 1314 (see above XII c.19, ll.14-24).

55-56. *from whom ... gifts*: see above c.32, ll.1-2.

57-58. *without any ransom*: he did not pay a ransom for himself, but had to pay £4,000 for some of his knights and esquires (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 213).

61-62. *accompanied ... Borders*: from Berwick the count sailed north to Perth to see Edward III by 11 August 1335, when arrangements were being made for his return home to Namur (*ibid.*, 214); he had reached York before 5 September, when Edward authorised payment for his expenses there (*CDS*, iii, 212, no.1175); cf. *Lanercost* (283) for an English chronicler's scorn for Namur's lack of success.

62-63. *joined ... men*: added by Bower to *Fordun*; see also *Wyntoun*.

63-64. *from the garrisons*: the garrison of Roxburgh in particular is mentioned in *Lanercost* (282).

64. *Peter de Paris*: Bower has taken this name from the source used by *Wyntoun*, without including other details of this skirmish which *Wyntoun* does include; it is Bower who suggests the alternative form of his surname; this man has not been identified; see account in Nicholson, *Edward III*, 213.

69. *James de Douglas*: little is known of him (cf. *SP*, vi, 344, where only this reference is cited); Bower has included his name from the source used by *Wyntoun*.

71-72. *Moray was captured*: he had reached York as a prisoner by 13 August, when Edward III at Perth gave instructions for his future treatment (*CDS*, iii, 212, no.1171); he was to remain a prisoner until February 1342, spending part of the time in irons in various English castles (*SP*, vi, 296).

## Chapter 35 pp.115-17

The bulk of this chapter is taken from *Fordun* – ll.5-18 from 359, the second half of annal 153; and ll.22-43 and 53-64 from 359-60, annal 154; ll.1-5 and l.19 are probably additions by Bower; for the information not found in *Fordun* included in ll.20-21 and 43-53, Bower seems to have followed the same source as *Wyntoun*, but is much more selective than *Wyntoun* (vi, 58-61, 62-71). *Pluscarden* (279-80) has the same material, but considerably re-drafted, including an erroneous 'cum quinque milibus hominum' for 'cum quinque militibus' (text l.38); *Extracta* (169) has a summary of the text here.

1-6. ... *else*: cf. above c.33, ll.9-10 this interpretation of Atholl's motives is different from that in *Wyntoun* (56-59), and seems to be Bower's own.

6-8. *immediately ... Balliol*: emissaries from Atholl received a welcome from Edward III at Perth on 7 August 1335 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 214-15); an agreement was reached by them on behalf of the Steward as well as Atholl with the councils of the two Edwards there on 18 August (Robert de Avesbury, *De Gestis ... Edwardi Tertii* [RS, 93], 298-300).

11. *made guardian of Scotland*: this must surely be an inexact phrase on *Fordun*'s part; a guardian was normally appointed only during a minority or

absence of the king; perhaps 'locumtenens' would be the correct word here (rather than 'custos'), as in the parallel account above (see c.30, l.33), which may well in fact also relate to this appointment; the title has been taken to refer only to Scotland north of the Forth and the appointment dated to October 1335 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 229-30); but this would be a very old-fashioned meaning for 'Scotland' at this date.

11-12. *as the fugitives returned*: in fact only two earls and a modest number of others made their peace with the Edwards at this stage (*ibid.*, 216).

12. *castles were fortified*: e.g. Edward III levied a subsidy for re-building Edinburgh castle (*ibid.*, 223).

13. *king ... home*: Edward III left Perth in early September and arrived at Berwick on 30 September 1335 (*ibid.*, 223-4).

16-17. *disinherited ... banished and*: added by Bower to *Fordun*, emphasizing the case against Atholl (cf. *ibid.*, 230).

17-18. *destruction of all freeholders*: meaning not clear.

19. *... results*: Ovid, *Amores* (Teubner edn), 16, bk.I, c.10, l.48; listed in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.17,836.

20-21. *because ... Kildrummy ABD*: Bower introduces this topic in a moral context of his own, without explaining where Kildrummy castle lay or the circumstances (see below ll.30-31; cf. *Wyntoun*, vi, 58-61).

23. *Andrew de Moray*: see above c.33, l.3.

23-24. *kinsman the earl of the same*: Andrew is not known to have had any family connection with John Randolph earl of Moray.

24. *re-appointed guardian*: Bower strangely omits either of the alternative dates (21 and 29 September 1335) given in the *Fordun* MSS; perhaps he was aware of the discrepancy.

*Dumbarton DNB*.

25. *earl of March*: see above c.33, l.4.

*William de Douglas*: he did not in fact acquire Liddesdale until 1342 (*RRS*, vi, 89-90, no.45).

30-31. *his castle with his wife in it*: this castle was Kildrummy ABD, which belonged to the earldom of Mar; Christian de Bruce was living there in 1335 (*Wyntoun*, vi, 58-59); she was a sister of King Robert I, and the widow of Garnait earl of Mar (died before September 1305); she had married Andrew de Moray in 1326 as her third husband (*SP*, ii, 127-8, 434-5; v, 579; see above c.12, ll.20-21).

31. *aforsaid earl*: i.e. Atholl.

31-33. *he requested ... England*: a curious step for a Scottish guardian to take (see discussion in Nicholson, *Edward III*, 230-1); for William de Montague (who was to be created earl of Salisbury on 16 March 1337) see *CP*, xi, 385-9, *DNB*, xxxviii, 212-13, s.v. 'Montacute', and Nicholson, *Edward III*, ad indicem. He and the earl of Arundel had been left in command in Scotland by Edward III; Montague and Moray were involved in arranging truce agreements during October-November 1335 (*ibid.*, 228-9).

35-41. *For ... away*: these are *Fordun*'s words, attributing noble sentiments to Moray and his followers.

41. *battle in the forest of Culblean ABD*: for this battle on 30 November 1335 on Deeside north of Dinnet, called Culblean after a neighbouring hill, Bower found few details apart from the date in *Fordun*; *Wyntoun* (vi, 64-71) provides much more detail than Bower includes in ll.43-53; it has been thought that *Wyntoun* was particularly well-informed about this battle because he had family connections with the earls of Mar (*Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 176, note; Fraser, *Wemyss*, i, 54); but the details are likely to have been collected in the common source used by both *Wyntoun* and Bower. For an account of this battle (with maps) see W.D. Simpson, 'The campaign and battle of Culblean, A.D.1335', *PSAS*, lxiv (1929-30), 201-11; for a different account keeping closer to the details in *Wyntoun*, see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 232-5, with map.

42. *five knights*: *Wyntoun* does not mention this figure, which comes from *Fordun*; but the four names in ll.43-45 here are derived from *Wyntoun*'s source.

43. *Brade*: not identified.

44. *Walter Comyn*: perhaps the associate of Henry de Beaumont (earl of Buchan in English eyes) in the service of Edward III in 1331 (*CDS*, iii, 190, no.1046); cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 80, n.2).

*Thomas Comyn*: not identified.

45. *Robert de Menzies*: has been described as 'a man of proven loyalty' to King Robert I (Barrow, *Bruce*, 310); found active as sheriff of Edinburgh, as purveyor of parliament, and witness to royal acts 1328-9 (*ibid.*, 258; *RRS*, v, nos. 340, 353-4; *ER*, i, 107, 120-1, 179); known to have held land in Perthshire and Nithsdale (*RRS*, vi, no.64; *RMS*, i, app. ii, no.727); there was a family tradition in 18c that as ancestor of the family of Menzies of Pitfoddels (near Aberdeen) he held the loch and island of Kinord near Culblean (*Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 286-7).

46. *his tower at Canmore*: this must have been near Culblean; 'Canmore' is an old form of the modern 'Kinord' (A. Watson and E. Allan, *The Place-Names of Upper Deeside* [Aberdeen, 1984], 105), and the castle is assumed to have been the one of which remains are found on an island in Loch Kinord.

47-48. *three thousand men*: this figure is in neither *Wyntoun* nor *Fordun*.

48-49. *eight hundred ... Borders*: *Wyntoun* has eight hundred from south of the Forth.

50. *three hundred ... Kildrummy*: *Wyntoun* has the same statement.

52. *John Craig*: he has been identified (on no clear evidence) as the first known lord of Craig i.e. Auchindoir near Lumsden ABD (Simpson, *PSAS*, lxiv [1929-30], 54); he may have been captain of the Kildrummy garrison (cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 233).

53. *oppressors*: Brian Scott suggests that 'de injuncis' (text l.48) perhaps means rather 'over those who were under orders', i.e. in this case 'pressed men', those who were unwilling supporters of the English (cf. l.54).

58. *Cupar FIF*: this castle had in April 1335 been in the hands of the earl of Fife (Nicholson, *Edward III*, 203, n.1), who surrendered it to Edward Balliol on 7 August 1335 (*ibid.*, 214); see below c.44, ll.21-29.

*Anglicised Scots*: i.e. supporters of Edward Balliol as king.

60. *kings of France and Scotland*: this presumably means Philip VI of France and young David II of Scotland, who was then in France (see above c.32, ll.1-3, note).

62. *Dunfermline FIF*: the meeting there has been dated spring 1336 (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 133).

### Chapter 36 pp.119-21

For ll.1-9 Bower follows the same source as *Wyntoun* (vi, 70-73), so contradicting the account of the attack on Dundarg castle which he had already included from *Fordun* above c.28; ll.10-22 regarding Edward III's expedition to Lochindorb have parallels with the account in *Wyntoun* (vi, 72-79), but with much less elaboration; here Bower is at first deliberately choosing this source in preference to the brief account in *Fordun* (360, start of annal 155); but then for ll.19-22 ('the whole ... ground') he includes *Fordun*'s exact wording, which at this point is fuller than the story in *Wyntoun*; ll.23-77 are presumably composed by Bower on the basis of traditions preserved in Inchcolm abbey. *Pluscarden* (280-1) has a shortened version of the whole chapter; *Extracta* (169-70) has an even shorter summary.

1-9. ... *free will*: this account of the siege of Dundarg ABD must have been misplaced in the source common to *Wyntoun* and Bower; the account from *Fordun* above c.28 makes it clear that this siege ended on 23 December 1334, at a time when Andrew de Moray had recently returned to Scotland and was not in office as guardian, while here the suggested date is early 1336 (cf. *Wyntoun*, i, 116).

3. *for a second time*: this detail is not in *Wynton*.

4. *William de Mowbray*: cf. above c.28, ll.10-11 where it is Alexander de Mowbray that is mentioned; William did, however, exist (see above c.24, l.4), and is known to have made his peace with Edward III in October 1335 (*CDS*, iii, 214, no.1184), but to have forfeited (for whatever reason) lands in WLO to Edward III on 26 February 1336 (*ibid.*, pp.390-1; cf. pp.341-2); see also *Wyntoun*, vi, 60-61; cf. i, 115; and *RRS*, vi, 506, no.485.

8-9. *promising ... free will*: this detail is not in *Wyntoun*.

10. *the said guardian*: Andrew de Moray had been confirmed as guardian probably in spring 1336 (see above c.35, ll.62-63).

12. *Lochindorb MOR*: an island castle belonging to the lordship of Badenoch, which had therefore been in the hands of David earl of Atholl.

12-13. *wife ... Atholl*: see above c.30, l.39 note.

13-22. *He quickly ... ground*: Edward's itinerary in Scotland in the summer of 1336 is precisely known from a contemporary source printed in Ferrerius, *Historia*, pp.xix-xxi; he left Perth on 12 July, was at Lochindorb 15-16 July, Elgin 18 July, and Aberdeen 22-23 July.

14-15. *20,000 ... very many*: Bower and *Wyntoun* mention the same total

number of troops, but the point about the inclusion of Anglicised Scots (i.e. Scots supporting Edward III and Edward Balliol) is found only here.

17-18. *on reaching Lochindorb*: Bower makes no mention of an episode 'in the wood of Stronkalter' near Lochindorb (see G.W.S.Barrow in *SHR*, xlvii [1967], 77-79) which is a central feature of *Wyntoun*'s account.

19. *strengthened the guard*: not mentioned by *Wyntoun*.

21. *church and chanonry of Elgin*: i.e. the cathedral of Moray with its canons' houses around it, which lay to the east of the burgh of Elgin.

24-25. *this side of the river Forth*: i.e. the north side as viewed from Inchcolm.

26. *outstanding abbot*: not identifiable (cf. list of abbots in *Inchcolm Chrs.*, 236).

29. *Dollar CLA*: this is the earliest evidence that this parish church had been appropriated to Inchcolm abbey (Cowan, *Parishes*, 46-47).

30-31. *framework of the choir*: this is an illustration of the duty of the holders of the rectorial teinds of a parish church (in this case Inchcolm abbey) to maintain the fabric of its choir or chancel, while the parishioners were responsible for the nave (Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 139).

41-43. ... *possession*: cf. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, bk. III, c.18, para.27 (PL, 34, col.76): 'Non enim est in carendo difficultas, nisi cum est in habendo cupiditas.' It is assumed here that 'nisi' (or some equivalent) has been omitted in error.

58-60. ... *escape*: 1 Thessalonians 5:3.

62-63. *their harp ... mourning*: cf. Job 30:31.

65-66. *their memory ... sound*: cf. Psalms 9:7 (*Vulgate* only).

77. *a Saint Columba*: i.e. to take the saint's name in vain is a genre of literature that takes its name from a person (e.g. Spoonerism) or a place (e.g. Limerick).

### Chapter 37 pp.123-5

Nearly all of this chapter from l.3 ('he went') is based on *Fordun* (361, rest of annal 155), if altered in a minor way; there is some similar material in *Wyntoun* (vi, 78-79), and exceptionally the mention here of Sir Thomas Ughtred as keeper of Perth is an addition to *Fordun* from *Wyntoun*'s source; generally *Wyntoun* here has a narrower range than *Fordun*, and does not mention John of Eltham (cf. below ll.24-34). *Pluscarden* (281-3) has a full account of this chapter with extra information on a gate and tower at Perth built by the abbot of Lindores, and mentioning how the coat of arms of Thomas Rokeby were still to be seen on the walls of Stirling Castle; *Extracta* (170-1) has a full summary of the whole chapter.

3. *went back to the town of Perth*: he had reached Forfar ANG by 26 July 1336 (Ferrerius, *Historia*, p.xxi).



4. *Dunnottar*: a cliff-top fortress south of Stonehaven KCD (I.A.G. Shepherd, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Grampian* [Edinburgh, 1986], no.28).

*Kinneff and Lauriston*: sites in Kinneff and St Cyrus parishes KCD south of Dunnottar (*Ordnance Gazetteer*, iv, 406, 477).

5. *traitors*: for 'proditorum' (text l.4) *Fordun* has the less colourful 'praedictorum' i.e. 'the aforesaid men'.

8-9. *St Andrews ... Coupar Angus*: six abbeys in Fife, Angus and Perthshire; the abbots of Dunfermline, Arbroath and Coupar Angus are said to have been among those present at Balliol's coronation in September 1332 (*Lanercost*, 269).

9. *gates*: for 'portas' (text l.8) *Fordun* has 'partes' i.e. presumably 'lengths of wall'.

11-12. *suffered ruinous loss*: for 'passa sunt jacturam destruccionis' (text l.10) *Fordun* has 'vehementer fuerunt depauperata'.

12-14. *For ... cash*: this sentence appears on two MSS only of *Fordun*, where 'unius turris' (text l.12) is followed by 'australis partis', and the cost is reckoned in pounds sterling rather than marks; cf. Bower's marginal addition with same information as here above VI c.52, ll.20-23.

17. *castle of St Andrews*: see above c.28, l.51.

*castle of Leuchars*: near St Andrews FIF; few traces remain (*RCAHM Fife*, 197-8).

17-18. *Henry de Beaumont*: see above c.28, ll.30-40; cf. c.36, ll.1-9.

18. *Henry de Ferrers*: see above c.24, ll.4-5. In *Pluscarden* (282) this man is unnamed, but described as Beaumont's brother.

*castle of Stirling*: R.Fawcett, *Stirling Castle*, official guide (Edinburgh, 1983); J.B.Stevenson, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: The Clyde Estuary and Central Region* (Edinburgh, 1985), no.36; for building works on a 'peel' at this time, see *HKW*, i, 421.

19. *William de Montague*: see above c.35, ll.31-33.

*Thomas Rokeby*: he took up office on 26 October 1336 (*CDS*, iii, p.364, and ad indicem; *Rot.Scot.*, ad indicem; cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 31).

20. *castle of Edinburgh*: I.MacIvor, *Edinburgh Castle* (London, 1993), 35-37. At this time a chapel was the only building on the site (*HKW*, i, 421).

*John de Strivelyn*: see above c.29, l.1.

20-21. *castle of Roxburgh ROX*: *HKW*, ii, 818-19.

21. *William de Felton*: see *CDS*, iii, and *Rot.Scot.*, i, ad indices, and also Nicholson, *Edward III*, ad indicem; in some MSS of *Pluscarden* (282) the surname is given as 'Saltoune'.

23. *Thomas Ughtred*: see *CDS*, iii, and *Rot.Scot.*, i, ad indices; see also Nicholson, *Edward III*, ad indicem; given a renewed contract as keeper of Perth for period 4 August 1338 - Easter 1339 (*CDS*, iii, no.1283); surrendered the town on 17 August 1339 (*ibid.*, no.1332; see below c.44, ll.45-48).

24. *John of Eltham*: born 1316; earl of Cornwall since 1328 (*CP*, iii, 434-5; *DNB*, xxix, 417).

28. *church ... Lesmahagow*: an addition by Bower to *Fordun*; Lesmahagow priory LAN was a Tironensian house dependent on Kelso Abbey ROX (*MRHS*, 69).

31-32. *in front of ... St John*: 'ante magnum altare Sancti Johannis' (text ll.28-29) is another addition by Bower to *Fordun*.

34. *removed from human affairs*: Eltham's date of death is given as 8 x 15 September 1336 (*Lanercost*, 287; cf. 13 September in *CP* [see above l.24n]); at this time his brother King Edward was probably on his way to attending a parliament held at Nottingham 23-27 September (*HBC*, 557; cf. *CDS*, iii, nos. 1210-11); the story of fratricide which Bower has taken (and improved on) from *Fordun* is improbable.

37. *Henry de Beaumont*: see above ll.17-18.

38. *son-in-law*: David earl of Atholl (see above c.21, ll.10-11).

39. *battle of Culblean*: see above c.35, ll.41-56.

## Chapter 38 pp.125-7

Bower takes ll.1-27 ('side') from *Fordun* (361-2, annal 156); there is a partial overlap with material found also in *Wyntoun* (vi, 92-93), and ll.27-36 here are derived from the same source as *Wyntoun* had used, but are arranged in a different order; source of ll.37-46 is unknown. *Pluscarden* (283) provides a shortened account of this chapter, including its own explanation of 'Bostour' (l.30); *Extracta* (171) has a brief summary following MS CA as usual.

1. *October*: one of the *Fordun* MSS (FD) provides the precise date 6 October here.

1-2. *Andrew ... guardian*: see above c.35, ll.23-24, 57-64.

4. *Dunnottar, Kinneff and Lauriston*: see above c.37, l.4. Note that in MS CA Bower attaches Kinclaven castle to this list, deleting it from below l.12.

6. *forest of Plater*: in Strathmore ANG, centering around Finavon and Kirriemuir (cf. *RMS*, i, no.311; *RRS*, vi, no.325).

11-12. *fortress of Kinclaven PER*: see *SHR*, I (1971), 8-13.

13. *earl of March*: see above c.35, l.25.

*earl of Fife*: see above c.23, l.20; c.24, l.40.

13-14. *William de Douglas*: see above c.35, l.25.

15. *tower of Falkland FIF*: see *RCAHM Fife*, 135.

17-18. *St Andrews ... castle*: see above c.28, l.51.

20-22. *On the same ... ground*: added by Bower to *Fordun*, perhaps from local knowledge at St Andrews.

24. *castle of Leuchars*: see above c.37, l.17.

25. *castle of Bothwell LAN*: see J.B.Stevenson, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: The Clyde Estuary and Central Region* (Edinburgh, 1985), no.31; for repairs by the English see *HKW*, i, 421.

*following Lent*: in 1337 the season of Lent ran from 5 March to 19 April.

27. *Stephen Wiseman*: had forfeited lands in Strathbrock WLO in English eyes before September 1336 (*CDS*, iii pp.342, 390).

28. *Gilmin de Villers*: not identified.

30. *Bostour*: this word is apparently found only here; *Pluscarden* defines it as a wooden tower, presumably movable and intended to help in scaling castle walls; modern dictionaries suggest either just an undefined engine of war (*DOST* s.v. 'bostour'), or a striker, i.e. a battering ram (*OED* s.v. 'bowstowre').

32-33. *castle of Cupar ... Bullock*: see above c.28, ll.51-52, and below c.44, ll.21-29; for repairs by the English see *HKW*, i, 421.

34. *often ... invaded England*: for some details of these raids in September-October 1337 see *Lanercost*, 292-3.

42-43. *left their native soil ... England*: no details are known to confirm this statement.

### Chapter 39 pp.127-9

In cc.39-40 Bower includes all of *Fordun*, 362-3, annal 157, but deliberately rearranges the order of the various items; in fact *Fordun*'s chronology had been correct and Bower's is confusing; he claims to have been following more than one source – see the phrase 'as certain chronicles maintain' (below c.40, l.43); he was probably influenced by the source he shared with Wyntoun in bringing forward the long story of the siege of Dunbar castle of January-June 1338 in c.39 and c.40, ll.1-26 to precede the abortive sieges of Stirling castle in April-May 1337 and Edinburgh castle in October of that year. In detail ll.1-5 come from *Fordun* (362-3, partly re-written), ll.5-33 are like *Wyntoun* (vi, 78-85), and ll.34-46 are based on some other unidentified source. See *Pluscarden* (283-5), which omits the story in ll.34-46 here, and *Extracta* (171-2), where the date at the beginning is January 1338/9 rather than 1337/8 as here.

1. *castle of Dunbar*: see above c.27, l.45; its owner, Patrick earl of March, had reverted to King David's side by the time of the Dairsie parliament of April 1335 (see above c.33, l.4).

1-2. *William de Montague*: earl of Salisbury since March 1337 (see above c.35, ll.31-33).

2-3. *earl of Arundel*: see above c.35, ll.31-33 note; Richard FitzAlan held this earldom 1330-76 (*CP*, i, 242-4; *DNB*, xix, 96-98).

6. *Black Agnes*: this nickname is not found earlier than here in Bower; it is not in *Fordun* or *Wyntoun*; see below l.39 and c.40, l.25 where the form 'Black Annot' is preferred (see also *Wyntoun*, vi, 90-91 for this form of the Christian name). She was a sister of John Randolph, third earl of Moray 1332-46 (*SP*, iii, 268-9; vi, 294-5), who was at this time a prisoner in England (see above c.34, ll.71-72).

The appellation 'Black' was probably derived from the countess's appearance; it is to be contrasted with the similar nickname 'White Agnes' given to a girl for whom the countess acted as godmother; this girl, known variously as Margaret or Annays, was the daughter of a John de Bawnes and his wife Mary, but (presumably because of her link with the countess) was

generally known as Agnes de Donbarre; she was first married ca 1345, probably in Leitholm church (now in Eccles parish BWK), but by 1364 was being investigated for bigamy in a York ecclesiastical court (D.M.Owen, 'White Annays and others', in *Medieval Women*, ed. D.Baker [Oxford, 1978] 331-46).

14. *impact*: Bower omits here an episode regarding the death of William de Spens, one of the attackers, which is found in *Wyntoun* (vi, 82-83).

15-33. ... *Annan*: it has been suggested (*Wyntoun*, i, 117) that none of the incidents in this paragraph is necessarily connected with the siege of Dunbar castle.

17. *Laurence de Preston*: see above c.32, l.49, and below c.40, l.52; not described as sheriff of Lothian in *Wyntoun*; apparently still alive 7 January 1338 (*ER*, i, 453), and so could well have died during the siege as described here.

22-23. *But ... prisoner*: this passage has no equivalent in Wyntoun's account.

24-29. *Sir William ... on foot*: this episode is clearly misplaced here, and is another version of the report of the capture of Talbot and others by Keith and Godfrey de Ross on 8 September 1334 (see above c.28, ll.19-21; cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 169), and his release on ransom arranged in April 1335 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 334).

24. *Sir William de Keith*: held lands of Galston AYR (*SP*, vi, 29); he had distinguished himself in capture of Berwick in 1318, and had brought King Robert's heart back from Spain for burial at Melrose (Barrow, *Bruce*, 238-9, 324); as warden of Berwick for the Scots in 1333 he had handed the town over to Edward III after Halidon and supported Edward Balliol for a time thereafter, serving as steward of his household; but changed sides in time for this incident in September 1334 (Nicholson, *Edward III*, ad indicem); cf. below c.40, ll.39-41 which suggest that he died in spring of 1337, though in fact he probably lived longer.

25. *Richard Talbot*: see above c.21, l.11; c.24, ll.5-6; c.28, l.19. During the whole of the siege of Dunbar castle he was in office as the English keeper of Berwick and justiciar for the English lands in Scotland (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 517; *Cal.Close* 1337-9, 439).

26. *enter a loch*: 'lacum' (text l.24) is clear in *MSC*, but *Wyntoun* (vi, 84-85) has 'kirk'.

29. *on foot*: a detail which is not found in Wyntoun's account; it hardly squares with the kind of arrangement made for Talbot's return by Edward III on 2 April 1335 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 334).

*five years*: *Wyntoun* has the less accurate 'three years'.

32. *Radulph de Stafford*: see above c.24, l.6.

33. *fled at Annan*: see above c.24, ll.59-63; but Balliol had been back in Scotland for lengthy periods since that episode of December 1332.

34-46. ... *food*: a likely-enough incident, but Bower's source is unknown; presumably it was a different chronicle from those known to *Fordun* and *Wyntoun* (see introduction above).

39. *sow*: see *OED*, s.v. 'sow' (4.a).

### Chapter 40 p.129-31

See introduction to c.39; Bower starts this chapter along similar lines to *Wyntoun* with some differences of detail – cf. ll.1-26 and 32-36 here with *Wyntoun*, vi, 86-89; then the rest of *Fordun* 362-3, annal 157 (including the sentence found only in MSS FB and FD) is the basis of ll.27-32 and 36-54 here; again *Fordun*'s order of items is altered; ll.37-54 are paralleled also in *Wyntoun* vi, 94-97). *Pluscarden* (285-6) includes an extra incident (see below ll.12-13), and varies the account of the ending of the siege of Dunbar castle; *Extracta* (172) is very brief.

**3-13.** *The noble ... own men:* in *Wyntoun* this incident is placed after that described in ll.13-26 below.

**3.** *Alexander de Ramsay:* see above c.32, l.48; c.34, l.12.

**5.** *forty armed men:* *Wyntoun* has 'a few folk'.

**7.** *the Bass Rock:* the island in the Firth of Forth off the shore of ELO opposite Tantallon Castle.

**11-12.** *some of them ... captured:* details not in *Wyntoun*.

**12-13.** *own men:* *Pluscarden* adds here a story that on the next day Black Agnes ordered fine provisions to be presented to Salisbury, who was running short of supplies, and so discouraged rather than enraged him (cf. here l.13).

**19.** *John de Coupland:* he was to capture King David II at battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 (see below XIV c.3, l.31); cf. *CDS*, iii, ad indicem, and *Rot.Scot.*, ad indicem; see *Scalacronica*, 299; perhaps associated with lands of Copeland CMB or Coupland NTB.

**25-26.** *Black Annot ... Montague:* the various *Wyntoun* MSS all have different endings to the story here.

**28.** *war broke out:* Gascony was declared confiscate by King Philip VI of France in May 1337; after a year of preparations Edward sailed for the Low Countries in July 1338 (McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 115; *HBC*, 39).

**29-32.** *For if ... difficulty:* this is *Fordun*'s opinion (in two of the *Fordun* MSS only), taken over by Bower.

**37-38.** *When ... besieged:* though *Wyntoun* discusses the siege of Stirling castle after the end of the siege of Dunbar castle, he does not suggest any connection between the two as Bower does here. Since Andrew de Moray the guardian died during Lent 1338 (see below c.42, ll.22-25), the siege of Stirling could not have been in that year, but rather in April-May 1337 as *Fordun* states; Bower for ll.37-41 seems to have been following a source that is not now known, and then recognizes his error with some repetition derived from *Fordun* that follows from l.43 onwards.

**39-41.** *Sir William de Keith ... lance:* *Fordun* and *Wyntoun* agree with Bower that this accident happened during this siege of Stirling castle; if this William de Keith was the same William de Keith of Galston mentioned above (c.39, ll.24-29), this would in the first place confirm that the story involving him in capturing Richard Talbot cannot be dated as late as the siege of Dunbar castle in 1338; but there is also a problem over which siege of Stirling

castle it was that saw his death, for a William de Keith of Galston is mentioned at the siege of Perth in 1339 (see below c.44, ll.3-4); this adds force to the argument that Keith's death took place at the subsequent siege of Stirling in 1339-42, as *Wyntoun* (but not *Fordun*) repetitively says (see *Wyntoun*, vi, 134-5; cf. i, 118, l.5057 note, and 120, l.5577 note).

**42.** *October:* this month-date in 1337 is found also in two of the *Fordun* MSS (MSS FB and FD); *Wyntoun* gives 'after Michaelmas' i.e. after 29 September.

**43.** *as certain chronicles maintain:* Bower appears to be referring to more sources than just the *Fordun* text which he is now following, at first in summary and then word for word.

**46-47.** *for fear ... army:* both *Fordun* and *Wyntoun* mention this threat; Edward III did apparently visit Stirling and its neighbourhood briefly in mid-June 1337 (*CDS*, iii, nos. 1235-7; *Lanercost*, 290).

**52.** *Laurence de Preston:* see above c.39, l.17.

### Chapter 41 pp.133-5

None of this chapter appears in *Fordun* or *Wyntoun*; Bower's source is unknown; it may well have been a traditional tale handed down orally; *Pluscarden* (286) has only a brief reference to this story; *Extracta* (172) has little more.

**3.** *Robert Prendergast:* not identified; but several contemporaries with this surname (derived from lands near Ayton BWK) are known (*ER*, i and *CDS*, iii ad indices).

**6.** *Calder Muir:* an area on the western border of MLO.

**10** *Thomas Knayton:* perhaps took his name from Knayton YON.

**32.** *the loch:* a reference to the Nor' Loch in the valley to north of the burgh and castle of Edinburgh; but see below XV c.4, l.6 note, where it is suggested that this loch was formed only in the early 15c; Bower may be anachronistic in some of the details of this story.

**34.** *sanctuary:* this is early evidence for a long tradition stretching to as late as the 19c that the environs of Holyrood Abbey to the east of Edinburgh were a sanctuary where men fleeing from justice or retribution might safely stay (see H.Hannah, 'The Sanctuary of Holyrood', in *Old Edinburgh Bk.*, xv [1927], 55-98 with map; and see discussion in Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 145-54).

**53.** *Salisbury Park:* the two hills Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags were within the boundaries of the sanctuary area (Hannah, 'Sanctuary', 66).

**55.** *William de Douglas:* see above c.38, ll.13-14.

**56.** *Pentland Hills:* to the south-west of Edinburgh; see above c.34, ll.23-24 for Douglas in that area in summer of 1335, which might be the date of this episode too; but that seems a little early for an English occupation of the

castle site (cf. Nicholson, *Edward III*, 223; and see above c.37, l.20), so that the winter of 1337-8 seems the best suggestion for a date.

## Chapter 42 pp.135-9

The three paragraphs of this chapter are based on different sources; ll.1-21 have no identified source; they contain what was probably a traditional tale that circulated in West Fife and would be known on Inchcolm; ll.22-37 are derived from *Fordun* (363, annal 158) with omissions and additions (some of the latter are found also in *Wyntoun* [vi, 96-99]); ll.38-66 come from the same source used at much greater length in *Wyntoun* (vi, 100-13). *Pluscarden* (286-7) covers this chapter, with some extra emphasis on the splendid conduct of Robert Steward as guardian, and altering the story about William Ramsay (ll.56-59) to make him the killer rather than the killed; *Extracta* (172-4) has a shortened version of the chapter.

1. *For at the same time*: the dating here must precede the fall of Cupar castle FIF to the Scots in 1339 (see below c.44, ll.21-29); perhaps Bower is referring still to the winter of 1337-8.

2. *Donibristle*: near Aberdour FIF, on the north shore of the Firth of Forth opposite Inchcolm (see above XII c.25, l.28).

4-5. *Alan Steersman*: not identified.

9. *sandbank*: i.e. the Drum Sands, which at low tide stretch between Cramond Island off the south shore of the Firth of Forth opposite Cramond MLO to Barnbogle on the WLO shore near Dalmeny House.

16. *Alan*: *Extracta* adds here: 'ut verus Scotus'.

22. *In 1338*: for *Fordun* and Bower this would normally mean 25 March 1338 or later; Moray's death is said to have occurred during Lent (*Lanercost*, 296), which in 1337/8 ran from 25 February to 11 April; death was therefore apparently 25 March × 11 April 1338.

22-25. *was struck ... life*: added by Bower to *Fordun*, drawing on the same source used in *Wyntoun* (vi, 96-97).

23-24. *his own lands ... Avoch*: besides his estate at Bothwell LAN Moray had rights in the barony of Avoch ROS on the southern ashore of the Black Isle (*RMS*, i, app.ii, no.694; see also *OPS*, II, ii, 543).

25. *Rosemarkie*: the neighbouring parish to the east of Avoch, in which stood the cathedral church of Ross diocese. It is curious that Bower omits here a passage in *Fordun* explaining that at a later stage Moray's bones were moved to Dunfermline abbey FIF and re-buried there before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Was he correcting an error which he had detected in *Fordun*? Cf. below XIV c.18, ll.30-31 note.

26-27. *a great commander ... mercy*: added by Bower to *Fordun*; *Wyntoun* (vi, 98-99) has a different list of Moray's virtues.

29. *except Cupar and Perth*: both were to be recovered from English occupation in 1339 (see below c.44).

29-33. *But ... war*: *Wyntoun* agrees with this estimate of the effect of Moray's depredations.

33-34. *two years and a half*: Moray had been appointed guardian in late September 1335 (see above c.35, ll.23-24).

34-35. *Robert Steward ... guardian*: cf. above c.32, ll.16-17.

35-36. *Although ... English*: added by Bower to *Fordun*.

37. *arrival of the king from France*: i.e. June 1341 (see below c.48, ll.8-9).

38. *Sir William de Douglas*: see above c.41, l.55.

39. *Teviotdale ROX*: Douglas's activities here are mentioned again below c.46, ll.41-43 in a late 1341 context as here.

40. *Henry of Lancaster*: created earl of Derby (while his father Henry earl of Lancaster was still alive) 16 March 1337; later earl and duke of Lancaster; died March 1361 (*CP*, iv, 204; vii, 401-10; *DNB*, xxvi, 101-6); in 1338 was with King Edward in Flanders; but involved in Scottish affairs when appointed king's lieutenant in northern England and Scotland, 7 October 1341 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 617); see K.Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant* (London, 1969), 37.

43. *wrote to him*: following a six-month truce agreed in December 1341, King Edward spent Christmas 1341 at Melrose ROX (*Wyntoun*, i, 118; cf. *CDS*, iii, no.1373, and *Lanercost*, 335); Derby spent Christmas at Roxburgh ROX, and apparently his joust with Douglas was held there (*Scalacronica*, 299; *Knighton's Chronicle*, 39; Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum* [RS, 93], 123). Note that Knighton records some different details about this joust and the subsequent tournament at Berwick.

48. *Alexander de Ramsay*: see above c.40, l.3.

50. *appointed day*: presumably early 1342.

54. *two ... died*: *Wyntoun* (vi, 106-7) agrees that two English knights were slain, but no Scot, though Hay and Ramsay died later (cf. *ibid.*, i, 119).

55. *John Hay*: not identified.

56. *Sir William Ramsay*: not certainly identified; cf. *SP*, iii, 89 and ix, 64; and see below XIV c.9, l.27.

60. *Sir Patrick Graham*: apparently the knight who had by 1336 forfeited to the English king his lands of 'Kinpunt' and Illestone WLO (*CDS*, iii, pp.341, 390, and ad indicem; see *SP*, vi, 210-11); cf. a joust between Graham and Richard Talbot (see above c.39, l.25) mentioned in *Wyntoun*, vi, 110-15.

60-61. *from overseas*: perhaps he had returned from France with King David in June 1341 (see above l.37).

## Chapter 43 pp.139-41

Nearly all of this chapter is derived from the same source used in *Wyntoun* (vi, 116-23), where the same exploits of William de Douglas are included in the same order, though with some differences in detail; Bower then adds ll.27-32

with Classical quotations. *Pluscarden* (287) reduces this chapter to one short sentence (perhaps reflecting opinion about the Douglas family when he was was writing ca 1460); *Extracta* (174) summarizes most of the items in the chapter.

1-27. ... *expectation*: these six tales of the exploits of William de Douglas (see above c.42, l.38) are not necessarily in chronological order.

2. *Blackburn*: there were many places with this name in southern Scotland; since it is separately reported that Lord Berkeley was on this occasion escorting a convoy from Edinburgh to Bothwell LAN (*Scalacronica*, 166), this fight may well have taken place at Blackburn south of Bathgate WLO. It presumably took place before the Scottish siege of Bothwell castle in March 1337 (see above c.38, l.25; cf. *Wyntoun*, i, 119, l.5339n); but Lord Berkeley may not have been in Scotland so early (see below).

3. *lord of Berkeley*: for Thomas (de Berkeley) Lord Berkeley (1326-61) see *CP*, ii, 129-30, where he is mentioned as having been appointed English captain of the Scottish marches in 1342 (cf. *Rot.Scot.*, i, 627, 631, 633).

8. *Crag of Craigie*: unidentified, though said to be near Bathgate WLO (*Wyntoun*, i, 119, l.5347n).

*caught ... Strivelyn*: the precise implication of 'cepit' (text l.8) is uncertain; if it means 'captured', it may be a muddle with Douglas's capture of Strivelyn in the company of Richard Talbot on 8 September 1334 (see above c.29, l.1n); if it means 'caught up with', the incident belongs to the period after October 1335 when Strivelyn was keeper of Edinburgh castle for Edward III (*ibid.*); the latter alternative seems to be the right one, since he is described as keeper in *Wyntoun*'s account (vi, 116-17).

11. *Crichton MLO*: this encounter took place during Andrew de Moray's siege of Edinburgh castle i.e. during the last months of 1337 (*Scalacronica*, 167; see above c.40, ll.41-42).

14-15. '*Blaksawing*': the name-form in *Wyntoun* (vi, 118-19) is 'Blak Solling'; unidentified.

16. *boggy ground*: the equivalent word in *Wyntoun* to 'syche' here is 'sik' or 'syke', meaning 'boggy ground' (*CSD*); Bower appears to have introduced a form of this vernacular word into his Latin text.

17-18. *Christmas Eve ... Melrose*: i.e. 24 December 1341 (see above c.42, l.43n.).

20. *Hermitage castle*: in Liddesdale near Newcastleton ROX; cf. J.R. Baldwin, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Lothian and the Borders* (Edinburgh, 1985), no.39.

22. *Roland de Vaus*: *Wyntoun* (vi, 120-1) says that he was killed, rather than just defeated; he is found holding a manor in Cumberland, 4 April 1340 (*CDS*, iii, no.1326), and being exempted by Edward III from taking knighthood because of the destruction of his lands in the Scottish March, 12 May 1341 (*ibid.*, no.1357); a man in Cumberland with the same name was summoned for military service by King Edward 22 May 1344 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 648-9); perhaps therefore Bower is correct in saying that he was just overcome rather than killed.

24. *Laurence de Abernethy*: a former adherent of King Robert (*RRS*, v,

no.489); as recently as July 1334 had allied with Douglas and others to raid Galloway on behalf of David II (*Lanercost*, 278; see Nicholson, *Edward III*, 166); now a supporter of the English (*SP*, vii, 403); this event took place before Douglas left for France (see below c.44, ll.9-10).

29. ... *everything*: Virgil, *Georgics*, bk.I, ll.145-6 (Loeb edn, 90): 'Labor omnia vicit improbus.' See Walther, *Proverbia*, no.13,363.

31-32. ... *use it*: two separate lines from Horace, *Epistles*, I, iv, l.14 (Loeb edn, 276), and I, v, l.12 (Loeb edn, 280); cf. Walther, *Proverbia*, no.10,396).

## Chapter 44 pp.141-3

This chapter is constructed partly from *Fordun* (363-4, excerpts from annal 159), and partly from the source used for *Wyntoun* (vi, 124-33); the *Fordun* text lies behind ll.1, 4-7, 18-19, 23-31, 45-53; but the wording is not exactly the same, the order of items has been changed, and much of the annal is kept for cc. 45 and 49 below; the order of the items in *Wyntoun* is similar to here, but not identical; and some of them are developed at considerably greater length than here. *Pluscarden* (287-8) has a shortish account of this chapter; *Extracta* (174-5) covers more items.

1. *Robert Steward*: as guardian see above c.42, ll.34-35.

2-4. *who had ... kingdom*: these names are in *Wyntoun*, but not in *Fordun*.

2. *William earl of Ross*: his father died at Halidon in 1333 (*SP*, vii, 237-9); active for David II with March, Moray and Keith as here in August 1335 (*Lanercost*, 283; cf. 284).

3. *Patrick earl of March*: see above c.38, l.13.

*Maurice de Moray*: active for David II in August 1335 (*Lanercost*, 283); origin uncertain; was to be made earl of Strathearn in October 1343, and died at Neville's Cross 17 October 1346 (*SP*, viii, 255-8; cf. *RRS*, vi, no.77, and ad indicem). His title here 'lord of Clydesdale' (cf. variant in *Wyntoun*, vi, 124-5) is probably an error for sheriff of Lanark, an office which he certainly held by 1342 (*ER*, i, 508).

3-4. *William de Keith*: see above c.39, ll.24-29, and c.40, ll.39-41.

5-6. *Thomas Ughtred*: see above c.37, l.23.

7. *siege lasted ... weeks*: Bower's source here is unknown; this information is not in *Fordun* or *Wyntoun*. Another account says that this siege lasted five weeks (*Lanercost*, 318); see below l.46 for date of the fall of this town.

8-10. *Meanwhile ... Abernethy*: cf. above c.43, ll.23-27; King David was still at Château Gaillard on the lower Seine (as is mentioned in *Wyntoun*).

10-19. *While ... Braysi*: he was repaid his expenses at Calais, France in this connection (*ER*, i, 507).

13. *Hugh 'Hampyle'*: see below c.45, l.1 for spelling 'Haudpile'; other variants are found in the *Fordun* and *Wyntoun* MSS; the correct name-form is unknown.



**18-19.** *two knights ... men-at-arms*: *Fordun* has two knights and one man-at-arms called Heuse; *Wyntoun* has two 'squires', naming both as here.

**19.** *Giles de la Heuse*: this man has been identified as belonging to the Norman family of de la Heuse (Francisque-Michel, i, 63); the first name in *Fordun* is Gelasius, and in *Wyntoun* Galeos or Galyos.

*John de Braysi*: the spelling of this surname here is that favoured by Francisque-Michel (*ibid.*); in *Wyntoun* it is Bruyss or Bruss, and there is the added information (vi, 128-9) that during the siege of Perth he jousted with an Englishman David de Berclay.

**22.** *William Bullock ... Cupar castle*: see above c.38, ll.32-33.

**27-28.** *handed over ... castle*: the date implied here is June × August 1339; but he was still paid by the English administration as constable of Cupar castle as late as 12 December 1339 (*CDS*, iii, no.1321).

**31.** *help*: Bower chooses to move the rest of *Fordun* annal 159 (touching on Bullock's future career under David II) from here to c.49, ll.70-85 below.

**33-34.** *Alan Boyd and John Stirling*: unidentified.

**39-40.** *cross-bow*: after here *Wyntoun* (vi, 128-9) mentions an eclipse of the sun, which occurred on 7 July 1339 (*ibid.*, i, 120; confirmed in T.R. Oppolzer, *Canon of Eclipses* [New York, 1962], 244, no.6072); it is most unlikely that Bower would have omitted to mention this if it was in the source he was following.

**40-45.** *The besiegers ... walls* Bower's source for this passage is unknown; it is not in *Fordun* or *Wyntoun*.

**46.** *17 August*: this date comes from *Fordun*; another reference to 'x septembris' in *Fordun* MSS FA, FB, FC and FG (but not FD) is unexplained.

**48.** *goods*: the source of the passage in MS C here that has been deleted (see text 1.45, note 1) has not been traced; the text on either side of it comes from *Fordun*.

## Chapter 45 pp.143-5

*Fordun* (364, selections from annal 159) is the source of ll.1-8; then the rest of the chapter corresponds with *Wyntoun* (vi, 132-7), presumably derived from the common source; for some items (ll.18-24, 34-36) *Wyntoun* offers more detail; for others (ll.9-17, 24-33) less. *Plucarden* (288-9) is shorter and largely re-written; *Extracta* (175) is brief.

**1-8.** ... *whirlpool*: see above c.44, ll.10-17.

**7.** *Drumlay FIF*: treacherous shifting sands (rather than a whirlpool) at the mouth of the Tay estuary now known as the Abertay Sands off Tayport FIF (see above X c.17, ll.67-86).

**18-22.** ... *England*: this is the only mention of the siege of Stirling castle at this time, for *Fordun* does not mention it; the impression given is that the

siege was a brief one after the fall of Perth in August 1339; but this was certainly not the case; Edward III was mustering forces for its defence in August 1340; by then there had been a truce in the siege, but the Scots were expected to resume it in early October (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 600-1); and Rokeby (see above c.37, l.19) did not surrender until 10 April 1342 specifically (*CDS*, iii no.1383). Cf. above c.40, ll.38-39 for mention of an earlier siege of Stirling castle in 1337 while Andrew de Moray was still guardian; from the story of Sir William de Keith of Galston mentioned there, it is not certain that there were in fact two sieges; there may have rather been one siege with a period of truce in the middle before August 1340.

**20.** *king ... France*: Edward was abroad 16 July 1338–21 February 1340, and again 22 June – 30 November 1340 (*HBC*, 39).

**23.** *Maurice de Moray*: see above c.44, l.3.

**24-33.** *He himself ... English*: Bower develops here (and more in MS CA) his praise for Robert Steward (later King Robert II) as guardian more extensively than is found in the parallel passage in *Wyntoun* (vi, 136-7).

**34-35.** *Edinburgh ... Lochmaben*: *Wyntoun* and Bower agree over this list (Edinburgh MLO, Roxburgh ROX, Berwick, Jedburgh ROX, Lochmaben DMF) i.e. both ignore the continuing tenure of Stirling castle by supporters of the English until well after the return of David II in June 1341.

## Chapter 46 pp.145-7

Only ll.1-5 ('manner') are based on *Fordun* (365, first part of annal 160), where the capture of Edinburgh castle is briefly recounted; the rest is taken from the same source used in *Wyntoun* (vi, 138-47), where the detail contains some variants. *Pluscarden* (289-90) has essentially the same story; *Extracta* (175-6) has a full account, but refers to the illegitimate William de Douglas as his namesake's son rather than his brother.

**1.** *17 April*: the English Exchequer accounts show that Edinburgh castle was surrendered on 16 April 1341 (*CDS*, iii, no.1383).

**2.** *William de Douglas*: see above c.44, l.39.

**2-3.** *William Bullock*: see above c.44, l.22.

**3.** *William Fraser*: identified as a son of the Alexander Fraser killed at Dupplin Moor in 1332 (*SP*, vii, 429; cf. above c.22, l.51); served as sheriff of Kincardine or Mearns sometime 1344 × (*RRS*, vi, no.213; see also *RMS*, i, app.ii, no.1050); killed at Neville's Cross in 1346.

*Walter Curry*: a name added by Bower here to *Fordun*'s account; Curry served as one of the bailies of Edinburgh in the English king's administration October 1335–September 1336 (*CDS*, iii, p.345); he was to be rewarded (along with a William de Faireley) for his services at the capture of Edinburgh castle at a parliament held by King David (presumably that of September 1341 [Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 140-1]), and later served as a customar at Edinburgh (*ER*, i, 507, 533, 536); his surname is wrongly given as 'Towrys'

in one MS of *Wyntoun* (vi, 138), where he is described as a burgess and alderman of Edinburgh; died before 1368 (*RMS*, i, no.284).

8. *Joachim de Kinbuck*: his name is taken from the lands of Kinbuck north of Dunblane PER (see Black, *Surnames*, 399); died before 1358 as a landholder in PER and FIF (*RRS*, vi, no.158; cf. *RMS*, i, app.ii, nos.1142, 1188).

9. *Dundee* ANG.

10. *Inchkeith*: an island in the Firth of Forth opposite Leith MLO, the port for Edinburgh.

14. *Ely*: apparently Ely CAM, though it was not a major trading port.

34-35. *'The Turnpike'*: perhaps a projecting tower containing inside a spiral stair (cf. *CSD*); alternatively a spiked barrier as part of the defences of the castle gate (cf. *OED*); the context in *Wyntoun* (vi, 144-5) favours the latter explanation, as the baskets are said to have been 'let fall' upon the turnpike'.

40. *elder ... William*: see *SP*, vi, 344.

41. *went to Teviotdale* ROX: see above c.42, ll.38-40, where this had already been mentioned from an unknown source in a 1341 context also; this time *Wyntoun* (vi, 146-7) states that the area of operations was the Forest (i.e. the Ettrick area SLK) rather than Teviotdale.

#### Chapter 47 pp.147-9

All of this chapter follows the source that lies behind *Wyntoun* (vi, 146-55); nothing comes from *Fordun*. *Pluscarden* (290) has only a very brief summary dating everything before the return of King David in June 1341; *Extracta* (176-7) has a fuller account, and is more specific in claiming wrongly that the earl of Moray expelled the earl of Northampton from Lochmaben castle.

1-31. ... *ransoms*: a generalised tale that is difficult to date; but from the evidence relating to Robert de Manners (see below 1.28), the period leading up to 1338 is likely.

1. *Alexander de Ramsay*: see above c.42, 1.48.

2. *Hawthornden*: beside the river North Esk in Lasswade parish MLO; there are a number of artificial caves on the property (*Ordnance Gazetteer*, iv, 253-4).

9. *Haliburton ... Dishingtons*: the distinction between Haliburton and the others is not clear; neither *Wyntoun* nor *Extracta* mentions Herries; various members of these families can be traced in *RRS*, vi, ad indicem, but no specific young men can certainly be identified; in *Wyntoun* the Dunbar name appears as 'Patrick of Dunbar'; cf. the man of that name who fought at Poitiers in 1356 (*SP*, iii, 260).

19. *instructed them*: *Wyntoun* (vi, 148-51) includes here a much more elaborate supposed speech by Ramsay to his men.

28. *Sir Robert de Manners*: perhaps the man who had been constable of Norham castle NTB in 1327 (*Lanercost*, 258; *Scalacronica*, 155); but a father of this name as lord of Etal (near Ford) NTB and his son of the same name were both active concurrently (with both serving as constable of Norham at different times) until the son died in 1345/6 and the father in 1354 (*Hedley, Northumberland Families*, ii, 244-7; *History of Northumberland*, xi, 444-7); it may have been the father who is said to have been captured at Pressen, near Wark-on-Tweed NTB in 1338 (*Scalacronica*, 168); he had been released by August 1339 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 571, and ad indicem); see also *CDS*, iii, ad indicem.

29. *Sir William Heron*: lord of Ford NTB, succeeding 1332 × 1333, and dying before 1382 (*Hedley*, ut cit., ii, 43-46; *History of Northumberland*, xi, 374-8); see *Rot.Scot.*, i, and *CDS*, iii, ad indices.

32-33. *Salisbury ... France*: the earl was captured soon after Easter 1340; he was released temporarily later that year, but did not fully regain his liberty until early 1342 (*CP*, xi, 387; cf. *DNB*, xxxviii, 213).

33. *Philip ... speedily*: *Wyntoun* (vi, 150-1) expresses gratitude to the French king for his actions.

34-37. *in exchange ... Scots*: for Moray's capture in August 1335 see above c.34, ll.71-72; Edward III agreed to the plan to exchange him for Salisbury, 26 October 1340 (*CDS*, iii, no.1343); both men moved around while the exact terms of being negotiated, and it was not until February 1342 that both were fully at liberty (*CP*, ix, 170; *SP*, vi, 296).

36. *count of [Namur]*: not the count of Guelders (see above c.34, 1.6); Bower here brings forward this reference from 1335; it is not mentioned in *Wyntoun*.

39. *his castle of Lochmaben* DMF: see above c.45, 1.35; cf. G.Stell, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Dumfries and Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1986), no.42; this old stronghold of the Bruce family with the accompanying lordship of Annandale had been granted by Robert I to the first Randolph earl of Moray probably by June 1317 (*RRS*, v, no.113); on the English side the castle was an object of contention between the Percy and Bohun families in 1333 (*CDS*, iii, no.1101); William de Bohun was created earl of Northampton in 1337, and lived until 1360 (*CP*, ix, 664-7); he is known to have gone to Scotland to relieve a siege of Lochmaben castle, which was still held in his name, September × November 1343 (*ibid.*, 666-7).

40-41. *received from the guardian*: this would imply action before the return of King David in June 1341, when the guardian's powers lapsed; the version in *Wyntoun* (vi, 152-3) also suggests that Moray returned while the Steward was still in office as guardian; this could only have been during a visit while Moray was arranging his release from captivity; or perhaps the story here belongs rather to the period of activity on Bohun's part in 1343 (see above 1.39).

41-42. *West March*: for a description of the three administrative districts under the wardens of the marches in 16c see T.I.Rae, *The Administration of the Scottish Frontier 1513-1603* (Edinburgh, 1966), 23.

43. *fermes*: *Wyntoun* (vi, 152-3) uses the equivalent word 'malis' i.e. 'mails' or 'rents' (*CSD*).

43-44. *expanded the liberties*: i.e. spread his effective jurisdiction.

45. *William de Douglas*: see above c.46, l.2.  
 47. *Alexander de Ramsay*: see above l.1. *Wyntoun* (vi, 152-5) offers more comment than Bower on these three wardens of the marches.

# Chapter 48 pp.151-3

In this chapter ll.1-34 follow the same source used in *Wyntoun* (vi, 154-5, 159-65, 168-9), though with omissions of detail; at the same time Bower inserts such slight material as he found available in *Fordun* (365, latter half of annal 160 and annal 161), with the wording re-arranged a little; then at ll.18-19 ('It was ... death') and ll.34-50 Bower adds his own analysis of motives, with a characteristic moral reflection at the end. *Pluscarden* (290-1) has a shortened account, changing 'did not cause much damage' (ll.32-33) to 'multa dampna faciendo' (i.e. 'doing much damage'), and omitting all of ll.30-42; *Extracta* (177) has a brief account, again omitting ll.36-50.

1-3. ... *provisions*: in *Wyntoun* (vi, 154-5) too this sentiment is attached to the settlement of the Borders region (as above c.47, ll.40-48); but the dating must be late 1340 or early 1341 (see below).

3-4. *the guardian and the three estates*: probably an anachronistic phrase; in *Wyntoun* the initiative is said to have been taken by 'the lords of Scotland'; *Pluscarden* changes this to 'the guardians of the kingdom'.

5. *their king in France*: young King David, now aged seventeen, had been at Château Gaillard, dép. Eure, on the banks of the river Seine in Normandy, most of the time since May 1334 (*ER*, i, pp.clviii-clxi; see above c.24, ll.25-35).

6. *king of France*: Philip VI.

8. *in the same year*: this phrase is taken from *Fordun* (365); but Bower does not copy also the year-date '1341' which is found in most of the *Fordun* MSS at this point (though not MSS FB and FD, which therefore presumably represent the MS tradition he was following).

9. *Inverbervie KCD*.

*Joan*: see above c.12, l.119.

12. 1342 ... *Easter*: this date is correctly identified here by the date of Easter that year; it is spelled out in this way in *Fordun*, and confirmed in *CDS*, iii, no.1382; Bower thus rejects the dating of this event to Easter Day itself which is found in *Wyntoun*.

13-14. *on the advice ... Hode Ednam*: this phrase is not in *Fordun*; in *Wyntoun* this man is called 'Hude of Ednam'; Ednam ROX lies a few miles north-east of Kelso and Roxburgh.

15. *castle of Roxburgh*: see above c.37, ll.20-21; Bower omits here the information included by *Wyntoun* (vi, 162-3) that William de Felton, the English keeper of this castle (mentioned above c.37, l.21), was absent at the time and so escaped death.

18. *Teviotdale ROX*: see above c.42, ll.38-40 and c.46, ll.41-43 for mentions

of the special interest of Sir William de Douglas in this area; Bower takes his information about this appointment by King David from the same source that *Wyntoun* used, and adds the following sentence of his own (see below c.49).

21. *three hostile invasions*: the dating of these expeditions in the other available sources is contradictory (see below).

22-25. *The first time ... flames*: it would seem likely that an expedition with the king serving under the earl of Moray could have taken place only soon after the young king's return, and so would correspond with an expedition on which the king reached Heddon Laws near the river Tyne to the west of Newcastle on 26 August 1341 (Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, ii, 144, citing Newcastle evidence), or alternatively either with the expedition dated about 2 February 1342 mentioned in *Scalacronica* (299), or with another to the river Tyne NTB in summer 1342 (*ibid.*; *Lanercost*, 335); but all of these dates seem too early for the earl of Moray to have been available to be the leader as suggested here (cf. above c.47, ll.33-34; and see *CDS*, iii, no.1376); and in fact the expedition with Moray as the leader is dated July 1346 in *Lanercost* (341), though confusingly the raid that is said to have led to the burning of Penrith CMB is in that chronicle (*ibid.*) mentioned as a different expedition dated 25 October 1345; probably the *Lanercost* chronicler is more dependable here than the source used by *Wyntoun* and Bower (cf. Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 145).

25-31. *The second time ... nothing*: no date is suggested in the longer account of this expedition in *Wyntoun* (vi, 162-5); but since it must have taken place before 4 July 1342 (see below l.28, note on Thomas Boyd), it could have been the expedition to the river Tyne in summer 1342 mentioned above.

Thanks are due to Mr Andrew B.W. MacEwen for help in identifying the five knights mentioned here. They form a group associated with AYR and nearby RNF.

28. *Steward*: probably Sir Alexander Steward, son of the Alan Steward who died at Halidon in 1333 (see above c.27, l.33); later lord of Darnley RNF (*SP*, v, 345; *RRS*, vi, nos. 100, 376).

*Eglinton*: Sir Hugh de Eglinton (see *RMS*, i and *RRS*, vi ad indices; *ER*, i, 543, 600); his daughter Elizabeth by his first wife as his sole heiress was to take the lands of Eglinton AYR to the Montgomerie family; he married as his second wife in or after February 1363 a sister of Robert Steward, later King Robert II (*SP*, iii, 428; ix, 80; cf. i, 15); he died June x December 1377 (Fraser, *Eglinton*, i, 16-17; ii, 3-8, 10-16).

*Craigie*: perhaps the John de Craigie of that Ilk (perhaps AYR) who married a sister of Sir William de Douglas knight of the Dalkeith family, and died leaving a daughter Margaret as his heiress before April 1377 (*Morton Registrum*, ii, 121-2, no.148; cf. *SP*, vi, 343-4, where this Douglas marriage is not mentioned); but there is no proof that this man was a knight (cf. *Morton Registrum*, ii, 97, no.123).

*Boyd*: Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock AYR (*SP*, v, 139); had succeeded his father after battle of Halidon in 1333; not yet a knight at some contradictory date in 1340 (Macfarlane, *Genealogical Coll.*, ii, 332); but had been knighted by 4 July 1342 (*RRS*, vi, 98, no.54).

*Fullarton*: Adam Fullarton of that Ilk AYR; found as a knight 13 April

1344 (*Laing Chrs.*, no.39; cf. Macfarlane, loc.cit; *RMS*, i, ad indicem); his son and heir was offered as a hostage for King David in July 1354 (*CDS*, iii, no.1576).

29. *Sir Robert Ogle*: a NTB landholder centered on Ogle castle in Whalton parish, who was active in English armies on the Borders from May 1344 onwards, and who fought on the English side at Durham in October 1346, and died June 1362 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 649, 660, 675; Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, ii, 143-5, 153); perhaps the same as the 'Robert Doggle' who served as the earl of Northampton's steward in Annandale (cf. above c.47, ll.38-39) and was concerned with the defence of Lochmaben castle DMF May-October 1345 (*CDS*, iii, nos. 1459, 1464; cf. *Scalacronica*, 166).

31-34. *The third time ... his men*: perhaps this was the expedition dated July 1346 which the Lanercost chroncler (341) thought was the one led by the earl of Moray.

34-50. *Because of this ... fights*: Bower speculates on the thinking behind the disastrous expedition of October 1346 that was to lead to the battle of Durham and capture of King David, ending with a moral precept in general explanation.

40. *England was empty of armed forces*: Edward III left England for France on 11 July 1346 for the expedition that led to the battle of Crecy on 26 August, and remained in France until 12 October 1347 (*HBC*, 39).

47-49. *... strength*: Augustine, *Sermons*, no.153 (PL, 38, col. 831).

#### Chapter 49 pp.153-7

The bulk of this chapter is derived from three different annals in *Fordun* – ll.1-43 (365-6, annal 162), with additions by Bower, particularly at ll.20-23 ('For ... days') and ll.27-33 ('How ... you'); ll.60-69 (366, annal 163); and the marginal addition in MS C at ll.70-86 (364-5, end of annal 159, with alterations and omissions; Bower also adds ll.43-60, including a quotation from the Canon Law. The topic of ll.1-43 is covered also in *Wyntoun* (vi, 164-70, but briefly; and none of Bower's additions to *Fordun* appear there. See *Pluscarden* (291) for a shortened account, much re-written in a manner even more critical of William de Douglas and King David; and *Extracta* (177-8) for a brief account incorporating also some material from below c.50, ll.14-22.

1. *In the same year*: it is clear in *Fordun* that 1342 is meant, for this passage follows on the material above c.48, ll.12-18.

1-2. *Alexander de Ramsay .. Teviotdale*: *ibid*.

3. *Hawick ROX*.

4. *to hold his court*: added by Bower to *Fordun*.

12. *after ... recreation*: added by Bower to *Fordun*.

19. *Hermitage castle*: see above c.43, l.20.

19-20. *in some storeroom*: added by Bower to *Fordun*; Bower's source for these extra details is unknown.

25. *having confessed*: another addition by Bower to *Fordun*.

31-33. *... you*: a typical moralistic reflection on Bower's part; the quotation is listed in Walthers, *Proverbia*, no.23,388a, but cannot now be found in the works attributed to either Seneca.

33-43. *There is ... honour*: Bower takes over this praise of Ramsay from *Fordun*.

42. *sacrilegiously*: Bower introduces this theme; for 'sacrilege' (text l.37) *Fordun* has the less specific 'miserrime'.

45. *ill-advised*: Bower diverts from the main story to make a churchman's point that Ramsay was asking for trouble by flouting the Canon Law about the proper and improper use of church buildings, quoting the codified law to support his point.

46. *Gregory X*: the extract from the Canon Law which follows was pronounced by Pope Gregory X (1272-6) at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, as is noted in a marginal side-note in MS D.

47-55. *... committed*: selected and re-arranged from text in Alberigo, *Decreta*, 328; or from the codified version in Friedberg, ii, cols. 1061-2 (Sext, bk.III, title 23, c.2, i.e. VI 3.23.2).

56-60. *... Alexander*: Bower now offers a different kind of explanation for Ramsay's death, putting the blame on King David; cf. below c.50, ll.14-24; and see Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 144.

58-60. *He had ... Alexander*: see above c.42, ll.47-53; c.46, ll.41-43; c.48, ll.17-19.

60. *battle of Culblean*: in November 1335 (see above c.35, l.41).

64-69. *For because ... sword*: no evidence is known to illustrate and support this probably exaggerated picture drawn by *Fordun* and taken over by Bower; cf. below c.50, ll.14-24; the king was able to win widespread support for his ill-fated expedition to Durham in 1346 (see below XIV cc.1-3).

70-86. *... kingdom*: Bower now in a marginal addition to MS C picks up the story of William Bullock as set out in *Fordun* from the point where he had broken off above c.44, l.31.

70. *At this time*: *Fordun* gives no date for what follows; Bullock is first found in office as chamberlain 22 May 1341 (before the king's return to Scotland), and demitted office sometime 11 June 1342 × 3 January 1343 (*HBC*, 185).

72. *eloquence of his speech*: Bower chooses to omit 'lingua materna' (i.e. in his mother tongue) which *Fordun* has after 'suo tempore' (text l.61).

For MS CA Bower departs further from the *Fordun* text and for 'dominus ... eloquencia' (text here ll.59-60) has: 'industriosus et maxima callens industriosa prudencia Willelmus Bullok capellanus, Zacheus statura, sed singulari circumspeccione preditus et compendiosi sermonis eloquencia signitus.' Zacchaeus was notable for being a small man (Luke 19:3).

73. *treasurer of the other English*: *Fordun*'s phrase here is 'ceterorum Anglicorum thesaurarius' (text l.62), whilst a few lines earlier in his same

annal 159 he had styled Bullock 'thesaurarius omnium Anglicorum et eorum adherencium in regno Scocie' (above c.44, text ll.24-25); though favoured by the English king from 1335 onwards (e.g. *Rot.Scot.*, i and *CDS*, iii, ad indices), he is not known to have held any office of treasurer in the English administration; Bower was probably puzzled by what he read in *Fordun*, which is why for MS CA he substituted 'sibi fautorum' for 'Anglicorum' here, making 'treasurer for the others who supported Balliol', namely those who elsewhere are called Anglicised Scots (e.g. above c.29, l.2). It is just possible that 'other English' here implies that Bullock was himself an Englishman; though this is unlikely, it would help to explain the reputation for untrustworthiness which he was to earn while serving King David (see below).

**76-77.** *celebrated and*: after 'atque' (text l.64) *Fordun* adds: 'pari modo cum rege Scotiae et proceribus, sicut cum rege Angliae'; Bower omits this remarkable tribute to Bullock.

**77.** *another Chusai*: see discussion above c.28, l.49n.

*Chusai*: after 'commendabilis' (text l.65) instead of 'Sed cum' Bower in MS CA has instead:

Sed, O invidia Diaboli! qua mors intravit hoc seculum nequam, expertum est quod dicitur: 'Invidus alterius rebus marcessit opimis.' Antiquitus proverbialiter dici solet de Scotis, quod neque dives, neque fortis, sed nec sapiens Scotus predominante invidia, diu durabit in terra. Istud verificatum est in dicto domino Willelmo Bullok. Qui cum firmisime.

The quotation is listed in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.12,788 from here and many texts elsewhere; it comes from Horace, *Epistles*, bk.I, epistle 2, l.57 (Loeb edn, 266) ['macrescit' for 'marcessit' here]).

**82.** *treason*: Bower has substituted 'regno et rei publice ... delatus' (text ll.66-68) for 'infinitas congregasset divitias, tandem subito camerariae solutus officio, cum putaret se firmiter stare, suspectus proditiōis' in *Fordun*.

**82.** *David Barclay*: apparently the same Sir David Barclay who was prominent in the administration of King, Robert I, serving as steward of the young Prince David's household, and acting as sheriff of Fife and an exchequer auditor 1328-29 (*SP*, ii, 222-3; *ER*, i, and *RRS*, v ad indices; *RRS*, vi, 258); for his death in 1351 see below XIV c.7, ll.44-53.

**83.** *with Molmoran ... Lochindorb*: *Fordun* has alternatively 'in Malimoram' (FA) and 'cum Malmoram' (FB) for 'cum Molmoran' here (MSS C and D), and includes no reference to Lochindorb MOR (see above c.36, l.12); it has been thought that this is a reference to the place of imprisonment for Bullock, and identified as the lands of Mamore in Lochaber INV (*Fordun*, ii, 438, citing *OPS*, II, i, 171-2); Bower has adopted the variant form of words which suggest that 'Molmoran' was a person, though no such person has been identified; his source for mentioning the castle on the island in Lochindorb is unknown

**84-86.** *and died ... kingdom*: Bower unusually rejects *Fordun*'s moral reflections on Bullock's fate in favour of this ending; this fits his decision to attach this story of Bullock's fate to his chapter about Ramsay.

## Chapter 50 pp.157-9

This chapter is drawn from several sources: ll.1-4 come from *Fordun* (366-7, annal 164); ll.5-13 are derived from some Augustinian source, probably the cathedral priory of St. Andrews, of which Bower had been a member, since they relate to a canon of that community; ll.14-24 follow the same source used for *Wyntoun* (vi, 166-9), though the two accounts do differ a little; ll.25-41 follow an annal found in only one of the *Fordun* MSS (MS FB [*Fordun*, 366, n. 14]; see below); ll.42-54 are an enlarged version of the account in *Wyntoun* (vi, 190-3). *Pluscarden* (291-2) covers only ll.1-4; *Extracta* (178) summarizes only ll.1-13, following MS CA as usual.

**1.** *In 1336*: in *Fordun* this date is given as 1344; the date 1336 in MS C is copied in all the other Bower MSS; possibly it is a deliberate correction by Bower; but since his next entry ('In the same year') fits 1344 rather than 1336, it is likely that 1336 is an error and 1344 the correct date.

**5-13.** *... office*: Adam became abbot of Scone PER after 11 May 1341 (cf. *Scone Liber*, 127, no.170); he was still in office on 29 June 1344 (*RMS*, i, 59-60, no.196); he could therefore have died on 3 October 1344, though his successor as abbot is not found until 10 February 1354 (*Scone Liber*, 127-8, no.172).

**9.** *by due legal process*: abbatial elections in the Augustinian Order were subject to scrutiny and confirmation by the local diocesan bishop, in this case the bishop of St Andrews.

**11.** *or the vicar-general*: Bower added this in the margin of MS C once he recalled that in 1341 there was a vacancy in the St Andrews bishopric (see above VI c.44, ll.40-42); for MS CA he spelled it out clearly that it was the vicar-general (unnamed) of the vacant see that acted in this case.

**14-15.** *death .. Ramsay*: see above c.49, ll.1-26.

**16.** *William*: i.e. Sir William de Douglas; Bower's scribe had originally left his name out entirely.

**21-22.** *castle ... Teviotdale*: the king's favour regarding this castle and sheriffdom had been at the centre of Douglas's rivalry with Ramsay (see above c.49, ll.58-60).

**22-24.** *He held ... held it*: in *Wyntoun* (vi, 166-7) John de Barclay is said to have held Roxburgh castle immediately after Ramsay's death i.e. before Douglas's renewed tenure of it, not after as here. In MS C Barclay's name is marked for deletion, and therefore it was not copied into MSS R, D, B and E, though it was retained for MS CA and MS H; there was clearly doubt about the initial accuracy of the text here.

**23.** *John Barclay*: not certainly identified; perhaps the man who occurs in PER, KCD and ABD context in the 1350s and 1360s (*RRS*, vi, ad indicem; cf. *ER*, ii, 335; *RMS*, i, no.361; *CDS*, iii, 288, 434; *Aberdeen- Banff Coll.*, 618); cf. D. Wimberley, *The Barclays of Barclay of Grantully or Gartly and of Towie Barclay* (Aberdeen, 1903), 5, 8-9.

**25-41.** *... others*: this story is found before ll.1-4 above in MS FB only i.e. the MS of *Fordun*'s annals written 1475 x 1500; the scribe of that MS could have copied it from an exemplar of *Fordun* now lost, or from one of the Bower MSS



as here; the latter possibility is the less likely, since Bower's version lacks the date 1344 given in MS FB (*Fordun*, 366, n.14); though the other textual variants are insubstantial, Bower appears to be modifying a text of *Fordun*, not vice versa.

31. *Alexander de Bruce*: the illegitimate son of King Robert's brother Edward de Bruce, who had in fact been killed at Halidon in 1333 (see above c.27, l.36; cf. *SP*, ii, 436-7; *ER*, i, p.cxxxii).

35. *Carrick*; AYR district.

37. *Malcolm Fleming*: earl of Wigtown since 1341 (*SP*, viii, 520-2); see above c.24, l.29.

38. *as some believe*: added by Bower to *Fordun* to modify the positive statement that follows.

40. *many still think*: i.e. in *Fordun*'s time, taken over by Bower.

42-54. ... *Lord*: in *Wyntoun* this story of a marriage is told with less picturesque detail, with only a hint of a previous abduction, under the date 1347, and there is no mention (as here) of any judgment by King David; if Bower is right about that, the judgment must have taken place before the capture of that king at Durham in October 1346; Bower's 'in this year' (l.42), and the mention of a year of troubles in Lothian, suggest that the story covers the period 1344-5, though the opening of his next chapter (XIV c.1) suggests 1346.

42. *Alan de Wynton*: as a landholder at Winton ELO had forfeited his property to Edward III by 1336 (*CDS*, iii, 337, 385); the Seton family had held lands at Winton for at least three generations, and it may be that Alan was a relative of the lady whom he abducted (*SP*, viii, 570-1).

43. *lady of Seton*: said (on unknown evidence) to have been called Margaret, and supposedly a granddaughter of Sir Alexander de Seton the defender of Berwick in 1333, who as still alive in 1346, when his heir was another Alexander de Seton (*ibid.*, 568-70); cf. above c.26, ll.3-4.

44. *William de Moray*: not identified; supposed to have had a sister married to the same Alexander, the Seton heir (*ibid.*, 569, n.4; 570, n.4). Cf. a William de Moravia found in Glasgow diocese in 1343 (*CPP*, i, 27-28); and a William Murray of Tullibardine PER (*SP*, i, 454; see also *RRS*, vi, 450); cf. his father Andrew (above c.24, l.43). Possibly the name is an error for the William de Douglas, who had been installed as keeper of Edinburgh castle in 1341 (see above c.46, ll.39-41); but *Wyntoun* (vi, 188-9) says that Moray was appointed keeper by Robert Stewart as guardian after the battle of Neville's Cross in October 1346 (cf. below XIV c.6, ll.9-10 notes).

47. *The parents*: not certainly identified (see above l.43n.).

51-52. *William ... Margaret*: the former succeeded to the main Seton inheritance with the name William de Seton, and lived until 1408 × 1410 (*SP*, viii, 571-2); for Margaret, who may have become countess of Dunbar, see *ibid.*, 571; iii, 273; ix, 71.

54. *Lord*: after 'peregrinus' (text l.39) MS CA has the following additional passage:

Willelmus eciam filius suus, postea miles insignis, Jerosolimitanus fuit et obiit veteranus. Cuius filius Johannes Seeton, acerimus miles, Anglis dum vixerat infestus. Cuius eciam filius dominus Willelmus interfectus est in Francia apud Vernolze. Cuius<sup>a</sup> filius dominus Georgius miles adhuc superstes. Hos quatuor milites bene cognovi<sup>b</sup> ego qui has<sup>c</sup> cronicas collegi, de quibus tres primi statura proceri et valentes fuerunt.

a + three letters [?] del. CA

b + m [?] CA

c qui has FF; quod hec CA

For the four generations of Setons listed here, see *SP*, viii, 571-8. The second William was killed (while his father was still alive) at the battle of Verneuil in France in August 1424 (cf. below XVI c.35). George attained his majority in August 1437 and lived until 1478 × 1480; he was still a young man when Bower was composing MS CA in the mid-1440s – hence the distinction between him and his three predecessors in the last sentence. Bower was a man from ELO as they were.

## **Book XIV**

## Book XIV

1

### *De bellis<sup>a</sup> de Cressy et<sup>b</sup> Dureham*

fo.293v;  
G ii,339

G ii,340

Eodem anno, scilicet Domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xlvi, rex Francie scripsit regi David supplicans sibi ut cum omnibus suis viribus accomodis gracia sui guerram feralem contra regem Anglie moveret, quia promisit se obsidionem ponere circa oppidum de Cales, ut sic undique rex Anglie angustatus sive angulatus, viribus et violencia attenueretur. 5 Cuius petitioni rex David annuens, collegit undique grandem exercitum, cupiens<sup>c</sup> ultra | modum cum Anglis habere congressum. Convenerunt hinc inde ex omni parte regni, et monstrationem armorum fecerunt apud Perth. Quo inter ceteros affuit cum exercitu suo comes Rossensis, et in monasterio de Elcho hospitatus est 10 Raynaldus de Insulis cum suis. Ad quem de nocte ex insidiis misit comes de Ross' certos sicarios, qui dictum Reynaldum cum aliis septem sompno soporatis interemerunt. Ipse vero comes<sup>d</sup> cum exercitu suo quantocius proprias partes peciit, rege relicto. Propter quod consultum fuit regi expedicionem intermittere, cum diceretur<sup>e</sup> 15 pro malo omine tam infortunabile principium habuisse. Noluit autem rex eorum consiliis acquiescere, sed ceptum iter peragere festinavit, et municipium de Lidall<sup>f</sup>, quod apud Marchias erat, obsessit et cepit, una cum Waltero de Selbi ex parte Anglorum eiusdem custode, et ipsum ad terram prostravit.<sup>f</sup> Considerans autem nobilis Willelmus de 20 Douglas, qui tunc pericia armorum ceteros precallebat, infortunium casus interfeccionis Reynaldi et honorem assecutum regi per capcionem municipii, regi consuluit plane loras retorquere et<sup>g</sup> denuo si sibi et consilio suo videretur<sup>h</sup> expedicionem repetere. Cui astantes satrape sic ferunt respondisse: 'Tu satis habundas de bonis Anglicorum, nec 25 velles in lucro socios habere, sed in bello. Non est qui nobis resistet, cum citra Londonias non habentur homines guerris assueti,<sup>i</sup> quia quotquot<sup>j</sup> valentes de Anglia cum suo rege sunt in Francia; nec domi remanent nisi<sup>k</sup> presbyteri, fratres et clerici, sutores et mechanici.'<sup>l</sup>

a CA; bello C

b Cressy de interlin.C

c + ns del.C

d + cum del.C

e apud quamplures susurratum extitit for diceretur CA

f + abhinc terram peciit Anglorum CA

g + denio del.C

h interlin.C

i altered from assuetes C

j quasi omnes for quotquot CA

k + religiosi et CA

l + qui nec sunt in arte pugnandi fortes nec bello efficaces CA

## Book XIV

1

### *The battles of Crecy and Durham*

In the same year, namely 1346, the king of France wrote to King 1346:  
David, begging him to make deadly war against the king of England [June-July]  
with all appropriate military might, because he promised that he  
would lay siege around the town of Calais, so that thus the king of  
5 England would be enclosed or cornered from all sides, and his  
aggressive power weakened. King David, agreeing to this request,  
collected a large army from all sides, hoping above all else to have a  
fight with the English. They came together from here and there from [6 Oct.]  
all parts of the kingdom, and held a show of weapons at Perth.  
10 Among the rest of them was present the earl of Ross with his army,  
and Reginald of the Isles was lodged with his men in the monastery of  
Elcho. At night the earl of Ross sent to him by stealth certain  
assassins, who dispatched the said Reginald with seven others who  
had been overcome by sleep. The earl himself with his army forthwith  
15 hurried to his own region, abandoning the king. Because of this it was  
suggested to the king that he postpone the expedition, since it was  
taken as a bad omen to have had such an unhappy beginning.  
However, the king would not agree to their counsels, but hurried to  
proceed with the journey which he had begun. He besieged and took  
20 the castle of Liddel, which was in the Marches, together with Walter  
de Selby its commander on the English side, and razed it to the  
ground. The noble William de Douglas, however, who at that time  
excelled all others in the skill of warfare, in the light of the unhappy  
event of the death of Reginald and the honour which attached to the  
25 king by the taking of the castle, advised the king to turn his horse  
round, and if it seemed good to him and his council to recommence  
the expedition afresh. The commanders standing by gave him answer  
thus: 'You are sufficiently well off with the goods of the English, and  
would prefer to have companions not in [taking] spoils, but in a fight.  
30 There is no one who will resist us, as they have no experienced soldiers  
between here and London, because so many of the fighting men of  
England are with their king in France, and there remain at home only  
priests, friars and clerks, craftsmen and tradesmen.' The truth was  
that Edward of Windsor king of England, with Edward his first-born  
35 son prince of Wales and lord of Cornwall, and almost all the  
magnates and nobles of England, were at that time waging war in the

Veritas enim fuit quod Eadwardus de Wyndesor rex Anglie, cum 30  
 Eadwardo primogenito suo principe Wallie et domino Cornubie, ac  
 universis fere proceribus et nobilibus<sup>m</sup> Anglie, in regno tunc Francie  
 guerris insistebant, actibus bellicis<sup>n</sup> indulgendo, terras, villas et  
 oppida per que transivit depopulando, obsistentes sibi interficiendo,  
 capiendo vel in fugam convertendo; et post capcionem Cadomi, que 35  
 erat villa plena populo, satis opulenta, divitiis ac bonis omnibus  
 affluens et fecunda, quibusdam de valentibus qui ad defensionem et  
 custodiam eiusdem deputati fuerant interfectis, quibusdam tunc  
 captis et in Angliam missis carceribus mancipandis, cum Francorum  
 rege Philippo de Valois, in cuius comitiva fuerunt duo reges, Boemie 40  
 scilicet et de Maillogre, ac duces, comites et barones, necnon alii de  
 maioribus Francie, preter communem populum ad numerum excessi-  
 vum, iuxta forestam de Cressy in locis planis et campestribus  
 conflagendo. In quo quidem conflictu predicti duo reges<sup>o</sup> et alii 45  
 quamplurimi de maioribus tocius regni Francie ceciderunt, prefato  
 rege Philippo per fuge presidium evadente. <Contigit eciam casu  
 quod electi fuerunt de Anglia eo tunc x<sup>mp</sup> ad transfretandum in  
 subsidium [regis Anglie,]<sup>p</sup> expectantes ad portus aure congruitatem.  
 Qui audientes quod rex Scocie intra-[verat<sup>q</sup> eorum terras,]<sup>q</sup> intermiser-  
 unt passagium, et de nostris victoriam<sup>s</sup> optinuerunt. Alias<sup>r</sup> Anglici 50  
 [qui remanserant]<sup>r</sup> non proponebant cum nostris congredi, quamvis  
 pro tunc Eboracum petivissent [Scoti.]<sup>u</sup> > "

<sup>m</sup> bellicosus CA

<sup>n</sup> + insistendo del.C

<sup>o</sup> rex Boemie semicecus necnon rex de  
 Mayllogre for predicti duo reges CA

<sup>p</sup> + virorum forcium CA

<sup>q</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>r</sup> +hostiliter CA

<sup>u</sup>

<sup>s</sup> + ut infra dicetur cum aliis CA

<sup>t</sup> + utique ut dictum fuit ceteri omnes CA

<sup>u</sup> marginal passage in C is inserted (with  
 minor additions as noted here) in text of  
 c.2 below at l.17 after compingissent (for  
 conflavissent) rather than here CA

## 2

*De dispositione ad bellum; et de apparicione  
 Sancti Cuthberti regi David*

Pro hiis omnibus volens predictus rex David vindictam de Anglis<sup>a</sup>  
 expetere, relicto consilio [dicti]<sup>b</sup> domini Willelmi de Douglas,  
 prevaluit consilium aliorum. Et ad monasterium de Exham pro-  
 [peran-]tes<sup>b</sup> ac minarum in Anglos spirantes, ibidem recensite sunt 5  
 turme bellatorum [et re-]perta<sup>b</sup> sunt tantum nisi dua milia<sup>c</sup> excellenter

<sup>a</sup> de Anglis interlin.C

<sup>b</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>c</sup> + vel eo circa CA

kingdom of France, carrying out warlike deeds, depopulating lands,  
 towns and fortresses through which he passed, killing, capturing or  
 putting to flight those who opposed him; and after the capture of  
 40 Caen, which was a town full of people, a place of great opulence,  
 wealthy and overflowing with all kinds of riches and goods, some of  
 the fighting men who had been appointed to its defence and  
 guardianship were killed, others were captured at that time and sent  
 to England to be committed to prison. He engaged the king of the [26 Aug.]  
 45 French Philip de Valois, in whose army were two [other] kings,  
 namely of Bohemia and Majorca, and dukes, counts and barons and  
 others of the great men of France, besides common people in  
 excessive numbers, on flat and level ground beside the forest of Crecy.  
 In this battle the said two kings and a great many others of the great  
 50 men of the whole kingdom of France were slain, the said King Philip  
 escaping capture by flight.

It happened also that ten thousand men of England had at that time  
 been chosen to cross the sea to help the king of England and were  
 gathered together in the ports awaiting a [favourable] wind. On  
 55 hearing that the king of Scotland had invaded their lands, they put off  
 their journey, and gained a victory over our men. Otherwise [(as it was  
 said) all the other] English who remained would [certainly] not have  
 dared to engage with our men, even though at that time the Scots were  
 advancing on York.

## 2

*The disposition for the battle; and the appearance of  
 St Cuthbert to King David*

Since for all these reasons the said King David wished to take revenge  
 on the English, he abandoned the advice of the said Sir William de  
 Douglas, and the counsel of others prevailed. And as they hurried to  
 the monastery of Hexham breathing threats against the English, the  
 5 warriors were counted there, and the total came to only [about] two  
 thousand well-armed men, although the count included a great army  
 of those that were lightly armed. Advancing therefore, King David  
 and his army were encamped at Ryton, and St Cuthbert appeared to

armatorum quamquam semiermum grandis [exercitus sum-]mabatur.<sup>b</sup> Procedens igitur rex David cum exercitu suo castramentatus est apud Riton, [ad quem]<sup>b</sup> | in sompnis apparuit Sanctus Cuthbertus, adhortacionem benignam inferens ne Scoti terras suas invaderent aut dampnificarent. Sed ipse<sup>d</sup> de revelacione sibi divinitus ostensa cum majoribus suis de consilio sermone habito, more aspidis ad vocem incantantis obturantis improvide aures suas, regnum Anglie quod credebant enervatum viribus, vacuatum hominibus et omni auxilio destitutum, cum ea multitudine armatorum et peditum cui non credebant posse resistere gentes utriusque regni Francie scilicet et Anglie eciam si in unum redigerentur,<sup>e</sup> ac vires suas concorditer conflavissent.<sup>f</sup> Cum igitur rex Scocie partes boreales Anglie hostiliter invasisset, et omnes partes per quas transitum fecerat feralibus gladiis et incendiis devastaret<sup>h</sup> per quindenam,<sup>i</sup> ad terram ecclesiasticam Dunelmensem tandem Scoti<sup>j</sup> devenerunt, ubi de dietis quod supererat continuando et proterviam quam in Anglia conceperant et inchoaverant exercendo, die xvi octobris venerunt circa horam nonam prope Dunelm' super moram de Beawrepare, ostendentes se per acies dispositas, vexillis displicatis, quasi paratos ut videbatur si qui se opposuisse voluerant ad pugnandum. Sed statim sine pluri reficiendi gracia se apud dictum manerium de Beawrepare convertabant, per totam illam noctem infra parcum,<sup>k</sup> nullo eorum extra remanente, vitatis periculis securius dormituros. Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Henrico de Percy, Johanne de Moubrey, Radulpho de Nevyle ac dominis de Ferraes, Rukby et Lucy, Cowpland et Ogyl, ac <aliis<sup>l</sup> quamplurimis ecclesiasticis><sup>m</sup> viris armatis et pedestribus qui ad hoc fuerant adunati infra parcum de Awchland, a prefato parco de Beawrepare per sex distantem miliaria, eadem nocte collocantibus se occulte. Qui quidem archiepiscopus cum suis die lucescente congregati cum Scotis, ipsis de hoc nichil precogitantibus, decreverunt. Sic denique parcum exeuntes et quendam collem juxta Meryngton videntes, quem pro congressu huius congruum reputabant, illum ascenderunt, an Scoti essent ibidem expectandi adinvicem tractaturi. Sed durante huiusmodi tractatu, primipulis vexilla ferentibus ac aliis qui cum eis fuerant paulatim | procedentibus, sequebantur et illi quasi scienter nescii, ita quod antequam adverterent ubi essent, fuerunt a loco ubi tractare inceperant per magnum spacium elongati, et sic usque pontes de Sundirland lentis passibus processerunt. Juxta quos quendam collem alium aptum eis pro bello committendo fore perpendentes, convenerunt majores adinvicem tractandi gracia, an ad expectandum Scotos essent inibi remansuri. Quibus super materia

d + rex CA  
e coirent CA  
f interlin. over eciam si del.C  
g compingissent CA  
h + tandem del.C

i + huic in omnia devastans del.C  
j interlin.C  
k parcam D  
l CA; alias C,R  
m aliis ... ecclesiasticis om.D

him in his sleep, bringing the mild request that the Scots should not invade or damage his lands. But the king, after discussion with the leading men of his council concerning the revelation divinely shown to him, [pressed ahead,] just as a snake foolishly closes his ears in response to a charmer, because they believed that the kingdom of England was weakened in fighting-strength, devoid of men and destitute of all help. They did not believe that the men in either kingdom (that is in France or England) could resist this multitude of armed men and foot-soldiers, even if they were brought back into one force and combined their strengths together. When therefore the king of Scotland had invaded the northern parts of England in hostile fashion, and he laid waste for a fortnight with fatal fire and sword all the parts he had passed through, at length the Scots came to the land of the church of Durham. There, spinning out what was left of their rations, and acting with the irresponsibility which they had adopted and initiated in England, on 16 October about 3 p.m. they arrived near Durham at the moor of 'Beaurepaire' [now Bearpark], showing themselves arrayed in battle-lines, with banners unfurled, ready (as it seemed) to fight if any wished to oppose them. But at once without any further respite for refreshment they turned towards the said manor of Bearpark so that they could sleep more safely for the whole of that night out of danger's way in the park, with none of them remaining outside.

Meanwhile the archbishop of York, Henry de Percy, John de Mowbray, Ralph de Neville and the lords of Ferrers, Rokeby and Lucy, Coupland and Ogle and very many other churchmen with armed men and foot-soldiers, who had been assembled for the purpose in the park of Auckland (which lies six miles away from the said park at Bearpark), were secretly stationing themselves during the night. The archbishop indeed and his men decided at daybreak to join battle with the Scots, though they had not thought of this beforehand. So in the end they left the park and on seeing a hill near Merrington which they reckoned suitable for this clash, they climbed it [to see] whether the Scots were to be expected there to conduct mutual negotiations. But in the course of this negotiation, while the leaders were carrying standards and others who were with them were advancing bit by bit, those [English] followed as if deliberately feigning ignorance, so that before [the Scots] could realise where they were, they were a long way away from the place where they had begun to negotiate, and thus moved by slow stages to Sunderland Bridge. Judging that another hill near these bridges was suitable for them to join battle, the leaders gathered to discuss among themselves whether they should remain there to await the Scots. As they were beginning to discuss this matter, that same thing which happened to them in the other place befell them there. Hence as the Scots were meanwhile preparing themselves for battle, the English approached the manor of

1346:  
16 Oct.

17 Oct.



huiuscemodi tractare inchoantibus, illud idem quod in alio loco ipsis contigerit accidit et in illo. Unde Scotis interim ad pugnandum se parantibus, super moram de Beawrepaire ab eis per duo miliaria dumtaxat tunc distantem appropinquaverunt, et illi ad eandem 50 moram se in quodam loco iuxta crucem qui Nevilcrosse dicitur prope Dunelm', a dictis Scotis per modicum distante spacium collocantes, gentes suas in tres turmas sicut pugnare disposuerant dividendo.

## 3

*De bello*

fo.294v

Interea dum sic se Angli pro bello disposuissent, rex Scocie cum suis in parco adhuc remanens, de approximatione Anglorum nichil conscius, misit de mane dominum Willelmum<sup>a</sup> de Douglas ad depopulandum terram ecclesiasticam<sup>b</sup> de Duram, et ad predas exercitui suo reficiendo corrogandas. Qui inscius in hostes irruens, 5 obviaverunt sibi tam subito quam mutuo ad locum qui<sup>c</sup> dicitur *le Fery of the Hil*. Sed quia non suppecit dicto domino Willelmo<sup>a</sup> de Douglas copia congregiendi cum tanta multitudine adversariorum, ad regem cum suis fugam iniit, in qua<sup>d</sup> quingentos de Scotis viris validioribus amisit in loco qui Sundersandis nuncupatur; sed et ipse Douglas 10 manus eorum feliciter evasit.<sup>e</sup> Quod audientes Scoti mirabiliter consternati, divisi sunt in tres turmas, quarum rex prefuit | uni, comes de Murrave et dominus Willelmus<sup>f</sup> de Douglas alteri, tercie vero comes de Dunbar et Senescallus Scocie. Approximantes autem ad aciem cunei, peciit dominus Johannes Graham<sup>g</sup> centum equestres 15 lanceatos ad interrompendum Anglorum sagittarios, ut vel sic expediticius hostes rex invaderet; sed, ut verum fatear, nec unum quidem optinere potuit,<sup>h</sup> propter quod<sup>i</sup> ira commotus solus inter sagittarios vibrata hasta equitavit, et eos ab invicem ferociter dispersit, ubi eiusdem nobilis equus<sup>j</sup> a sagitta volante interficitur, et 20 vix vita comite ad regem revertitur. Dispositis denique cunctis,<sup>k</sup> et audito classicorum sonitu, agmen illud cui comes Moravie preficiebatur impetitur, et inter fossata et sepes dira pugna committitur; comes interficitur, et sui devincuntur. Dehinc illa turma Anglorum,<sup>l</sup> in qua preter armatos summabantur x milia sagittariorum, regem David 25

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C<sup>b</sup> + Sancti Cuthberti CA<sup>c</sup> + vulgariter CA<sup>d</sup> quantocius festinavit, sed ipso vix evadente for fugam iniit, in qua CA<sup>e</sup> sed et ipse ... evasit om.CA<sup>f</sup> interlin.C<sup>g</sup> + miles CA<sup>h</sup> + quod nullus se tanto discrimini ausus est se committere CA<sup>i</sup> + Graham CA<sup>j</sup> emissarius CA<sup>k</sup> + ad bellum CA<sup>l</sup> + una cum alia del.C

- 55 Bearpark which lay just two miles from where they were then, and took up their position on the same moor at a certain place near Durham beside the cross which is called Neville's Cross just a short distance from the said Scots. They took up their stations for the fight by dividing their men into three sections.

## 3

*The battle*

- In the meantime while the English were positioning themselves for a battle, the king of Scotland remained still in the park with his men, unaware of the English approach. In the morning he sent Sir William de Douglas to ravage the land of the church of Durham, and to collect 17 Oct. 5 booty to refresh his army. When he came upon the enemy unexpectedly, they met in a way that was sudden for both sides at a place which is called Ferryhill. But because the said Sir William de Douglas did not have the backing of a force adequate for confronting so large a multitude of adversaries, he began a withdrawal towards 10 the king with his men, during which he lost five hundred sturdy Scottish troops at the place called Sunderland [Bridge]; but Douglas himself was fortunate to escape their hands. On hearing this the Scots were thrown into confusion to an extraordinary degree. They were divided into three sections with the king in command of one, the earl of Moray and Sir William de Douglas in command of the second, and 15 the earl of Dunbar and the Steward of Scotland in command of the third. But as the formations approached the line of battle, Sir John Graham requested a hundred mounted lancers to break up the English archers, so that by this means the king might more easily attack the enemy; but to tell the truth, he could not obtain even one [for no one dared to commit himself to such a risk]. On this account Graham became angry and rode alone among the archers shaking his lance; he fiercely scattered them in turn, when his noble horse was 20 killed by a flying arrow, and he only just escaped to the king scarcely with his life. At length everyone was in position and the sound of trumpets was heard. The line commanded by the earl of Moray was attacked and involved in a fearful fight between ditches and hedges; the earl was killed and his men overcome. Next a band of Englishmen which included ten thousand archers as well as armed men attacked 30 King David, who was ensnared with his men between ditches, and captured by John Coupland, though not without a substantial fight and the lamentable slaughter of his men. First, however, Coupland

invasit, qui cum suis inter fossata irrititus, non sine grandi pugna et miserabili cede suorum, a Johanne Cowpland capitur, prius tamen duobus de suis dentibus ictu regis evulsis, rege nichilominus duabus sagittis graviter vulnerato. <[Quarum unius ferrum nulla arte | medicorum potuit avelli,]<sup>m</sup> donec rex ad Sanctum Monanum devo-  
 cione concepta illuc [adiit peregrinus, et intentus oracioni stans]<sup>m</sup> 30  
 coram imagine eius, ferrum tamquam cum impetu extractum, non  
 tam mirabiliter quam [miraculose, prosiliit in longinquum].<sup>m</sup> Cuius  
 occasione rex, ut non ingratus tanti beneficii esse videretur, ecclesiam  
 eius ut in presenciarum [cernitur nobiliter]<sup>m</sup> construxit, et possessioni- 35  
 bus peramplis regaliter dotavit. > Scotis igitur de duabus procellis tam  
 atrociter per Anglos infestatis fugientibus, reliquis eorum<sup>n</sup> captis vel  
 interfectis, Senesallus Scocie nepos videlicet regis<sup>o</sup> et comes Patricius  
 saniori usi consilio salvaverunt se<sup>p</sup> declinationis presidio, incolumes  
 ad propria redeunt. 40  
 Ecce quam infeliciter, propter invasionem<sup>r</sup>  
 terrarum ecclesiasticarum Sancti Cuthberti, rex Scocie David cum  
 suo exercitu devictus est et captus! Capti sunt eciam ibi cum rege iiii<sup>or</sup>  
 comites, videlicet de Fiffe, Suthirland, Wigton et Menteth, qui<sup>s</sup>  
 postea<sup>t</sup> equis tractus et diversis penis cruciatus interiit. Capti sunt  
 eciam Willelmus de Douglas, Walterus de Haliburton et multi alii 45  
 nobiles, barones, milites strenui et armigeri electi. Interfecti sunt  
 autem Johannes Ranulphi comes Moravie, ac eciam comes de  
 Stratherne, constabelarius Scocie, marescallus Scocie, camerarius  
 Scocie, cancellarius Scocie, David filius et heres domini David de  
 Lyndesey, Rogerus Cameron, Gilbertus de Inchemarkin, Willelmus 50  
 Fraser, Andreas Buttergask, Johannes de Bonavilla et<sup>u</sup> Michael  
 Scotus milites, cum aliis<sup>v</sup> baronibus, militibus, armigeris et valentibus  
 personis ad numerum mille hominum.

m D; lac.C

r + ut dicitur CA

n CA; earum C,D

s + quidem comes de Menteth CA

o + cum del.C; + rex futurus CA

t + de prodicione convictus CA

p interlin.C; om.D

u interlin.C

q cum suis revertentes for redeunt CA

v + innumeris del.C

#### *Quod rex non sequatur consilium juvenum*

"Quanta igitur mala ex presumptione pestifera et juvenili consilio in hac expeditione provenerunt, sequencia declarabunt. Consilium expertissimum Douglas refutatum fuit, et consilium inexpertorum

a initial Q decorated with a drawing of a face C

had two of his teeth knocked out by a blow from the king, while the king for his part was seriously wounded by two arrows.

- 35 The tip of one of these could not be extracted by any doctor's skill until the king developed a devotion to St Monan and went there as a pilgrim; while he was standing absorbed in prayer before the saint's statue, the arrow-tip sprang forth a long way as if forcibly pulled out, an event that was not so much a wonder as a miracle. When this  
 40 happened, the king built the saint's church in noble fashion, as can be seen today, so as not to seem ungrateful for such a benefit; and he endowed it in a kingly manner with very many possessions.

[1365 x  
1370]

- As the Scots therefore fled from the two whirlwind attacks so fiercely launched by the English, with the rest of them captured or  
 45 killed, the Steward of Scotland (that is the king's nephew) and Earl Patrick followed wise advice and saved themselves with the help of an about turn, so returning home safely. Note how disastrously David king of Scotland was defeated and captured along with his army on account of his attack on the lands of the church of St Cuthbert! Four  
 50 earls were captured there also along with the king, namely the earls of Fife, Sutherland, Wigtown and Menteith – this last was later drawn by horses and died after being tortured with various torments. Among the prisoners also were William de Douglas, Walter de Haliburton, and many other nobles, barons, vigorous knights and  
 55 excellent men-at-arms. Among those killed were John Randolph earl of Moray, and also the earl of Strathearn, the constable of Scotland, the marischal of Scotland, the chamberlain of Scotland, the chancellor of Scotland, David son and heir of Sir David de Lindsay, Roger Cameron, Gilbert de Inchmartine, William Fraser, Andrew Butter-  
 60 gask, John de Boneville and Michael Scot, all knights, along with other barons, knights, men-at-arms and sturdy persons to the number of one thousand men.

#### *A king should not follow the advice of young men*

Therefore many evils arose on this expedition from pernicious boldness and the advice of young men, as what follows will make clear. The highly expert advice of Douglas was rejected and the advice of inexperienced people accepted. For Douglas appreciated the  
 5 shrewdness and power of the English, and offered useful advice; but he did not prevail, for the king (who was bold and impetuous) had

admissum. Cognovit enim Douglas calliditatem et potenciam Anglorum, et utile consilium dedit; sed non valuit, quia rex presumptuosus sue animositati seducentes quamplures habebat assentatores. Quem<sup>b</sup> assimilare potero Arterexerzes regi Medorum bellum Grecis indicenti, cui familiarium unus dicebat Grecos adventum incii belli non expectaturos, sed ad primam adventus famam terga versuros. Alius dicebat Greciam non vinci, sed obrui mole exercitus. Alius dicebat timendum esse ne urbes vacuas et desertas invenirent,<sup>c</sup> non habituras regem ubi tantas vires exercere possit. Alius dicebat vix illi naturam rerum sufficere, angusta esse classibus maria, militibus castra, explicandis copiis equestribus campestria, celum vix patere sagittis. Dum in hunc modum regem, nimia existimacione sui furentem, confutarent, dixit Demeratus,<sup>d</sup> cui Douglas potest esse assimilatus: 'Multitudo ista que tibi placet, | tibi metuenda est; verum est enim permagna numquam posse regi, nec diu durare potest quod regi non potest. Nichil tam magnum quod perire non possit.' Sic contigit ut dixit Damara[tus],<sup>e</sup> nam Arterexerzes ut fugax animal, pavido regressu, paucitate devictus, regnum proprium rep-[etere]<sup>f</sup> est coactus. Exemplum potest esse regibus inexpertum consilium juvenum, hoc quod scriptum est de Roboam filio Salomonis, iii<sup>o</sup> Regum xii<sup>o</sup>. De quo eciam quidam sic vulgariter ait:

Kyngis state gif yu [wil lede,]  
til old mennis consal tak gude hede;  
Roboam his kyngdam lesit,  
yong [mennis]<sup>g</sup> consal for he chesit.

Sed numquid anile fuit consilium regi David apud Riton, [ut predicatur,]<sup>h</sup> per beatum Cuthbertum sibi divinitus susurratum? Quod consilium quia contempsit, [et terras]<sup>i</sup> ecclesiasticas eiusdem Sancti Cuthberti, timore Dei postposito, invadendo destruxit, penam propterea non evasit; quia<sup>j</sup> tamquam excommunicatum Angli eum invaserunt, quem monachi Dunelmen-[ses]<sup>k</sup> pro tali forte denunciarunt. Et est certe multum timenda excommunicacio,<sup>l</sup> quia eciam si sit injusta, cum contempnitur incurritur; et ideo, sive justa sive injusta, est timenda, ut xi questione iii capitulo *Quibus* et capitulo *Quoniam injuste*.<sup>m</sup> Exemplum ad hoc utile in medium proferamus? Scribit enim Odo monachus Cluniacensis<sup>n</sup> quod Theodosius, ille famosissimus imperator, sicut Tripartita refert Historia, quadam vice a quodam monacho, qui ut credo<sup>o</sup> non bene compos mentis sue erat, pro quadam eius querela quod non statim expedierat excommunicatus est. Et monachus quidem, excommunicacione in pittacio

b + non inconvenienter CA  
c inveniret D  
d + bellorum expertissimus miles CA  
e D; lac.C  
f + sibi D; del.C

g + ut dicitur CA  
h CA; om.C,D  
i Et ideo ... injuste om.CA  
j Scribit ... Cluniacensis om.CA  
k ibi legitur for credo CA

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fo.295

very many flatterers to lead him astray. I would liken him to [Xerxes] king of the Medes, when he was declaring war against the Greeks. One of his household said to him that the Greeks would not wait for his arrival to start the war, but would turn tail at the first news of his arrival. Another said that Greece could not be conquered, but could be overwhelmed by the power of his army. Another said that he was afraid that they would find the cities empty and deserted, that they would not accept a king in a situation where he could exercise such strength. Another said that the whole world was hardly big enough for him, the waters were too restricted for his naval vessels, the fortifications for his soldiers, the open country for deploying his mounted troops, the sky hardly afforded room for his arrows. While his advisers were in this way seeking to dissuade their king, who was deluded by an excessively high opinion of himself, Demaratus [a very experienced fighting man] with whom Douglas can be compared, said: 'This huge army which so pleases you is something you must fear; for it is true that very large possessions can never be controlled, and that which cannot be controlled cannot last for long. Nothing is so great that it cannot perish.' So it turned out as Demaratus said, for [Xerxes] was compelled to return to his own kingdom like an animal that was running away, making a frightened retreat, overcome by small numbers.

An example of untried advice given by young men to kings is to be found in the story about Rehoboam son of Solomon in 3 Kings 12. Someone has said in the vernacular about this text:

If you wish to guide the king's state,  
take good heed of old men's advice;  
Rehoboam lost his kingdom,  
for he chose young men's advice.

But the advice whispered to King David by the inspiration of the blessed Cuthbert at Ryton (as mentioned above) was in no way an old wives' tale. Because he did not heed this advice, but put fear of God aside and in an attack destroyed the church lands of the same St Cuthbert, this was why he did not escape the penalty, for the English attacked him as an excommunicate, whom the monks of Durham happened to have denounced for such a deed. And excommunication is certainly much to be feared, for even if it is unjust, it is incurred when it is disregarded; and thus whether it is just or unjust, it is to be feared, as in [Decretum, II, Cause] 11, Question 3, Chapter [27], 'Quibus', and the Chapter 'Quoniam injuste'.

May we offer for general consumption a useful example in this context? For Odo monk of Cluny wrote that the very famous emperor Theodosius (as the *Tripartite History* mentions) was on one occasion excommunicated by a certain monk (who was not, I believe, fully sound in the head) because a certain complaint of his had not been

descripta, et quo ab imperatore inveniri posset projecta, discessit. At  
 imperator non illum girovagum, sed celestem potius regem, cuius 45  
 auctoritate solet excommunicatio fieri, in causam considerans,  
 prandere nullatenus, cum quidem incumberet<sup>l</sup> hora, presumpsit.  
 Multisque episcopis coram astantibus, et cum illo episcopo ad cuius  
 diocesim predictus pertinebat monachus, licenciam dantibus, cogi  
 non potuit ut aliquid gustaret, donec monachus diu multumque 50  
 quesitus, et aliquamdiu repertus, imperatori licenciam dedit. Velim ut  
 istis personis ex obliquo personas componant, quatenus causam a  
 contrario verius discernant. Ecce imperator, non qualiscumque sed  
 Theodosius, omni seculo post se mirandus observavit excommunica-  
 tionem, non rationabiliter sed inepte prolatam, neque a quolibet qui 55  
 vel tenuem excommunicandi potestatem habuerat, sed a stulto  
 monacho fortuitu injectam. Isti vero degeneres homunciones, nul-  
 lumque saltem apud vulgares, signum honestatis habentes, excom-  
 municationem contempnunt, non fortuitam sed ecclesiastica cen-  
 sura, non solum rite per curatos, sed et per pontifices medicinaliter 60  
 decretam; que quando non contempnitur medicinalis est, et non  
 eradicans sed salubris disciplina. Et ideo non est contempnenda, quia  
 non homo ligat sed Christus."<sup>m</sup>

<Vincencius:"

Quidam [comes]<sup>o</sup> Anglie duxit cognatam [suam.]<sup>o</sup> Correptus a Dun- 65  
 stano, [eam non]<sup>o</sup> reliquit; excommunicatur.<sup>p</sup> Rex episcopo mandavit  
 ut absolveretur, qui nol[uit,]<sup>o</sup> qui gravius eum excommunicavit. Illi<sup>q</sup>  
 Romam cum multis muneribus miserunt. | Apostolicus mandavit  
 Dunstano ut<sup>o</sup> eum absolv[er]et;<sup>o</sup> [ ]<sup>r</sup> rescripsit sibi quod incestu-  
 osam non dimitteret. 'Absit', inquit, 'hoc, Pater Sancte, ut causa 70  
 alicuius mor-[talis]<sup>o</sup> hominis contempnam legem Dei mei.' Quod  
 videns, comes penituit, et uxorem repudiavit; nudisque pedibus, lanceis  
 indutus, virgasque manu gerens, cecidit ad pedes Dunstani generale  
 consilium celebrantis, et tunc primo<sup>o</sup> abso-[lutus est].<sup>o</sup> Hec ille.><sup>u</sup>

*l* R,CA; incumbent C; ambiguous D  
*m* + qui ipsam in contemptores fulminari  
 constituit CA  
*n* underlined C,D; + scribit in Speculo quod  
 CA  
*o* D; lac,C  
*p* + comes CA

*q* D,CA; illo C  
*r* D,CA; nec [?] C  
*s* + short unidentified word C; om.D,CA  
*t* presente coram omnibus for primo CA  
*u* Vincencius ... ille inserted below c.5 (text  
 l.7) after 'audiamus' CA

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dealt with immediately. And indeed, once the monk had written out  
 the excommunication on a strip of parchment, and had flung it down  
 where it could be found by the emperor, he went away. But the 55  
 emperor, having regard in this case not for that vagabond monk, but  
 rather for the Heavenly King on whose authority an excommunica-  
 tion is customarily pronounced, refused to eat a meal even though the  
 hour was at hand. Despite the presence of many bishops who (along  
 with the bishop of the diocese to which the aforesaid monk belonged)  
 60 gave him permission, he could not be persuaded to eat anything until  
 the monk (who had been long and urgently sought after and at last  
 was found) gave the emperor permission. I would wish that men  
 compare person with person indirectly so that they may judge a case  
 more truly from the point of view of the opposite side. See how an  
 65 emperor (not any emperor whatever, but Theodosius) is to be  
 admired in every succeeding age for accepting excommunication,  
 even when pronounced foolishly rather than reasonably, and not by  
 anyone who had modest powers of issuing an excommunication, but  
 issued by chance by a silly monk. Indeed it is degenerate men of  
 70 inferior status who, showing no sign of integrity (at least among  
 common people), regard excommunication with contempt, when it is  
 not a chance occurrence, but the consequence of an ecclesiastical  
 judgment, decreed not only with due formality by persons with cure  
 of souls, but also for healing purposes by bishops. When it is not  
 75 disregarded, it has healing qualities; it is not destructive, but a health-  
 giving discipline. Therefore it should not be disregarded, because it is  
 not man that binds, but Christ [who has ordained it to be thundered  
 against those who hold him in contempt.]

Vincent [writes in his *Speculum*]:

80 A certain English earl married a blood-relative. When reproached by  
 Dunstan, he did not give her up, and was excommunicated. The king  
 ordered the bishop to absolve the earl; but he refused, and excommuni-  
 cated him in a fuller manner. They sent to Rome with many gifts. The  
 pope ordered Dunstan to absolve the earl. Dunstan wrote back to him  
 85 that the earl would not end his incestuous marriage. 'Let me not, Holy  
 Father', he said, 'for the sake of a mortal man disregard the law of my  
 God.' Seeing this, the earl repented and repudiated his wife. Barefoot,  
 dressed in a woollen garment, carrying rods in his hand, he fell at  
 Dunstan's feet while he was conducting a general council, and was then  
 90 for the first time absolved.

## 5

*De periculo excommunicationis*

Certe quia dies mali sunt in quibus, ut ait apostolus, 'existunt homines seipsos amantes', qui auditum a veritate avertentes sanam doctrinam non recipiunt. Inde est quod pondus divine auctoritatis parvipendunt, et non solum Dei ministros sed ipsum etiam per ipsos ammonentem more Cain spernunt. Quia vero de uno rege sive imperatore, qui mira humilitate excommunicationem licet ineptam observavit, audivimus, nunc de alio quod contigerit<sup>a</sup> audiamus.<sup>b</sup> Legitur in Historia Gentis Anglorum quod quidam episcopus duos fratres, palatinos viros, pro repudio uxorum excommunicaverit. Contigit autem ut<sup>c</sup> rex ipsius gentis juxta domum ipsorum transitum haberet; qui multis delinitis blandimentis ut apud eos ad prandendum diverteret, tandem consensit. Expleto autem convivio, cum viam rediret, obvium<sup>d</sup> habuit episcopum qui fratres illos excommunicaverat. Quem cum vidisset, intremuit, et exiliens de equo in media<sup>e</sup> ut erat via, prostravit se coram episcopo. At ille, appropians ad eum, ferula quam manu tenebat tetigit eum, dicens: 'O rex, non est meum ignoscere tibi, quia contra Deum fecisti quando te excommunicatis scienter sociasti. Idcirco ista sententia est de te: Hoc anno mori habes in ipsa domo in qua excommunicationem contempsisti.' Quod et factum est sicut ibi legitur. Ecce rex non potuit habere reatum nisi moriendo expiare. Sed ecce nec episcopus prostrato regi in pulvere potuit ignoscere. Ex hiis igitur colligendum est, quia<sup>f</sup> nec ipse episcopus cuius<sup>g</sup> excommunicatio contempnitur, sine gravissime penitencia huiusmodi facinus ignoscere potest. Cum igitur juxta Innocencium quartum excommunicatio, si non contempnitur, medicinalis sit, restat quod contempta efficitur mortalis, ideo quia contempta. Lucas medicus eidem <regi<sup>h</sup> David> contrariatur, cum siquidem ipsum bellum in die Sancti Luce commissum sit.<sup>i</sup> Unde ante hoc per magna tempora prophetatum fuit:

Nitens per guerras Anglorum perdere terras,  
testis erit culter, David capietur adulter.

a CA; contingerit C; corrected from  
contingerit D  
b + Vincencius ... ille from above c.4 (text  
ll. 64-74) CA  
c quod CA  
d D; obviam C  
e medio D, CA  
f quod CA

g + co del. C  
h D; rego C  
i Ad propositum ediamus. Rex noster  
David sive excommunicatus sive alias  
devincitur et in die Sancti Luce  
committitur bellum qui sibi ut apparuit  
contrariatur for ideo ... sit CA  
j + ve del. C

## 5

*The danger of excommunication*

Certainly it is an evil time when, as the apostle says, 'men are lovers of themselves', who stop their ears to the truth and do not receive sound doctrine. From this it follows that they attach little importance to divine authority, and they like Cain disdain not only the ministers of God but also Himself as He issues rebukes through them. Because we have heard of one king or emperor who accepted excommunication (however foolish) with admirable humility, let us now hear what happened in another case. We read in the *History of the English People* that a certain bishop excommunicated two brothers, both courtiers, for repudiating their wives. But it happened that the king of that people was travelling near their house; and after being cajoled by many blandishments to turn aside and have a meal with them, in the end he agreed. But when the entertainment was over, and he resumed his journey, he met the bishop who had excommunicated these brothers. When he saw the bishop, he trembled, and springing from his horse in the middle of the road, he prostrated himself before the bishop. But he approached the king and touched him with the staff which he was holding in his hand, saying: 'Your majesty, I cannot forgive you, for you have flouted God when you knowingly associated with excommunicates. Therefore this is the sentence which has been passed on you: This year you must die in the house where you have disregarded excommunication.' And this is what happened, as you can read there. See how the king did not have the chance to expiate his sin except by his death; neither could the bishop forgive the king prostrate in the dust. From this story we must infer that where a bishop's excommunication is disregarded, it is not open to him to forgive an action of this kind without a very severe penance.

Since therefore according to Innocent IV excommunication has healing qualities when it is not disregarded, it remains that a disregarded excommunication becomes a mortal sin just because it is disregarded. Luke the doctor opposed the same King David since that battle was fought on St Luke's day. Hence it was prophesied a long time before this:

While striving to destroy the lands of the English through wars,  
a knife will be a witness, David the adulterer will be captured.  
Zouche and the clergy, Percy true to his name,  
will penetrate the bowels of the warlike Scots.



Suspicans et clerus, penetrans cognomine verus,  
viscera Scotorum penetrabunt belligerorum.  
Angusti spata ferientur vulnera lata.  
Sed Lucas medicus Scotis non fiet amicus,  
Davide namque duce<sup>k</sup> vincentur vespere<sup>k</sup> Luce,  
teste nova cruce ville, latitant sine luce.  
Cum pauca gente, Christo vexilla ferente,  
| mundata mente, non fit victoria lente.  
Sacri cornuti, divino dogmate muti  
sub signo scuti, fient hoc tempore tuti.  
Non erit et mutum Scotis solvisse tributum.

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Vetent ergo Scoti<sup>i</sup> offensam Sancto Cuthberto irrogare, quia cum ipse  
in Hibernia natus, in Scocia educatus, et [in Ma-]lros<sup>m</sup> monachus  
fuerat, regem Edgarum filium Sancte Margarite<sup>n</sup> invasorem regni  
evincere | instituit,<sup>o</sup> et multa bona alias Scotis<sup>p</sup> exhibuit. Unde ingrati  
sibi nequaquam existere debuerunt, quia cum gratis sit ipse gratus,  
ingratis reperitur interdum et iratus. Ideo subscriptos versiculos  
commendet memorie quilibet Scotus memor sui:<sup>q</sup>

fo.295v

Terras Cuthberti qui non spoliare verentur,  
esse queunt certi quod morte<sup>r</sup> mala morientur.<sup>s</sup>

In continente post bellum reddita sunt Anglis<sup>t</sup> castra; domino  
namque de Perci redditum est castrum de<sup>u</sup> Roxburgh per Tassi Loran  
Scotum eiusdem tunc custodem. Ad cuius exemplum redditum est  
eisdem castrum de Hermitag<sup>v</sup>; et, ut breviter dicam, ad dedicionem<sup>w</sup>  
eorum devenerunt Mercia, videlicet Tuedalia, Tevidalia, Foresta,  
Vallis Anandie et Galweia. In tantum fines suos dilataverunt ut infra  
breve Marchias ad Colbrandspeth et Soltre ponerent, deinde usur-  
pando ad Karlynlippis et Corssecryne. Sed eorum violencie viriliter  
restitit Johannes Kenedi<sup>w</sup> cum Alano Stewart, qui Galwidienses in  
tantum constrinxerunt ut in modico Scotis obfuerunt.

<sup>k</sup> tempore CA  
<sup>l</sup> + terram ecclesiasticam invadere et  
maxime CA  
<sup>m</sup> D; lac.C  
<sup>n</sup> + Donaldum Ban CA  
<sup>o</sup> edocuit CA  
<sup>p</sup> + sepe CA

<sup>q</sup> Angliam invasurus for memor sui CA  
<sup>r</sup> peste CA  
<sup>s</sup> ferientur CA  
<sup>t</sup> + ob metu ipsorum diversa sibi CA  
<sup>u</sup> + per del.C  
<sup>v</sup> de- interlin.C  
<sup>w</sup> + ex adverso CA

35

40

50

55

60

Broad wounds will be inflicted by a narrow blade.  
40 But Luke the doctor will not be a friend to the Scots,  
for with David as leader, they will be defeated on the eve of  
Luke;  
as the new cross of the town bears witness, they are concealed  
without light.  
45 When the people are few but Christ bears the banner,  
victory comes quickly if consciences are clear.  
The holy mitred bishops, silent by divine order,  
will be safe at this time under the sign of their shields.  
And to have paid tribute to the Scots will not go without  
50 comment.

Therefore let the Scots forbid the inflicting of injury on St Cuthbert,  
because although he had been born in Ireland, he had been brought  
up in Scotland, and had been admitted as a monk at Melrose; he  
brought about the defeat by King Edgar son of St Margaret of an  
55 invader of the kingdom [Donald *Ban*], and had at other times done the  
Scots much good. Hence people should have in no way been  
ungrateful to him, for whereas he is himself grateful to those who are  
grateful, he is found at times to be angry also with those who displease  
him. Therefore any Scot who is mindful of him should commit the  
60 following little lines to memory:

Those who are not afraid to despoil the lands of Cuthbert  
can be certain that they will die a nasty death.

Immediately after the battle [various] castles were handed over to the  
English, for Roxburgh castle was handed over to the lord of Percy by  
65 Eustace Lorane, the Scot who was its keeper. Following this example  
Hermitage castle was handed over to the same English; and, to be  
brief, along with their surrender came the Borders, that is Tweeddale,  
Teviotdale, the Forest, Annandale and Galloway. They extended  
their boundaries to such an extent that within a short time they  
70 defined the Borders at Cockburnspath and Soutra, then illegally at  
Carlops and Crosscryne. John Kennedy resisted their violence in  
manly fashion along with Alan Stewart; the two of them hemmed the  
Galwegians in so effectively that they were a nuisance to the Scots  
[only] in a small way.

## 6

*De iniciis domini Willelmi de Douglas comitis eiusdem*

Eo in tempore Eadwardus de Balliolo moram traxit in Galweia apud Brintile. Qui adunatis sibi Galwallensibus cum domino de Percy hostiliter Laudoniam invasit ipsam igne et ferro<sup>a</sup> devastans; et a Faw Kirk ad Glasgw pertransiens, simili furia invecus per Conyng-  
ham et Nyddisdal, in propria est reversus. Propter huiusmodi  
direpciones et hostiles invasiones reelectus est Senescallus Scocie in  
custodem. Qui propterea de novo vicecomites ballivos et officarios  
instituit, et custodiam Castri Puellarum domino David de Lyndesey  
commisit.<sup>b</sup> Ea tempestate Willelmus de Douglas filius Archibaldi  
Tyneman,<sup>c</sup> fratris herois Jacobi<sup>d</sup> qui a paganis occisus est, reversus est  
a Galliis<sup>e</sup> (hic etiam fuit primus comes de Douglas), venit ad  
Douglasdal terram suam nativam tunc recenter Anglicatam, et  
confestim sue opinioni eos reflexit et postea<sup>f</sup> Forestam de Ethrik sibi<sup>g</sup>  
attraxit. Cuius felicibus auspiciis invidens Johannes de Cowppeland  
tunc de Roxburgh capitaneus congregata | armatorum multitudine  
ad Thevidaliam se transtulit, sperans perinde Thevidalenses ad fidem  
Anglorum confirmatos exhibere. Sed mentita est iniquitas sibi. Nam  
contra eum Thevidalenses unanimes cum Douglas assurgentes, ad  
fugam Cowpland cum suis pepulerunt; et ad persuasionem Douglas  
fidem regi David firmaverunt. Iste Willelmus fuit valde bellicosus; et  
quando maxime desiderabat pacem et marchias suas servari in  
libertate, movebat acriter guerram. In hoc<sup>h</sup> secutus est doctrinam  
Augustini ad Bonifacium dicentis: 'Non queritur pax ut bellum  
exerceatur, sed bellum geritur ut pax acquiratur. Esto ergo bellando  
pacificus ut eos quos expugnas ad pacis utilitatem vincendo perdu-  
cas.'<sup>i</sup>

G ii,347

<sup>a</sup> + crudeliter CA<sup>b</sup> + non segniter egit, sed pro tutela regni  
multum laboriosum se reddidit CA<sup>c</sup> + vulgariter nuncupati CA<sup>d</sup> + de Douglas bellatoris victoriosissimi  
CA<sup>e</sup> + post infelix bellum de Poyteris CA<sup>f</sup> + totam CA<sup>g</sup> + partim potencialiter partimque affective  
CA<sup>h</sup> + ut perpendo CA<sup>i</sup> + In hoc iste Douglas assecutus est illud  
proverbii: 'Si vis pacem, prepara bellum.'

CA

## 6

*The early career of Sir William de Douglas earl of the same*

At that time Edward de Balliol made a protracted stay in Galloway on  
'Brintile' [Hestan Isle]. With Galwegians at his side he invaded [1347:  
Lothian in a hostile manner along with the lord of Percy, devastating 13 May]  
it with fire and sword; and passing through from Falkirk to Glasgow,  
5 he rode through Cunninghame and Nithsdale with similar raging,  
and returned to his base. Because of this plundering and these hostile  
attacks the Steward of Scotland was re-elected guardian. On the  
strength of this he appointed the sheriffs, bailies and officials anew,  
and entrusted the keepership of Edinburgh castle to Sir David de  
10 Lindsay; [he did not act half-heartedly, but gave himself over to very  
energetic protection of the kingdom.] At that time William de [1348?]  
Douglas son of Archibald the Tyneman (the brother of the heroic  
James who was killed by pagans) returned from France [after the  
unhappy battle of Poitiers] (he was also the first earl of Douglas). He  
15 came to Douglasdale, his native soil, which had recently been taken  
over by the English, and speedily won his men back to his way of  
thinking; afterwards he won over the Forest of Ettrick to his side  
[partly by force, partly by persuasion.] Jealous of Douglas's success,  
John de Coupland who was then captain of Roxburgh, collected a  
20 very large band of armed men, and moved into Teviotdale, with  
similar hopes of demonstrating that the men of Teviotdale were  
firmly loyal to the English. But his iniquity led him stray. For the men  
of Teviotdale unanimously rose with Douglas against him, and drove  
Coupland and his men to flight; they were then persuaded by Douglas  
25 to confirm their allegiance to King David. This William was  
extremely fond of war; and when he particularly wanted peace and to  
preserve his boundaries from interference, he forcefully provoked a  
fight. In this he was following the teaching of Augustine when he said  
to Boniface: 'Peace is not needed for waging war, but war is fought so  
30 that peace may be acquired. Be therefore peaceable in your fighting,  
so that by defeating those whom you are fighting you may bring them  
to the advantages of peace.' [In this Douglas followed that proverb:  
'If you want peace, prepare for war.']

## 7

*De prima mortalitate et interfeccione domini David de Berkley*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xlix tanta pestilencia et mortalitas hominum in regno Scocie erat, et eciam annis pluribus precedentibus atque subsequentibus generaliter in toto orbe prevaluerat, quanta a mundi primordio hucusque nusquam audiebatur aut in codicibus ad futurorum noticiam est comperta. In tantum enim pestis illa maliciam exercuit ut fere tertia pars generis humani debitum nature solvere compelleretur. Mirum eciam in modum ac insolitum nutu divino moriendi hoc accidit detrimentum, ut vix biduo ex quadam carnis inflacione turgida egrotantes cursum vite presentis elongarent. Sed hoc in mediocribus precipue ac popularibus, et raro in magnatibus, ubique locorum contingebat. Agitabantur denique universi quasi tanto pavore ut filii parentes in extremis laborantes, et e contrario<sup>a</sup> metu quodam contagionis veluti a facie colubri fugientes, non audebant visitare. Quo in anno sicut Domino placuit de erumpnis vite presentis, secundum generalem condicionem carnis, xxiiii<sup>or</sup> canonici professi claustrum canonicorum Sancti Andr' sunt educti, qui sacerdotio fungebantur singuli preter tres. Fuerunt quasi omnes viri sufficienter literati, in spiritualibus et temporalibus circumspecti, et morum conspicui honestate. [Huiusmodi]<sup>b</sup> pestilencie interdum proveniunt propter peccata hominum; unde quidam:

Propter peccata venient discrimina lata.

Heu, quod peccatum tantum mundo fit amatum!

Mors pro peccato ruet in terram veterato.

Me fere de-[lirum]<sup>b</sup> credas, si dixero mirum:

mors faciet girum per terras undique dirum.

fo.296

Sicut olim accidisse [Rome legimus,]<sup>b</sup> | tempore quo Sanctus Chilianus Scotus Winzibrogensis episcopus claruit, hec quoque pestilencia Ticinum adeo depopulata est ut, civibus per juga moncium fugientibus, intra prefatam urbem herbe nascerentur atque fructecta. Tunc eciam visibiliter multis duo apparuerunt angeli bonus et malignus pergentes per civitatem, quorum malignus angelus venabulum magnum ferebat; qui | quociens de venabulo illo ostium cuiusque domus boni angeli iussu percussisset, tot de eadem domo sequenti die hominum cadavera trahebantur. Sed quibusdam viris in eadem urbe

G ii,348

a converso S

b D; lac.C

## 7

*The first mortality, and the murder of Sir David de Barclay*

In 1349 there was a great pestilence and mortality among men in the kingdom of Scotland, and it also ranged over a wide area during many earlier and later years throughout the whole world, such as had nowhere been heard of or written down in history books for the information of future generations from the beginning of the world until now. Such was the severity of that plague that nearly one-third of the whole human race was obliged to pay the debt of nature. The way in which this painful death happened by the divine will was strange and unusual; once the swollen inflammation of the flesh had taken hold, life in this world hardly lasted for a further two days. Wherever it happened, it affected for the most part the middling and lesser folk, and seldom the magnates. Everyone trembled at it with such fearful dread that children would not dare to visit their parents suffering in the last extremity; instead they fearfully shunned the contagion as they would flee from before a serpent. In this year it so pleased the Lord that twenty-four professed canons of the house of canons at St Andrews were called from the troubles of this present life, as is the way of all flesh, of whom all except three were priests. They were all men of ample education, circumspect in spiritual and in temporal matters, and upright and honourable in their way of life. These plagues occur from time to time because of the sins of mankind; someone has written about this:

On account of sin disaster comes in.

Alas, that sin should be so much beloved in the world!

Death will run rampant throughout the world for ancient sins.

Almost mad would you think me if I said it is a wonder: Death makes his terrible progress everywhere through the lands.

We read that it formerly happened in Rome, at the time when the Scot St Kilian was bishop of Würzburg, that this pestilence so reduced the population of Pavia that grass and bushes grew up within the city while the citizens fled to the mountain-tops. At that time there appeared visible to many people two angels, one good and one evil, going about the city, the evil one of whom was carrying a great spear; as often as he struck the door of a house with his spear at the

per revelacionem dictum est quod non prius pestis illa quiesceret 35  
quam in basilica beati Petri apostoli que ad Vincula dicitur Sancti  
Sebastiani martyris altare construeretur. Factumque est ita; nam  
delatis ab urbe Romana beati Sebastiani martyris reliquiis, mox ut in  
iam dicta basilica constitutum est ipsius altare, pestis illa quieuit.  
Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> l occisus est nobilis vir et potens dominus David 40  
de Berckley miles, inhumanitus<sup>c</sup> et prodiciose apud Aberden nocte  
Carnisprivii, per Johanne de Sancto Michael et complices suos ex  
procuracione, ut fertur, domini Willelmi de Douglas tunc in Anglia  
captivi existentis, in ulcionem videlicet Johannis de Douglas fratris  
sui et patris domini Jacobi de Douglas senioris de Dalketh, quem 45  
Johannem idem David fecit interfici apud <Forgiwod>. Porro  
predictus Johannes de Sancto Michael ac omnes alii fautores sui qui  
eiusdem intererant occisioni non post multum temporis intervallum  
gladio vindice unus post alium consumpti sunt, nec unus quidem  
illorum huiusmodi mortem evasit. 50

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> liii obiit Matildis de Brois soror regis David,  
apud Abirden<sup>e</sup> in festo beato Margarete virginis, et sepulta est in  
Dunf<sup>e</sup> cum parentibus suis; que nupsit cuidam armigero nomine  
Thome Isaac, qui genuit ex ea duas filias, quarum major nomine  
Johanna nupsit nobili ac potenti viro Johanni de Lorne<sup>d</sup> domino 55  
eiusdem, qui procreavit ex ea filios et filias. Minor filia ipsius Matildis  
nomine Katerina apud Strivelyne rebus exempta est ab humanis.<sup>e</sup>

c C,S; inhumaniter D  
d + no del.C

e space for about four lines left blank before  
next chapter C

## 8

*De occisione nobilis Willelmi de Douglas  
et de abbate de Dunf<sup>e</sup>*

Mense augusti eiusdem anni occisus est nobilis Willelmus Douglas de  
Lidalsdal, vir strenuus in armis, qui multa passus fuit pro libertate  
regni, gnarus in guerris et fidus in promissis, flagellum Anglorum et  
Scotorum murus. Occisus est autem in Foresta de Etrike <apud  
Galurod> cum venatum transiret, non minus crudeliter quam 5  
infeliciter, per consanguineum suum et filium spiritualem<sup>a</sup> Willelmum  
de Douglas, dominum et postea comitem eiusdem, quem de sacro  
fonte levavit. <Idem Douglas de Lidaldale>,<sup>b</sup> in vindictam, ut dicitur,  
mortis nobilis Alexandri de Ramsey et domini David de Berkley, sive

a et filium spirituales om.CA

b C,R; om.D

command of the good angel, the next day human corpses would be  
dragged forth from that same house. But it was revealed to certain  
men of that city that the plague would not abate until an altar had  
40 been built to St Sebastian the martyr in the basilica of St Peter which is  
called '*ad Vincula*'. It was done accordingly; for the relics of St  
Sebastian the martyr were brought from the city of Rome, and as  
soon as an altar was built for him in that basilica, the plague abated.

In 1350 a noble and powerful man, the knight Sir David de Barclay, 1351:  
45 was barbarously and treacherously killed at Aberdeen on the eve of Mar.?  
Ash Wednesday by John de St Michael and his accomplices, it was  
believed at the instigation of Sir William de Douglas who was then a  
prisoner in England, in revenge for his brother John de Douglas and  
his father Sir James de Douglas senior of Dalkeith; this David had  
50 caused John to be killed at Forgewood. But the same John de St  
Michael and all the conspirators who had been present at the murder  
with him perished by the sword of vengeance one after another not  
long afterwards, and not one of them escaped this form of death.

In 1353 Matilda de Bruce, sister of King David, died at Aberdeen 1353:  
55 on the feast of St Margaret the Virgin, and was buried in Dunfermline 20 July  
alongside her parents. She married a certain man-at-arms called  
Thomas Isaac, who fathered two daughters by her. The elder, called  
Joanna, married a noble and powerful man, John of Lorn lord of that  
Ilk, who fathered sons and daughters by her. Matilda's younger  
60 daughter, called Katherine, passed away from this mortal life at  
Stirling.

## 8

*The killing of the noble William de Douglas,  
and the abbot of Dunfermline*

In the month of August in the same year the noble William Douglas of 1353: Aug.  
Liddesdale was killed, an energetic fighting man who endured much  
for the freedom of the kingdom; he was expert in warfare and faithful  
to his promises, a scourge of the English and a wall for the Scots. He  
5 was killed in Ettrick Forest at 'Galurod', while engaged in hunting, by  
his relative and godson William de Douglas, lord and later earl of the  
same, whom he had raised from the sacred font [of baptism]. It was a  
cruel misfortune. The same Douglas of Liddesdale was slain, it is said,  
in revenge for the deaths of the noble Alexander de Ramsay and Sir  
10 David de Barclay, or for other hostilities which rivalry in winning  
power had aroused between them.

How inhuman and against human nature it is for a man to kill

propter alias inimicicias quas inter illos ambicio dominandi peperit, 10  
 extinctus est. O quam inhumanum est et humane nature contrarium  
 ut homo sibi similem extinguat! Nam cetera animancia, que in suo  
 genere prope degunt, congregari videmus et stare contra dissimilia.  
 Leonum feritas inter se non dimicat; serpentum morsus non petit  
 serpentes; nec maris quidem belue et pisces nisi in adversa genera 15  
 seviunt. Sed homo cum in honore esset, non intellexit, comparatus est  
 utinam jumentis insipientibus. Sed, si auderem dicere, homicida  
 dissimilior<sup>c</sup> factus est illis. Hoc enim videtur ab homine degenerare et  
 in bestiam transire qui sanguinem humanum sitit. Unde Seneca:  
 'Ferina rabies est iste sanguine et vulnere letari; hoc est abjecto 20  
 homine in silvestre animal transire.' | Eodem anno obiit Alexander  
 Ber abbas de Dunf. Qui ob causam generalis indulgentie optinende  
 visitavit personaliter limina beati Petri. Qui redeundo ab urbe  
 Romana mortuus est apud villam Sancti Stephani in parva Lumbardia, 25  
 cum quodam monacho socio suo ac universa familia ad ipsum  
 pertinentibus pariter cum eo in Domino dormientibus. Qui stetit in  
 officio suo per xxii annos se ac suos utiliter regens. Quo audito,  
 conventus monasterii predicti, prout eis incumbit de jure et consuetu-  
 dine, per licenciam patroni domini regis et consilio diocesani  
 elegerunt sibi in abbatem dominum Johannem Blaik | [terr-Jarium<sup>d</sup> 30  
 eiusdem. Qui confirmatus et ad propria reversus pro tempore quo  
 stetit domum sibi creditam graciosè gubernabat. Eodem tempore  
 monachus quidam eiusdem monasterii nomine Johannes de Stramig-  
 law, studens Parisius timensque dispendium imminere monasterio  
 suo, propter reservacionem generalem factam per summum pontificem 35  
 omnimodis dignitatibus eorum qui decesserunt<sup>e</sup> in huiusmodi  
 peregrinatione, ne ista dignitas divolveretur in manus cuiuscunque  
 extranei, curiam Avinionensem adiit, et impetravit abbaciam de  
 Dunfermeline per bullas apostolicas. Hiis vero auditis, dictus  
 dominus Johannes Blaik, consultus per seculares et dominos tempora- 40  
 les ne cederet dignitati sue abbaciali aut ipsi apostolico quoquo-  
 modo, dissimulavit; sed cognitis reservacione apostolica et collacione  
 facta per bullas sibi papales, dum ipse apostolicus cimiterium  
 monasterii cum paucis intravit, abbas premissus (de consilio fratrum  
 suorum pro conservacione indempnitatis monasterii) ecclesiasticis 45  
 ornatus indumentis et mitratus procedens ei obviam conventu  
 processionaliter subsequente, ipsam mitram capiti apostolici et  
 baculum pastorem manu<sup>f</sup> eius imposuit, cum 'Te Deum laudamus'  
 canora voce ad chorum et altare perduxit, et facta oracione eum  
 installari non minus humiliter quam hilariter effecit, obedienciam sibi 50  
 manualement flexis genibus prius prestitit, aliis consimiliter subsecutis.

G ii,349

fo.296v

<sup>c</sup> et non similis sed dissimilior for Sed ...  
 dissimilior CA  
<sup>d</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>e</sup> corrected from decesserunt C  
<sup>f</sup> D,CA; manui C

another like himself! For we see that other animals which live together  
 with their own kind come and stay together despite their differences.  
 15 Lions with their fierceness do not fight amongst themselves; serpents  
 with their bite do not seek out other serpents; neither do the monsters  
 and fishes of the sea behave savagely, except against hostile kinds of  
 creatures. But man, although he was held in esteem, did not have  
 understanding – if only he was matched with the foolish beasts! But, if  
 20 I may dare to say it, a murderer has become very different from them;  
 for someone who thirsts for human blood seems in this way to be  
 falling away from being a man and changing into a beast. Thus  
 Seneca writes: 'It is bestial raving to take delight in blood and  
 wounding; in this way man is debased and changes into a wild  
 25 animal.'

In the same year Alexander Ber abbot of Dunfermline died when he [1350-1]  
 was visiting the tomb of the blessed Peter in person to obtain the  
 general indulgence. While he was returning from Rome, he died at the  
 town of San Stefano in Lesser Lombardy, with the monk who was his  
 30 companion and all the servants he had with him going like him to  
 sleep in the Lord. He held his office for twenty-two years, ruling  
 himself and his [monks] profitably. When they heard this, the convent  
 of the said monastery elected as their abbot sir John Black, the terror  
 of the convent, as they were allowed to do by law and custom, by leave  
 35 of their patron the lord king and with the advice of their diocesan  
 bishop. When he had been confirmed and had returned home, he  
 graciously ruled the house entrusted to him for as long as he held  
 office.

But at the same time a certain monk of the same monastery called  
 40 John de Stramiglaw, a student at Paris (fearing an impending loss to  
 his monastery because of the general reservation which the supreme  
 pontiff had made [of all presentations] to all the kinds of dignities held  
 by those who died on a pilgrimage of this kind), lest that dignity  
 should fall into the hands of a foreigner, went to the curia at Avignon  
 45 and petitioned for appointment to the abbacy of Dunfermline by  
 papal bulls. When the said sir John Black heard this, though advised  
 by the clerical and lay lords not to resign his abbatial dignity nor defer  
 in any way to this papal [appointee], he concealed his intentions; but  
 after studying the papal reservation and collation made in papal bulls  
 50 addressed to himself, when the papal [appointee] entered the cemetery  
 of the monastery with a few companions, the said abbot (on the  
 advice of his brothers with a view to preserving the monastery's  
 immunity) went to meet him dressed in his ecclesiastical vestments  
 and mitre, with the convent following in procession, and placed that  
 55 mitre on the papal [appointee's] head and the pastoral staff in his  
 hand. Then along with the resonant singing of the 'Te Deum  
 laudamus' he led him to the choir and altar, and after prayer humbly  
 and cheerfully caused him to be installed, and was the first to offer

[1351:  
 22 June]



Cui vice versa dictus apostolicus se gratum exhibebat, sibi de honesta pensione providendo. Qui postea in priorem de Wrchard est electus. Qui quidem dominus Johannes de Stramyglow pro taxacione sui monasterii facta in curia solvit camere apostolice quinquaginta marcas sterlingorum. Et notandum est quod dignitatem illam ex liberalitate sedis apostolice ita recepit, ut in posterum sicut prius ab inicio jus eleccionis monasterio remaneret, et domino episcopo jus confirmacionis ita clarum sanum et integrum, secundum quod ab antiquo et prima domus fundacione, absque diminucione juris prejudicio vel exaccione quacumque.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>g</sup> quibuscumque CA

## 9

*De nunciis regis Francie missis Scocie*

G ii,350

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc lv<sup>to</sup> post festum Pasche venit quidam miles nobilis et expertus armis, nomine Eugenius de Garencensis, cum quibusdam militibus preelectis et valentibus armigeris numero lx<sup>a</sup>, missus a rege et | consilio Francie ad custodem et nobiles Scocie, non tamen manu vacua, sed auri pondo ingenti copia (videlicet xl milia mutonum auri) eidem custodi ac regni proceribus ex parte domini sui regis liberaliter conferenda, ita tamen quod gens Scotorum pacem cum Anglicis non componerent, vel aliquo modo pro tempore cum eisdem concordarent. Quod utique ad placitum eorum erat expeditum per diversos tractatus et consilia in diversis regni locis celebrata, antequam aurum predictum in Flandrea dimissum in partes Scocie ad manus cuiuscumque deveniret. Ac Scoti, qui crebro per denarium amittunt solidum, auri cupiditate illecti, Angliam debellare promiserunt; sed postea in effectu modicum quid dignum memoria profecerunt.<sup>a</sup> Acceptum igitur a Gallicis illud aurum majores regni inter se ex condicto diviserunt, et alios mediocres dimiserunt inanes. Pro qua quidem sponsione et aviditate auri, non secundum exigenciam personarum partiti, destruccio quasi tocius Laudonie per regem Anglie paulo post secuta est. Eodem anno mense augusti dominus Patricius comes Marchie et Willelmus de Douglas dominus eiusdem, predacionem terrarum dicti comitis nuper per Anglicos perpetrata graviter ferentes, miserunt quendam strenuum armis probatum Willelmum Ramsey de Dalwolsi militem cum pluribus ad predandum villam de No-[ram]<sup>b</sup> totamque terram circumjacentem et inhabitantes

<sup>a</sup> effecerunt CA

<sup>b</sup> D; lac.C

- manual obedience on bended knees, followed likewise by the rest. The said papal [appointee] in turn showed his gratitude to him by providing him with an honourable pension; and later he was elected prior of Urquhart. This sir John de Stramiglaw paid the papal chamber fifty marks sterling for the assessment made on his monastery in the papal court.
- 65 And it is to be noted that he received that dignity in this way by grace of the apostolic see, so that the right of election remained with the monastery in future as previously from the beginning, and the right of confirmation thus remained with the lord bishop, clear, unimpaired and entire, as it had from ancient times and the first foundation of the house, without diminution of its rights or any prejudice or exaction whatsoever.

## 9

*The messengers of the king of France sent to Scotland*

- In 1355 after Easter a certain noble knight skilled in bearing arms called Eugene de Garencières came with some picked knights and sturdy men-at-arms, sixty in number, sent by the king and council of France to the guardian and nobles of Scotland. He did not, however, come empty-handed, but with a vast weight of gold (namely 40,000 gold moutons) to be liberally bestowed on the same guardian and magnates of the kingdom on behalf of his lord king [of France], with the proviso that the Scottish people should not make peace with the English nor reach an agreement with them in any way for the time being. This was expressly settled in accordance with their wishes at several meetings and councils held in different parts of the kingdom before the said gold, which had been left behind in Flanders, reached anybody's hands in Scotland. And the Scots, who will often forego a shilling for the sake of a penny, ensnared by greed for gold, promised to make war against England; but in the outcome afterwards they did little that is worth remembering. The magnates of the kingdom therefore accepted this gold from the French, and agreed on how to divide it among themselves, and they sent other lesser people away with nothing. As a consequence of this undertaking and greed for gold (which had not been shared out in accordance with people's needs), the destruction of almost the whole of Lothian by the king of England followed soon after.

- The same year in the month of August Sir Patrick earl of March and William de Douglas lord of that Ilk, exasperated by recent plundering of the said earl's lands perpetrated by the English, sent a certain knight who was a vigorous and proven fighting man, namely

fo.297

G ii,351

eam. Quod et factum est. Cumque didicisset adversarios post eum in 25  
 proximo adventuros, cum suis paululum subsistebat, et subito hostes  
 eum acriter insequentes, quasi fugam similando, usque ad locum  
 quendam qui dicitur Nesbit in [Mercia,]<sup>b</sup> | ubi dominum de Douglas  
 supradictum cum Scotis et Gallicis bene noverat latitantem et rei  
 exitum prestolantem ex industria protrahebat. Qui eciam Willelmus 30  
 Ramsey in quodam montis latere hostes declinans, ad Scotos usque  
 pervenit, bonum portans nuncium de adventu Anglicorum. Ac Scoti  
 de sedibus suis illico procedentes, obviam Anglis alacriter properar-  
 unt. De quorum inopinata visione Angli stupefacti, signa vexillaria  
 dicti<sup>c</sup> Douglas peroptime cognoscentes, et iam fugere cum honore 35  
 non valentes, animas suas in propriis manibus committebant, Scotis  
 viriliter resistentes. Et quoniam necesse est ut fortes a forcioribus  
 superentur, ac par infirmior supplantetur, Scoti (Deo gracias)  
 adversus eos ipso die prevalebant, subactis omnibus ac prostratis,  
 paucis quidem interfectis, excepto quod quidam miles Gallicus 40  
 Anglos a Scotis captos soluto auri precio nonnullos emebat, et ipsos  
 trans montem deductos decapitavit in vindictam patris sui paulo ante  
 per Anglos in Francia interfecti. Reliqui sani, preter paucos qui  
 fugerunt, ducti sunt captivi, et per diversa loca arceius custoditi  
 postmodum multo precio sunt redempti. Quo die cecidit ex parte 45  
 Scotorum vir fortissimus et bellicosus Johannes de Haliburton  
 Anglicis semper infestus, <necnon valens armiger Jacobus Turn-  
 bule.> Capti sunt autem ex parte altera | Thomas Gray miles nobilis  
 cum Thoma filio suo et herede, et unus armiger fortis et famosus  
 nomine Jacobus Darres, cum aliis pluribus valentibus armigeris c'. 50

<sup>c</sup> domini de for dicti CA

## 10

*De capcione ville Berwici per Thomam comitem Angusie*

Eodem anno circa festum Omnium Sanctorum Thomas Senescallus  
 comes Angusie, diutina imaginacione<sup>a</sup> preconcepta, ac per diversos  
 portus Scocie navium conducta multitudo, brachio potenti ac  
 robustorum vallatus caterva navali vehiculo secum subvecta, sub  
 quodam noctis silencio prout inter ipsum et comitem Marchie erat 5

<sup>a</sup> machinacione CA

William de Ramsay of Dalhousie, with many others to plunder the  
 town of Norham and all the land round about it and its inhabitants;  
 which was done. When he learned that his opponents were going to  
 30 come up close behind him, he waited for a little with his men, and  
 suddenly, pretending to flee, he deliberately drew on the enemies who  
 were following him closely as far as a certain place called Nisbet in the  
 Merse, where he well knew that the said lord of Douglas was hiding  
 with Scottish and French troops and waiting for the outcome of the  
 35 affair. In addition, William Ramsay deflected the enemy on to the side  
 of a certain hill, and came to the Scots, carrying the good news of the  
 arrival of the English. And the Scots immediately came out of their  
 positions, and quickly hurried to meet the English. The English were  
 astonished at the unexpected sight of them, and had an excellent view  
 40 of the lord of Douglas's banners with his badge; since they could not  
 now flee with honour, they took their lives in their hands and  
 manfully resisted the Scots. But because needs must that the strong be  
 defeated by the stronger, and the weaker side be overcome, the Scots  
 that day (thanks be to God!) prevailed against them, once they had all  
 45 been subdued and laid low. Only a few were killed, however, except  
 that a certain French knight bought some English captives from the  
 Scots, paying the price in gold, led them over a hill, and beheaded  
 them in revenge for his father who had been killed by the English in  
 France shortly before. The rest were led away safely into captivity,  
 50 except for a few who fled; they were very closely guarded in various  
 places, and afterwards ransomed for a big price.

On that day on the Scottish side John de Haliburton fell, a very  
 brave and warlike man, always a danger to the English, and also a  
 worthy man-at-arms, James Turnbull. On the other side, however,  
 55 the noble knight Thomas Gray with Thomas his son and heir were  
 captured, and a brave and famous man-at-arms called James Darres,  
 along with many other worthy men-at-arms, etc.

## 10

*The capture of Berwick by Thomas earl of Angus*

In the same year about All Saints' Day Thomas Stewart earl of 1355:  
 Angus, following a plan long conceived in his mind, gathered together 1 Nov.  
 a multitude of ships from various Scottish ports; and with a strong  
 force and surrounded by a band of resolute men conveyed by sea, they  
 5 landed at dead of night in Berwick harbour, as had been agreed  
 between himself and the earl of March. Disembarking stealthily from  
 their ships, they landed carrying scaling ladders with them which had  
 been prepared for the purpose; and keeping a lookout under the

conductum ad portum Berwici appulerunt. Qui exeuntes clam de navibus ad terram pervenerunt, scalas secum portantes ad hoc negocium preparatas. Et excubantes sub muris oppidi, tempus congruum expectabant. Tandem in <diluculo><sup>b</sup> diei sequentis super scalas erectas apud *le Cowgate* viri virtutis protinus ascendentes, quorum preascensor fuit Willelmus de Turribus, ubi non sine pugna oppidum viriliter intraverunt, licet murorum vigiles intransitibus plurimum nocuissent (quod eisdem prospere non cessit, nam ibidem interfectus fuit filius nobilis Roberti de Ogil cum nonnullis aliis muros defendentibus), et finaliter prostratis omnibus qui pro urbe presidium ferre conabantur. Omnes denique oppidani de subito adventu gentis Scotorum pavore peterriti, de lectis suis surgentes insignati, seipsos ultra muros precipitabant, relictis Scotis auro et argento ac divitiis infinitis, que sibi multo tempore Anglici congregarunt. Multique de Anglis fugientes per *le Douglas tour* recepti et salvati sunt in castro. Rumore igitur capcionis ville adaucto, Marchiani adierunt Johannem Cowpland auxilium eius et consilium flagitantes. Qui in multitudine congregati, proposuerunt de nocte habere aditum in castro et per *le Douglas tour* transitum facere, et sic inopinate Scotos in oppido dispersos circumvallare et confundere. De quorum proposito Scoti premuniti, assiliabant viriliter *le Douglas tour* et optinuerunt, ac in contrarium castellanorum et superveniencium Anglicorum tam oppidum quam turrin defendere. <Verumptamen castrum oppugnantibus nullatenus capere potuerunt.> Huiusmodi obsidioni interfuerunt dominus Eugenius de Garencris et sui confrancigene, qui magnum auxilium capcioni ville impenderunt. Ad quam confestim post capcionem adiit custos Scocie Ro- | [bertus]<sup>c</sup> Senescallus,<sup>d</sup> ordinans et disponens de ipsius custodia, reducensque abinde secum Francos, quos honorifice pro modulo suo tractavit, et ad propria remisit.

<sup>b</sup> replacing crepusculo in text del.C  
<sup>c</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>d</sup> CA; Senescalli C,D,R

## 11

*De conflictu inter xxx Gallicos  
 et totidem Anglicos*

Eo tempore contigit in Britannia Minore quod quidam conflictus satis ferox movebatur inter Francos et Anglos. Quo quamvis Angli plures erant numero, Francis tamen succubuerunt in campo, ubi quidam miles magnanimus Johannes Beawmareris Gallicus | quendam arrogantem Anglie militem bello cepit; et quamvis custodie

town's walls, they waited for a suitable moment. At length as dawn broke on the following day, these brave men climbed directly up the ladders set up at the Cowgate (the first of them to go up was William Towers); and there, not without a fight, they manfully entered the town, even though the sentries on the walls very greatly hindered their entry – which did not turn out well for them, for the son of the noble Robert de Ogle was killed there, along with some other defenders of the walls; and in the end all those who strove to form a garrison for the city were overcome. At length all the townspeople, terrified and trembling at the sudden arrival of the Scots, rose from their beds helter-skelter, and rushed outside the walls, leaving to the Scots gold and silver and the limitless wealth which the English had gathered together over a long period. Many of the English, fleeing by the Douglas Tower, were let into the castle and saved.

Thereupon once news of the capture of the town had spread, some [English] Borderers approached John Coupland, urgently requesting his help and advice. They gathered in a crowd proposing to gain entry to the castle by night, and to pass through the Douglas Tower, and in that way to surround and confound the Scots unexpectedly while they were dispersed through in the town. But the Scots were forewarned of their intention. They manfully attacked the Douglas Tower and took it, and defended both town and tower against the castle garrison and the approaching English. Nonetheless they were quite unable to capture the castle when they attacked it.

Sir Eugene de Garencières and his fellow Frenchmen took part in this siege, providing great assistance in the capture of the town. Immediately after its capture the guardian of Scotland Robert Steward arrived giving orders and making arrangements for guarding it. He took the Frenchmen away from there with him, treated them honourably as best he could, and sent them home.

2 Nov.

## 11

*The fight between thirty Frenchmen  
 and the same number of Englishmen*

At that time in Brittany it happened that quite a fierce fight was stirred up between the French and the English. Although the English were there in greater numbers, they nevertheless submitted to the French on the field of battle, where a certain brave French knight called John Beaumanoir captured a certain conceited knight from England in this

[1351:  
26 Mar.]

deputatus, petulanter tamen elatis<sup>a</sup> improperiis Francos parvipendit, dicens unum Anglicum in bello duobus Francigenis posse et equeparari debere, non obstante quod pro tunc Franci de Anglis<sup>b</sup> triumphaverunt. Ad huiusmodi verba indignabunda Francus aliqualiter motus dicebat de facili Gallicum inveniri qui in justa querela 10 Anglico contenderet, et suam partem usque in finem viriliter sustineret. 'Fateor', inquit Anglicus, 'in eventu sic posse contingere uni cum unico contendendo. Sed demus quinque contra quinque, decem contra decem, viginti vel xxx<sup>a</sup> contra totidem, et sic realiter probabitur que natio dominabitur.' Quid ultra moror? Concordatum 15 est quod xxx<sup>a</sup> contra xxx<sup>a</sup> dimicarent, et pars victa victrici redempcionem solveret; et interim miles Anglicus liber consisteret, redempcionem nequaquam soluturus nisi contingeret ipsum denuo captivari. Locus in Normannia eligitur, dies ad hoc statuitur, et fortiter hinc inde dimicatur. In primordiali namque congressu pro Anglis de 20 victoria presumitur, ubi quidam Gallus de acie subito se substraxit, et ascenso equo juxta se armato, credentibus sociis quod aufugeret, subducens talos pro calcaribus equum, aera clamore replens, clipeumque pectori pretendens, vibrata dira lancea Anglos ex improviso invasit, et eorum cuneum ad modum hericii conglobatum 25 securus penetravit, ab invicem separavit, et eorum nonnullos ad terram vehementer prostravit. Cuius quasi solius animositate socios suos dilapsos resarcire procuravit; et sic victoriam de inimicis fieri concausavit. Ubi novem de Anglis interfectis, ceterisque captivatis, unus tantum de Gallis occubuit. Et sic ob superbiam unius, ruina 30 magna patuit multis; et unius arrogancia fuit humiliacio multorum. Propter quod quidam:

Actibus et verbis, homo, tu quicumque superbis,  
hoc retine verbum: 'Frangit Deus omne superbum.'

<sup>a</sup> illatis D

<sup>b</sup> + fortuito casu CA

fight; and although he had been put in confinement, he nonetheless impudently taunted the French to express his low opinion of them, saying that one Englishman could and should be the equal of two Frenchmen in a fight. This was despite the fact that for the time being 10 the French were victors over the English. On hearing this man's angry words the Frenchman was in some way moved to say that a Frenchman could easily be found who would fight an Englishman over a just cause, and would play his part in manly fashion to the end. 'I agree', said the Englishman, 'that it could turn out that way if it is a case of single combat. But let us put five against five, ten against ten, 15 twenty or thirty against the same number, and in this way there will be real proof of which nation is master.' In short, it was agreed that thirty should fight against thirty, and that the defeated side should pay a ransom to the winning side; and meantime the English knight was set free without having to pay any kind of ransom unless it turned out 20 that he was captured afresh. A place in Normandy was selected, a day appointed for this purpose, and the battle was fought bravely on both sides. For at the first encounter victory appeared to go to the English; whereupon a certain Frenchman suddenly left the battle-line, and 25 mounting a horse that was in armour like himself, while his companions believed that he was taking to flight, he led his horse away using his ankles as spurs, filled the air with a shout, and covered his breast with his shield. Brandishing a terrifying lance he unexpectedly attacked the English, confidently penetrated their formation 30 which was crowded together like a hedgehog, split them up from each other, and violently struck some of them to the ground. By his spirited behaviour almost by himself he secured the revival of his scattered companions, and so stimulated them along with himself to secure a victory over their enemies. Nine of the English were killed, and the rest were taken prisoner, while only one of the French met with death. 35 And so as a result of one man's pride the outcome was utter ruin for many; and the arrogance of one was humiliation for many. Thus it is said:

40 Man, whoever you are, when showing your pride in actions  
and words,  
grasp this word: 'God shatters all trace of pride.'

*De hostili adventu regis Anglie in Scociam, et resignacione<sup>a</sup>  
juris Eadwardi de Balliolo*

Anno domini supradicto primo die februarii rex Anglie Eadwardus iii post Conquestum Windesor vocatus moleste ferens capcionem ville Berwici, timensque quod si dimitteret sic Scotos, tollerent sibi locum et gentem, quamcito potuit congregato exercitu octoginta milium armatorum, ipso eciam tunc in remotis agente, virtute magna ad Marchias usque pervenit, ipsam villam de Berwik obsessurus. Quod videntes<sup>b</sup> ville custodes, et ipsam defendere non valentes, tum quia pauci erant, tum quia victualia non habebant, tum quia predicti regis Anglie feritatem vehementer formidabant, tum quia succursum a gente sua propter principum discordiam habere desperabant, sapienti<sup>c</sup> 5  
usi consilio sic finaliter tractaverunt, quod salvis sibi vita et membris ac rebus omnibus inibi conquisitis, regi Anglie oppidum reddiderunt. Et sic, quasi unusquisque mirabiliter locupletatus, expedite ad propria | remeavit. Nec pretereundem est, quod statim post deliberacionem vil-[le]<sup>c</sup> predicto regi Anglie apud Rokisburgh personaliter 10  
existenti priusquam ulterius in terram Scocie progrediretur,<sup>d</sup> Eadwardus de Balliolo tamquam leo rugiens occurebat, et vix seipsum pre ira cap-[iens]<sup>c</sup> in hec verba omni morte acerbiora prorupit dicens: 'O rex prepotentissime princeps, quem pre ceteris [mundi]<sup>c</sup> mortalibus hiis diebus novi excellenciorum, causam meam et omne jus quod 20  
habeo vel habere potero in regno Scocie, mere simpliciter et absolute tibi tribuo, ut ulciscaris me de inimicis meis, [gente]<sup>c</sup> videlicet Scoticana, nacionum iniquissima, qui me abjecerunt ne regnarem super eos.' In [cuius]<sup>c</sup> | facti evidenciam coronam regiam,<sup>e</sup> terram et lapides de humo Scocie propria manu offerebat, dicens: 'Hec omnia in 25  
signum vestiture tibi dono; tantum viriliter age, et esto robustus, ac regnum olim michi debitum tibi queras in perpetuum.' Qua in re hoc quoque notandum est, quod nichil a se dedit, quia nullum jus ab inicio habuit. Et si quid habuerit, iam in manus alterius resignavit. Quod 30  
utique facere, eciam si rex verus fuisset, nullo modo potuit, quia non tenet renunciatio vel resignacio, nisi fiat illi cuius est institutio. Modo institutio numquam pertinuit regi Anglie; quin eciam diversi reges Anglie renunciaverunt omni juri competibili sibi ad regnum Scocie,

<sup>a</sup> + pretensi CA,R; del.C; om.D

<sup>b</sup> + Scoti CA

<sup>c</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>d</sup> progrediretur D

<sup>e</sup> + de capite suo evulsam CA

*The hostile arrival of the king of England in Scotland and  
Edward de Balliol's resignation of his right*

In the aforesaid year on 1 February the king of England (Edward the Third since the Conquest, called Windsor), annoyed at the capture of the town of Berwick, and fearing that if he lost his grip on the Scots in this way, they would retain that place and its people for themselves, 5  
collected an army of eighty thousand armed men as soon as he could (as he was then engaged in business in distant parts), and came in great strength to the Borders to besiege the town of Berwick. The [Scottish] guardians of the town saw this, and did not have the strength to defend it, because there were few of them, because they did 10  
not have food supplies, because they were very much afraid of the brutality of the said king of England, and because they despaired of receiving help from their own people on account of disagreement among the magnates. They therefore took wise advice and in the end negotiated to hand the town over to the king of England, saving life 15  
and limb and all the goods that had been assembled there. And so each man speedily returned home more or less marvellously enriched. [1355-6]  
And it should not be passed over that immediately after the town was handed over, while the said king of England was staying at Roxburgh in person before advancing any further into the land of 20  
Scotland, Edward de Balliol went to meet him like a roaring lion, almost beside himself with anger, and burst out in these words more bitter than every conceivable death, saying: 'Your majesty, most powerful prince, whom I know to be more outstanding these days 25  
than other mortals, I bestow on you genuinely, simply and absolutely my cause and all the right which I have and can in future have in the kingdom of Scotland, so that you can avenge me against my enemies, that is the Scottish people, that most unsympathetic of nations, who have rejected me as their ruler.' As evidence of this deed he offered with his own hand the royal crown and some earth and stones from 30  
the soil of Scotland, saying: 'All these I give you as a sign of your investiture; act only in manly fashion, be robust, and you should acquire the kingdom that was formerly mine for yourself in perpetuity.' On this matter it should be noted also that he gave away nothing for his part, because he had no right in the beginning. And if 35  
he was to have any right in future, he already resigned it into the hands of another. He certainly had no right to do this, even if he had been the true king, because a renunciation or resignation is not valid unless it is [1356: 13 Jan.] [20-27 Jan.]



sicut et nuper<sup>f</sup> pater istius regis Anglie, ut patet libro precedenti capitulo xiii. Eciam dato, sed non concessio, quod verus rex fuisset,<sup>g</sup> adhuc non tenet resignacio, quia non potuit renunciare nisi de licencia<sup>h</sup> superioris <c'. Item iuravit Ea-[dwardo]<sup>i</sup> tiranno<sup>j</sup> quod ius in [regno]<sup>k</sup> Scocie numquam vendi-[caret]<sup>i</sup> ut patet supra libro xi capitulo xxv-[iii].> Rex nichilominus Anglie Eadwardo<sup>j</sup> de Balliolo pro tam magnifico dono magnifice gracias reddidit. Et inde cum exercitu progrediens, velut ursa, raptis fetibus et in saltu seviens, terram Scocie crudeliter intravit, [et usque]<sup>i</sup> ad burgum de Hadyngton cum potencia magna et maiestate pervenit.

<Item [quod]<sup>m</sup> nullum ius ad regnum habuit patet quia mater eius fuit bastarda et illegitime nata. Pro quo [notandum est]<sup>n</sup> <juxta quosdam><sup>o</sup> quod dominus de Allerdes habuit duas filias, Mariotam scilicet et Genildam. Mariota fuit [sponsa]<sup>p</sup> Othdredi filii Fergusii domini de Galweia, de qua genuit dominum Rotho-[landum patrem Ma]-gni<sup>n</sup> Alani de Galweia; et Genilda<sup>n</sup> fuit sponsa David comitis de [Huntyngdon', de qua]<sup>n</sup> genuit Johannem Scotum comitem de Garviach premortuum patri, et tres [filias scilicet Margaritam, Isabelam]<sup>n</sup> et Adam. Margaritam desponsavit dictus Alanus de G[alweia],<sup>n</sup> quorum filia [fuit Dervorgilla]<sup>n</sup> desponsata Johanni de Balliolo, quorum filius fuit ille Johannes [qui postea fuit]<sup>n</sup> rex. Cuius filius fuit Eadwardus de B[alliolo], qui prevaluit apud Duplyne. [Predicta Margarita | attinge]-bat<sup>n</sup> sponso suo Alano secundo et tercio gradibus consanguinitatis, propter quod missi fuerunt [nuncii ad curi]-am<sup>n</sup> Romanam pro dispensacione impetranda, qui submersi fuerant in aqua Anandie, [et sic cessavit]<sup>n</sup> impetracio. Unde clare constat quod premissus Eadwardus nullum ius habere [potuit ad regnum].<sup>n</sup> Contrarium huius vide supra libro xi capitulo xiii et libro ix capitulo xlii.>

f. + fecit CA  
g. + iste Balliolus CA  
h. + sui CA  
i. D; lac. C  
j. avo istius regis Anglie for tiranno CA  
k. + vel ad regnum CA

l. D; Eadwardo C  
m. R; lac. C; om. D  
n. D; lac. C  
o. in margin of margin C  
p. -l- interlin. C

*De tyrannide regis Anglie, et classis sue periclitacione, et miraculo Marie*

Moram igitur faciente dicto rege apud Hadyngton et in viciniis eius per decem dies, et suum navigium victualia ferens prestolante, ventus validus venit a regione deserti, hoc est ab aquilone quia 'ab aquilone

made to an authority with power of institution. But this power has never been a right of the king of England; indeed it is also the case that various kings of England have renounced all right to the kingdom of Scotland compatible with their own position, just as recently the father of this king of England [did], as appears in the preceding Book, Chapter [12]. Even given, though not conceded, that [Balliol] had been a true king, his resignation is still not valid, because he could not make a renunciation except by permission of a superior, etc. Likewise he swore to Edward the Tyrant that he would never lay claim to the kingdom of Scotland, as appears above in Book XI, Chapter [26]. Nevertheless the king of England expressed his thanks in generous fashion to Edward de Balliol for such a generous gift. Then advancing with his army like a bear whose offspring have been carried off venting its rage on the forest, he entered the land of Scotland in a savage fashion, and pushed forward as far as the burgh of Haddington with great power and authority. [Jan.-Feb.]

Again the fact that [Balliol] had no right to the kingdom is clear because his mother was a bastard who had been born illegitimate. On this it should be noted (according to some) that the lord of Allerdale had two daughters, Mariota and Gunnild. Mariota was the wife of Uchtred son of Fergus lord of Galloway, by whom she bore Sir Roland, the father of Alan the Great of Galloway; and Gunnild was the wife of David earl of Huntingdon, by whom he fathered John the Scot earl of Garioch who died before his father, and three daughters, namely Margaret, Isabel and Ada. The said Alan of Galloway married Margaret, and they had a daughter Dervorguilla, who was married to John de Balliol, whose son was the John who was later king. His son was Edward de Balliol who won the battle at Dupplin. The said Margaret was related to her husband Alan in the second and third degrees of consanguinity. In this connection messengers were sent to the Roman court to seek a dispensation, who were drowned in the river Annan, and so the request failed. From this it is very plain that the aforesaid Edward could have no right to the kingdom. For a contrary view see above Book XI, Chapter 13, and Book IX, Chapter [27].

*The tyranny of the king of England, the wreck of his fleet, and a miracle of Mary*

Therefore while the said king stayed at Haddington and in its vicinity for ten days, and was waiting for his fleet bringing food supplies, a strong wind came from the uninhabited region, that is from the north, [1356: Feb.]

pandetur malum'; irruit in classem suam versus North Berwicum anchoratam. Et cum vela versus portus salubriores divertissent, 5 insurrexerunt contrarii venti in classem, et in brevi totam societatem dissipaverunt. Periclitabantur igitur naves, infra maria in maiore parte submerse; que vero tantum periculum evaserunt, huc illucque<sup>a</sup> in diversis ferebantur regionibus ubi venti impetus impellebat. Rex igitur victualibus destitutus, cum exercitu suo paulo post panis 10 penuria nimium laborabat. Et inde sua movens castra, combusto prius burgo et toto monasterio ac solemnī ecclesia Fratrum Minorum de Hadyngton, opus certe quod sumptuosum erat mirique decoris ac tocus patrie illius solacium singulare (cuius chorus quidem ob singularem pulcritudinem et luminis claritudinem Lucerna Laudonie 15 communiter vocabatur), direxit iter suum per Laudoniam, circumquaque cuncta comburens ac devastans, et nichil pro posse salvans, usque ad burgum de Edinburgh perveniret. A quo abcedens, et omnia combustibilia incinerans, propter quod *wlgo le Brynt Candelmas* data datur, ad propria sine honore remeavit. Non tamen<sup>b</sup> sine gravi 20 dampno suorum nobilium, ac periculo proprii corporis, in Foresta de Etrik locisque vicinis per insidias ante a Scotis preparatas. Cuius profectio<sup>c</sup> intencionis ac propositi erat, si naves suum cursum prospere direxissent, terram Scocie tam procul quam prope dissipere, demoliri ac perdere ymmo funditus devastare. Cuius rei effectum 25 Deus distulit in longinquum. Quod utique secundum humanum iudicium tempore illo facere<sup>d</sup> potuisset, nisi miserorum remedium, mater et virgo<sup>e</sup> genti Scotorum, ut sequencia declarabunt, in hoc casu celerius subvenisset. Nam eodem rege adhuc apud Hadyngton existente, et Scotorum sanguinem sine intermissione sitiente, fons et origo pietatis, virgo singularis, a filio suo, qui dixit: 'Sine me nichil potestis facere'; et alubi:

Proficit absque Deo nullus in orbe labor,

illius venti violenciam ac aeris ipsius inclemenciam piis precibus procuravit, ut naves premissae, undivagis vorticibus et scopulis 35 conquassate, ac eciam ab invicem submerse et separate, victualia regi nusquam vectitarent. Etenim paulo ante pirate quidam<sup>f</sup> filii Belial de navibus exeuntes irruperunt<sup>g</sup> in Nostre Domine Albam Ecclesiam apud baroniam de Hamyr <situatam>, illius<sup>h</sup> imaginem (quam in malo nullus hominum impune attigerat) aureis monilibus, anulis et 40 armillis, aliisque preciosis ornamentis decoratam, que fidelium pia oblatione ipsa decenter gestabat, Deum pre oculis non habentes, sed proprie salutis timore postposito, spoliabant.

<sup>a</sup> -que interlin. C

<sup>b</sup> + ad propria reversus est CA

<sup>c</sup> D; profecto C, CA

<sup>d</sup> interlin. C

<sup>e</sup> + domina Maria CA

<sup>f</sup> + Anglici CA

<sup>g</sup> + absque formidine CA

<sup>h</sup> + reverendam CA

for 'evil is spread from the north'; it rushed against his fleet as it lay at 5 anchor off North Berwick. And when they had altered sail towards safer ports, contrary winds arose against the fleet and in a short time scattered the whole force. The ships were therefore in danger, and for the most part were sunk beneath the waves; indeed those which escaped this great danger were carried here and there in different areas 10 where the force of the wind drove them. The king therefore was deprived of his supplies, and soon was suffering very considerably along with his army from shortage of bread. After first burning the burgh and the whole monastery and famous church of the Friars Minor at Haddington – a building work that was undoubtedly costly 15 and wonderfully beautiful, and the one source of comfort for the whole of the countryside (whose choir indeed was commonly called The Lamp of Lothian on account of its remarkable beauty and brightness of the light [within it]) – he moved his camp and set off through Lothian, burning and laying waste everything round about, 20 and as far as possible saving nothing, until he might come to the burgh of Edinburgh. Leaving there after burning everything that would burn (which is why the common folk call that time 'The Burnt Candlemas'), he dishonourably made his way home. He did not, however, [return] without serious loss to his nobles and danger to his 25 own person as a result of ambushes prepared earlier by the Scots in Ettrick Forest and places nearby. He had set out with the intention and plan (if only his ships had been successful in holding to their course) of spreading out over the land of Scotland far and near, destroying, ruining and laying it waste to its very foundations. God 30 delayed the execution of this plan to the distant future. By human standards of judgment he would certainly have been able to do this at that time, had not the remedy for those in trouble – the Mother and Virgin – come speedily to the assistance of the Scottish people in this situation (as will be clear in what follows). For while the same king 35 was still at Haddington, thirsting without pause for the blood of the Scots, the fount and origin of piety, the incomparable Virgin, by her pious prayers obtained from her son (who said 'Apart from me you can do nothing', and [in harmony with the saying] elsewhere:

No task in the world succeeds without God)

40 the ferocity of that wind and the wildness of the weather, so that the aforesaid ships, shattered by the crests of the waves and the rocks, and even swamped and separated from each other, never delivered supplies to the king.

Also a little earlier some [English] pirates (sons of Belial) left their 45 ships and attacked the White Kirk of Our Lady which lies in the barony of Hamer. With no regard for God, but putting aside fear for their own salvation, they despoiled her statue (which no man had touched with evil intent without retribution), which was decorated

## 14

*Adhuc de eodem*

G ii,355

fo.298v

Modus autem spoliacionis imaginis Virginis huiusmodi erat, sicut qui vidit testimonium perhibuit, | et credo quia verum est testimonium eius. Nam fidedignus erat valde, et eciam multis honestis viris et<sup>a</sup> me huius libri conscriba audientibus<sup>b</sup> sic retulit dicens: 'Quia eo tempore fui puer duodennis apud Qwhitkirk, quando subito pirate Anglici 5 illuc advenerunt, quorum subitacione insperati adventus multe matres perterite filios suos puerulos inter quos', inquit, 'eram tunc unus, in quodam vetusto furno inter menia antiqua ob metum Anglorum cum nonnullis utensilibus, quo non putabant velle Anglos devenire, absconderunt. Sed tandem unus eorum barbarice condicio- 10 nis furno introspiciens, cum sude acuta pueros etate teneros atrociter pupugit et elisit. At illi, vagitibus altissonis vociferantes, audierunt nebulonem huiusmodi verba proferentem: "Pro uno allece scaturiente tot de vobis occidere non curarem, quot de albis pisis comedere potuissim." Ad vocem igitur miserandam puerorum, 15 quidam Anglicus perspicue honestatis persona superveniens, et ruditatem<sup>c</sup> nocentis pueros cohib-[ens<sup>d</sup> cum]<sup>e</sup> quadam ferula quam manu gestabat, insequentem puerulos<sup>f</sup> capite percussit. Deinde manu<sup>g</sup> parvulos extrahens et blande eos<sup>h</sup> consolans, ad ecclesiam perduxit, et eos<sup>h</sup> coram imaginis altare statuit,<sup>i</sup> precipiens ne quis eis<sup>j</sup> 20 ultra nocere presumeret. Denique premissi pueruli circumspicientes, et noticiam de ledente eos<sup>j</sup> habentes, attendunt<sup>k</sup> statim eundem<sup>l</sup> ecclesiam intrare, et pavore perteriti ceperunt clamare.<sup>m</sup> At ille, illis<sup>n</sup> comminatis et silencio refrenatis, maius altare pedibus calcans, annulum<sup>o</sup> de digito imaginis<sup>p</sup> que supererat preripiens, unum de ipsius 25 digitis violenter effregit. Et dehinc super caput imaginis irreverenter pedem affigens, solarium desuper ascendit, ac res peculiares, quas

a interlin.C

b corrected from audientis [?] C

c rusticitatem CA

d redarguens CA

e D; lac.C

f barbarum illum for insequentem puerulos CA

g +sua propria nos CA

h om.CA

i imagine Nostre Domine constituit for

imaginis ... statuit CA

j nos CA

k vidimus CA

l +vispillionem CA

m cepimus conclamare for ceperunt clamare CA

n nobis CA

o +aureum CA

p +Nostre Domine CA

## 14

*Still the same*

with gold necklaces, rings and bracelets and other precious ornaments, which she wore as an adornment given her by the pious offerings of the faithful.

This was the manner of the robbery of the statue of the Virgin as someone who saw it testifies, and I believe that his testimony is true. For he was thoroughly trustworthy, and furthermore he has told the story as follows to many honourable men and to me, the author of this 5 book, saying: 'I was at that time a boy of twelve at Whitekirk, when suddenly English pirates arrived there. Terrified by their sudden and unexpected arrival, many mothers in their fear of the English hid their young sons, among whom', he said, 'I was one, in an old oven with some equipment among some ancient walls where they thought that 10 the English would not want to come. But at length one of them who was of a savage character looked into the oven and cruelly poked and struck these boys of tender years with a sharp stake. But they, as they shouted with high-pitched cries, heard the scoundrel uttering these words: "I would not want to kill as many of you for one swarming 15 herring as I could have eaten white peas." At the piteous cry of the boys therefore, a certain Englishman who was a person of manifest integrity appeared; he restrained the harshness of the man who was harming the boys with a rod which he was carrying in his hand, and struck him on the head as he was attacking the boys. Then taking the 20 boys by the hand and comforting them with gentle words, he led them to the church and stood them before the altar with the statue, giving instructions that no one was to dare to harm them any more. Finally the aforesaid boys looked around and observed the man who had been hurting them; they at once watched for the same man to enter the 25 church, and frightened as they were they began to shout out in terror. But he, after threatening them and constraining them to silence, climbed on to the high altar, snatched the ring from the finger of the statue that stood there, and violently broke off one of its fingers. Then irreverently placing a foot on the head of the statue, he climbed up to 30 an upper chamber and stole items of private property which the ministers of the altar and the servants of the chapel had placed under the protection of Our Lady for fear of thieves and robbers. He threw them down into the hands of some of his accomplices, who were waiting in the choir. As they left the church that accursed worthless 35 man followed. But wonder of wonders! As this church robber was leaving the chancel and leaping out of there for having captured some

ministri altaris et servi capelle ob metum furum sive raptorum in  
custodiam sub proteccione Nostre Domine intromiserunt, surripuit,  
et suis quibusdam complicitibus in choro expectantibus ad servandum 30  
proiecit. Quibus de ecclesia recedentibus, infaustus ille homuncio  
secutus est. Sed mira res! Nam cum is<sup>r</sup> sacrilegus cancellariam exiens,  
et inde, tamquam capta preciosa preda, exiliens, subito a desuper  
cecidit quedam imago vix bipedalis crucifixi, ultoris matris sue  
spoliata, et letaliter elisit infelicem, cerebrum cum vita in momento 35  
eructuantem. Clamor tunc attollitur cum infelix<sup>r</sup> moritur, et Maria  
per filium mirifice glorificatur.<sup>r</sup> Paulo ante predenaute duos canoni-  
cos Sancte Crucis, qui in illo loco deservire beate Virgini fuerant  
deputati,<sup>s</sup> ad naves pertrahunt<sup>t</sup> vinculos. Secundo igitur die  
discessionis eorum, naute in Virginis servulos suam exercentes 40  
tirannidem, usque ad nuda corpora ipsos dispoliantes diviserunt ab  
invicem, quibus sepiissime, nisi magnam pecunie summam solvant,  
minati sunt submersionem. Sed canonici, mirabiliter confortati  
dulcedine recordacionis Marie, inter minas et supplicia, nuditates et  
algores, steterunt imperterriti. | Qui, ut postea ambo juraverunt, in 45  
tantum confortabantur per beatam Virginem,<sup>u</sup> ac si eandem tunc  
aspexissent presentem. Dum hec itaque agerentur, et de submergendo  
canonicos concluderunt, statim<sup>v</sup> fragor<sup>w</sup> et tempestas antedicta in  
vindictam premissorum sequebantur;<sup>x</sup> et navis que execrandam  
rapinam perpetravit, que raptores et res peculiares<sup>y</sup> Virginis abreptas 50  
continebat, coram portu de Tynmowth multis intuentibus periit et in  
profundum descendit. Et paulo ante, Deo disponente, dicti canonici  
ad aliam navem sunt translati, et a dire caribdis voragine erepti, ac<sup>z</sup> ad  
locum professionis sue de Anglia libere redire sunt permissi,<sup>aa</sup> ad  
laudem Virginis,<sup>bb</sup> cui laus sit in evum. 55

G ii, 356

<sup>q</sup> C, CA; hiis D<sup>r</sup> scelestus CA<sup>s</sup> + cum eis *probably* all del. C;om. CA, R; + cum *only* D<sup>t</sup> + co captivos del. C<sup>u</sup> ad recordacionem pie matris Marie for  
per ... Virginem CA<sup>v</sup> + ventus vehemens CA<sup>w</sup> + rabidus CA<sup>x</sup> sceleratorum exorti sunt for premissorum

sequebantur CA

<sup>y</sup> + servatorum CA<sup>z</sup> altered from et CA<sup>aa</sup> donati CA<sup>bb</sup> + et gloriam Celsitonantis; gloria magna

Patri; semper sit gloria Nato; cum Sancto

Spirito gloria magna Matri CA

precious loot, a certain crucifix nearly two feet long fell suddenly from  
above to avenge His despoiled Mother, and fatally crushed the  
wretch, causing his brains to gush forth in a sudden death. A shout  
40 was raised when this misguided man died; and Mary was marvel-  
lously glorified through her son.<sup>r</sup>

A little earlier these pirates dragged away in chains two canons of  
Holyrood who had been appointed to serve the Blessed Virgin in that  
place. On the second day of their abduction the sailors acted  
45 tyrannically towards these servants of the Virgin; robbing them down  
to their naked bodies, they separated them from each other,  
repeatedly threatening to drown them if they did not pay a large sum  
of money. But the canons, wonderfully sustained by the sweet  
recollection of Mary, remained unafraid amid threats and torments,  
50 nakedness and cold. As they both afterwards swore, they were  
comforted by the Blessed Virgin to such a degree that it was as if they  
had then seen her present. While all this was going on, and they had  
decided to drown the canons, at once the roar of the aforementioned  
storm followed to avenge these canons; and the ship which had  
55 perpetrated the accursed robbery, and which contained the robbers  
and the private property stolen from the Virgin, perished in view of  
the port at Tynemouth, while many people watched, and sank into the  
deep. A little earlier (it was God's will) the said canons were moved to  
another ship, and so they were plucked from the fearful chasm of the  
60 whirlpool; they were then given permission to return freely from  
England to the place where they had been professed, praising the  
Virgin, to whom be praise for ever.

## 15

*De provinciis ad fidelitatem regis per dominos  
de Douglas et Kile reductis, et reditu regis*

fo.299

Post recessum regis Anglie de Scocia dominus de Douglas,<sup>a</sup> satis in  
factis vigilans, non segniter laborabat ad reducendum Scotos  
Anglicos ad fidem regis. Unde collecta multitudine non modica  
armatorum, secessit in Galweiam, ubi sic finaliter tractavit quod  
Dovenaldum Makdowel et totam terram Galweie ad fidem regis 5  
retraxit. Quem in ecclesia de Cumnok fidelitatem gardiano jurare  
instrux-[it].<sup>b</sup> Quod <[juramentum]<sup>b</sup>> usque in presentem diem fide<sup>c</sup>  
regi suo servavit. Quo etiam in tempore nobilis | Rogerus de  
Kirkpatrick totam terram de Nyddisdal firmam ad fidem regis te-  
[nuit].<sup>b</sup> Castra de Dalswynton et Carlaverok de manibus adversar- 10  
iorum vi et virtute cepit, ac ad solum prostravit, et se propterea  
gratum et<sup>d</sup> amatum regi semper exhibebat. Circa idem tempus rex  
David, dimissis in Anglia certis obsidibus, ad Scociam est reversus  
cum suis proceribus et regni statibus de redempcione sua tractaturus.  
Qui nichil ad libitum proficiens, ad Angliam absque mora remissis 15  
obsidibus properavit. Post cuius de regno abcessum, Johannes  
Stewart filius gardiani dominus de Kile, et postea comes de Karrik,  
novissime autem rex Scocie Robertus tercius vocitatus, collegit  
exercitum et in Anandirdal' tam diu moratus est, quousque totam  
gentem illius ad fidem et pacem domini nostri regis firmam fecit, et 20  
eidem fidelitatem prestare procuravit.

<sup>a</sup> + postea comes eiusdem CA  
<sup>b</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>c</sup> G; fidem C,D  
<sup>d</sup> short word del.C

## 16

*De bello de Poyteris et capcione regis Francie Johannis*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lvi<sup>o</sup> rex Francie Johannes nomine audiens  
Eadwardum iiii filium et heredem regni Anglie ac princeps Wallie in  
manu forti et robusta fines regni sui hostiliter intrasse ad ipsum  
debellandum ac totam terram Gallie suo patrisque sui imperio 5  
subjugandum, collegit ex omni | parte regni sui regionibus aliis que

G ii,357

## 15

*The regions that were brought back to their allegiance to the  
king by the lords of Douglas and Kyle; and the king's return*

After the king of England's departure from Scotland, the lord of Douglas, who kept a keen watch over what had happened, worked [1356: Feb.]  
indefatigably to bring those Scots who had been on the English side  
back to their allegiance to the king. So he collected no small numbers  
of armed men and moved into Galloway, where he negotiated with  
success to the end that he won back Dugal Macdowall and the whole [1353:  
land of Galloway to their allegiance to the king. He arranged for × Aug.]  
Macdowall to swear allegiance to the guardian in Cumnock church.  
He has kept this oath to his king faithfully to the present time. At that  
time also the noble Roger de Kirkpatrick held the whole land of  
Nithsdale securely in allegiance to the king. He captured the castles of  
Dalswinton and Caerlaverock from the hands of adversaries by force [× 1356]  
and valour, and cast them down to the ground. On this account he  
always showed himself as acceptable to the king and well regarded by  
him.  
About the same time King David left certain hostages in England  
and returned to Scotland to negotiate with his magnates and the [1351: Nov.]  
estates of the kingdom over his ransom. On failing to achieve what he  
wanted, he hurried to England without delay, once the hostages had [1352: Apr.]  
been sent back. After his departure from the kingdom, John Stewart  
the guardian's son, lord of Kyle and later earl of Carrick (but most  
recently styled king of Scotland as Robert III) collected an army  
together and made a stay in Annandale for as long as needed until he  
brought all the people of that region to the allegiance and firm peace  
of our lord the king, and arranged for them to swear allegiance to him. 25

## 16

*The battle of Poitiers and the capture of John king of France*

In 1356 John king of France heard that the fourth Edward, the son 1356  
and heir to the kingdom of England and prince of Wales, had crossed  
the borders of his kingdom in hostile fashion with a strong and  
powerful force, with the aim of levying war against him and subduing  
the whole land of France to his rule and that of his father. He 5



sue dicioni subiacebant exercitum copiosum. Ad quem gratis venit potens et nobilis Willelmus de Douglas dominus et postea comes eiusdem Scotus, prefato regi auxilium impensurus, multos de Scocia viribus electos ac bello doctissimos secum ducens ad resistendum presumptioni principis Wallie. Quem Willelmum idem rex in expeditione positus cinxit cingulo militari. Interea predictus rex cum suis prefatum principem cum sibi adherentibus patriam suam depredantem per diversa loca insecutus [est],<sup>a</sup> quousque ad Poyteris deveniret. Qui fixis ibidem tentoriis adversarios ex adverso positos ne fugerent observans, aliquamdiu morabatur. Tandem prenomi-  
natus princeps cum suis, qui respectu Francigenarum paucissimi erant, in arcto positus ac desperans se posse evadere, necnon multitudinem partis adverse pertimescens, primo cum eisdem Gallicis,<sup>b</sup> qui in aciebus suis stabant, congregari aperte non audebant; sed ex cogitata cautela ac ingenio subtili ut illos ab invicem separarent, per aliam viam prope illos se finxerunt velle reverti in regionem suam. Quod cum Francigene comperissent, et eos fugare arbitantes, divisi sunt per cuneos, ut unusquisque de spoliis Anglicorum ac preda saltem modicum quid acciperet, estimantes eos quasi culicem unum deglutire. Sed proth dolor! ipsis divisus ad Anglicos festinantibus patuit per-  
dicio et confusio magna. Nam marescallus Francie comes de Claromonte cum multis de melioribus regni, putans se fortiter facturum per sepes et vineas que ibidem plures erant, ad Anglicos ardentem venire desiderans, cum omnibus se sequentibus per sagittarios ac alios artis bellice diros insultus in invio et in via devicti occubuerunt. Quo facto, ultra quam credi potest Angli exhilarati, ad locum certaminis futuri alacriter et intrepide, ubi rex Francie cum suis stetit immobilis, properarunt. Ubi statim commisso inter partes gravi bello in mense septembri, primogenito regis cum omnibus aliis ab ipso fugientibus, in campo solus rex remansit cum parvulo filio suo Philippo. Qui quia ibidem gladium evaginavit semper postea a Gallis *Philpe Hardy* dictus est. Rex sine mora ab hostibus comprehensus, ac regalibus spoliatus, paulo post ad regem Anglie est transmissus, principe Wallie cum suis usque sequens Pascha in Francia debacantibus et ubique regnum depopulantibus. Commilitones vero et homines predicti domini de Douglas, previdentes in prelio quod futurum erat, de medio pugne dominum suum rapientes, secum inde invitum abduxerunt, pluribus de melioribus suis in bello interemptis, aliisque captis et redemptis. Captus etiam fuit ibidem Archibaldus de Douglas, filius nobilissimi domini Jacobi qui cum corde<sup>c</sup> Roberti Brois a paganis extinctus est,<sup>d</sup> qui postea fuit dominus de Galweie et comes de Douglas; et<sup>e</sup> subtiliter manibus inimicorum liberatus.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> CA; om.C<sup>b</sup> interlin.C<sup>c</sup> + inclitissimi regis CA<sup>d</sup> + Hic Archibaldus dicebatur *Grym CA*<sup>e</sup> constans in gestis et firmus in promissis  
gnarus et prudens conqueror et  
opulentus. Qui *for* est CA<sup>f</sup> + est ut sequencia dicent CA

therefore gathered a large army from every part of his kingdom and other regions that were subject to his jurisdiction. He was joined on a voluntary basis by the powerful and noble Scot William de Douglas, lord and later earl of the same, who wished to provide assistance to the said king, and who brought with him many men from Scotland chosen for their fighting qualities and very well trained in warfare, so as to make a stand against the audacity of the prince of Wales. The same king, after the expedition was on its way, girded this William with the belt of knighthood.

Meanwhile the said king and his men followed the said prince with his followers as he plundered various districts of the king's territory, until he reached Poitiers. After pitching his tents there, he kept watch over his enemies as they lay opposite lest they made off, and waited for some time. At length the said prince and his men, who were very many fewer than the French, placed as he was in a difficult position, and with little hope of being able to escape, and also terrified at the numbers on the opposite side, at first did not dare to join in open battle with the same French who were standing in their battle-lines; but with thoughtful care and a well-judged plan to separate them from one another, they pretended that they wanted to go back to their own region by another road near the French. When the French discovered this, they thought that they were frightening the English off; therefore they were divided into companies so that each man might acquire at least some small amount of the spoils and booty from the English, thinking that they would swallow them like a single midge. But alas! as these separated companies hurried towards the English, ruin and great disorder emerged. For the count of Clermont, a marshal of France, with many of the best men of the kingdom, thinking that he would achieve success manfully among the hedges and vineyards which were many thereabouts, and eagerly wanting to meet with the English, fell with all those who followed them in rough ground and on the road, defeated by the archers and other dreadful assaults of the art of war. When this happened, the English were elated beyond belief, and hurried speedily and fearlessly to the site for the next battle, where the king of France stood still with his men. There at once in the month of September both sides engaged in a fierce fight. The king's eldest son fled from his side with everyone else, leaving the king alone on the field with his young son Philip (who, because he drew his sword from its scabbard, was ever afterwards called Philip the Bold by the French). At once the king was seized by his enemies, despoiled of his royal accoutrements, and sent soon afterwards to the king of England. The prince of Wales and his men raged around in France until the following Easter, pillaging everywhere in the kingdom.

The companions and men of the said lord of Douglas, however, realizing how the battle was going to turn out, seized hold of their lord

[19] Sept.

*De liberacione Archibaldi de Douglas, et de Blak Mononnday*

Cum igitur inter ceteros dictus Archibaldus, captus in manibus Anglicorum, nobili armatura ceteris Scotis concaptivis prefulgeret, et tamquam magnus dominus propterea repu- | [taretur];<sup>a</sup> cum sero die belli debuit ab Anglis spoliari, affuit eciam ibi dominus Willelmus Ramsey de Colluthi miles, qui quasi indignanter intuens Archibaldum finxit se furia agitatum. Quem indignabunde vocavit dicens: 'O maledicte et homicida dampnande, unde ex parte Diaboli provenit tibi armaturis domini tui tam superbe insigniri? Accede huc, et abstrahe botas meas.' Qui, tamquam tremulus et perteritus, flexis genibus unam de botis pede eripuit. Quam manibus miles apprehendens egregie ministratorem cum ipsa castigavit. At Angli qui circumstabant, putantes militem amentem, concito intervenerunt,<sup>b</sup> et a cedibus Archibaldum defendiderunt,<sup>c</sup> dicentes quod percussus tam nobiliter armatus generosus erat et dominus. 'Nequaquam', ait alter. 'Elix est et ribaldus, qui dominum suum sicarie non dubito interfecit. Vade', inquit, 'furcifer ad campum, et inquire dominum tuum meum consanguineum, et cum inveneris eum, renuncia michi ut saltem cadaver exanime decenciori commendem sepelicioni.' Quid ultra morer? Redemit eum ibi precio xl solidorum, et egregie colofizatum avolare coegit. At ille pacienter ictus sustinuit, et sic prudenter manus emulorum, quos ante sepius infestavit, evasit.

At princeps Wallie ob predictam victoriam de Poyteris leciore effectus, peremptorum spoliis Francorum Anglos ditat, ditatos in turmas recolligit, et recollectos per provincias Francie predando et depopulando transmittit, affectans sic Gallias sibi penitus<sup>d</sup> subjugare. Supposito igitur civitatibus et urbibus igne ipsas incendit, agros depopulatur, stragem miserandum tam urbanis quam rusticis, civibus et plebanis, ecclesiasticis et secularibus, sine discrecione infert,

<sup>a</sup> D: lac.C  
<sup>b</sup> -ne- interlin.C

<sup>c</sup> -di- interlin.C  
<sup>d</sup> +perpetuo CA

*The release of Archibald de Douglas; and Black Monday*

in the middle of the fight, and removed him from there forcibly, while many of their best men were killed in the battle, and others were captured and ransomed. Also among the captured there was  
 55 Archibald de Douglas [the Grim] (son of the most noble Sir James who was killed by the pagans when carrying the heart of Robert Bruce), who was later lord of Galloway and earl of Douglas. He tricked his way to release from the hands of his enemies [as is explained in what follows].

When therefore the said Archibald was a captive with the rest in the hands of the English, and outshone the other Scots who were prisoners with him by the noble character of his armour, he was for this reason taken to be a great lord. When he was about to be  
 5 despoiled later on the day of the battle, the knight Sir William de Ramsay of Colluthie was also there. While apparently glaring at Archibald with righteous anger, he pretended to be roused to fury, and addressed Archibald indignantly, saying: 'Accursed and damnable murderer! By what devilish means has it come about that  
 10 you are distinguished so magnificently in your lord's armour? Come here and take off my boots.' Pretending to be trembling and terrified, Archibald knelt down and pulled one boot from a foot. Taking it in his hands the knight gave his servant a good hiding with it. But the English who were standing around thought that the knight was  
 15 demented and rapidly intervened; they defended Archibald from the blows, saying that the stricken man who was so nobly armed was of noble birth and a lord. 'Not at all', said the other. 'He is a camp-follower, a menial who has doubtless in murderous fashion killed his lord. Go, rascal,' he said, 'to the battlefield and seek out your lord my  
 20 kinsman, and when you have found him, bring me news so that I may at least commit the lifeless corpse to a decent burial.' Why should I delay more? He ransomed Archibald then for forty shillings, and after giving him a good buffeting, forced him to flee away. But Archibald accepted the blows patiently, and so artfully escaped from the hands  
 25 of rivals whom he had often attacked before.

But the prince of Wales was quite delighted by the said victory at Poitiers; he enriched the English with spoils from the French who had been annihilated; he gathered those enriched men again into troops, and sent out the men who had been assembled again to rob and plunder throughout the regions of France, attempting in this way to make France entirely subject to himself. Setting fire to cities and

1356: Sept.

intendens totam Galliam sue dicioni et regibus Anglorum perpetue  
 subjugare. Ac dum tali clade plures provincias Francie affecisset, in  
 die Sancto Parascheves pervenit ad quandam villam que Pune de  
 Pane nuncupatur, ubi celebre cenobium fuisse dicitur. Cuius quidem  
 monachi cum ceteris ville presbyteris ecclesiasticis induti omnes in  
 ecclesia monasteriali convenerunt, cum cruce erecta, reliquias sanc-  
 torum nudis ferentes pedibus, misericordiam principis, ob reveren-  
 ciam illius hoc Parascheve patientis, pro salute populi civitatis et  
 indemnitatem cenobii suppliciter imploraturi. Mox ut presenciam  
 ipsius habuere, flexis genibus omnes eum in communi deprecari sunt,  
 ut pietatem super contricione populi exhiberet, et predacioni  
 bonorum monasterii parceret. Qui statim victus pietate petitioni  
 eorum decrevit acquiescere; sed consilio virorum Belial '*Vawnt de  
 baner!*' conclamancium devictus, nec sacris distulit loco tempori vel  
 religioni. Sed propter superveniens sacrosanctum festum Pasche  
 in ipso monasterio cum proceribus suis et eorum equis sese recepit,  
 exercitu in campestribus et in villa hinc inde collocato. Et ecce,  
 advesperascente die Pasche, cum | in crastino summo mane ad  
 Angliam proposuissent se transferre, subductis atris nubibus, aer  
 subito immutatur; et e regione aquilonali ventus urens cum imbris  
 gelidis, et pruinosis stillicidiis, asperibus immixtis grandinibus, intra  
 exercitum Anglorum spiritus dispersit procellarum, ut quotquot  
 extra domos constituti per algores et frigora taliter circumplexi sunt et  
 viribus<sup>f</sup> destituti, quod, deficiente calore naturali, membra eorum  
 gelida, contracta, sive constricta, necnon insensibilia redderentur, ita  
 ut plerique eorum, equis interfectis, entralibus intestinis sive visceri-  
 bus extractis, infra abdita eorum hospiciis<sup>g</sup> quererent et asilium. Alii  
 nervis contracti, alii algentes et tumidi, alii terris congelati, et,<sup>h</sup> ut  
 breviter dicam, tempestatis impetu decocti et contacti, die lune de  
 mane quasi omnes extra domorum ambitum inventi suffocati et  
 extincti sunt. Quod videns princeps Wallie in crastino convocato suo  
 consilio dixit: 'O mali mei consiliarii morte digni! Cum ego pridem,  
 compaciens precibus religiosorum, volui cum eis micus agere, vos  
 spoliis indulgen[tis]<sup>i</sup> clamastis "*Vawnt de baner!*" Nunc autem  
 dolenter vobis respondeo: "*O rere de baner!*" Et cum hoc festinanter  
 qui superfuerunt de multis milibus centeni pauci per aliam viam quam  
 intenderunt<sup>j</sup> | reversi sunt in regionem suam. Propter hoc hucusque in  
 Anglia feria ii<sup>a</sup> Pasche vulgariter *Blak Mononnday* nuncupatur.

<sup>e</sup> juxta CA

<sup>f</sup> in iuribus for et viribus CA

<sup>g</sup> + word del. C

G ii,359

fo.300

towns, he burned them; he plundered the countryside; he brought  
 pitiable destruction to town-dwellers and country-dwellers, to  
 burgesses and common folk, to clergy and laity without distinction,  
 with the aim of making the whole of France perpetually subject to his  
 authority and to the kings of the English.

And while he was inflicting such a calamity on many of the regions  
 of France, he came on Good Friday to a certain town called 'Pune de  
 Pane', where there is said to have been a famous monastery. The  
 monks of that place all dressed in their ecclesiastical robes gathered in  
 the church of the monastery along with the other priests of the town,  
 and with a cross held erect and with bare feet as they carried relics of  
 the saints, they humbly sought the prince's compassion to secure  
 safety for the people of the city and immunity for the monastery, out  
 of reverence for Him who suffered on this Friday. As soon as they  
 were in his presence, on bended knees they all together begged him to  
 show respect for the people's penitence, and spare the monastery the  
 plundering of its goods. The prince was immediately won over by  
 their piety, and decided to assent to their request; but he was  
 overcome by the advice of some men of Belial shouting 'Forward  
 march!', and made no distinction between sacred places, times or their  
 religious calling. For as the most sacred festival of Easter was  
 approaching, he imposed himself with his commanders and their  
 horses on that monastery, while his army was lodged on all sides in the  
 country and the town. Then as evening approached on Easter Day,  
 when they had plans for moving to England early the next morning,  
 black clouds built up, and the sky suddenly changed; and a wind from  
 the north, blasting with sleet showers and with frosty rain-drops  
 mixed with violent hailstorms, scattered the force of its squalls among  
 the English army, so that all those located out of doors were in this  
 way embraced by the cold and freezing weather and left weakened, for  
 with natural warmth missing, their limbs were rendered frozen,  
 contracted or constricted, and also lacked sensation. As a result most  
 of them killed their horses, extracted the entrails, intestines and  
 bowels, and sought lodging and refuge out of sight within them. Some  
 had shrunk tendons, others were cold and swollen, others frozen to  
 the ground; and (to be brief) once they had been shrivelled up and  
 smitten by the onset of the weather, nearly all of those outside the  
 circle of houses were on the Monday morning found to have been  
 stifled and killed. On seeing this the prince of Wales called his council  
 together the next day and said: 'You givers of bad advice are worthy  
 of death! When some time ago I felt pity for the monks' prayers and  
 wanted to deal mercifully with them, you with an eye to the spoils  
 shouted "Forward march!". But now I am sorry to answer:  
 "Retreat!" And with this the few hundreds who survived out of many  
 thousands hurriedly returned to their own region by a different route  
 from that which they had planned. It is for this reason that in England

1357:  
7 Apr.?

9 Apr.

10 Apr.

*De liberacione et redempcione regis David de Anglia*

Hiis adhuc diebus rex David in Anglia detenebatur captivus. Tandem de consilio regis Anglie missus est ad castrum de Berwik concomitante eum comite de Northampton. Ad quem proceres et prelati Scocie venerunt de liberacione eiusdem tractaturi cum dicto comite et certis commissariis potestatem ad hoc habentibus. Qui super materia 5 subjecta per iii<sup>or</sup> vel quinque dies continuos conferentes nichil profecerunt; sed infecto negotio regem David Londonias revocaverunt. Tandem anno quo supra circa festum beati Michaelis rex David liberatur a carcere, qui per undecim annos in captivitate fuit in diversis Anglie locis arcius custoditus, concessis pro redempcione 10 sua centum milibus<sup>a</sup> marcarum sterlingorum, ad terminos xiiii annorum immediate sequencium sine fraude persolvendorum. Interim et pro tanto tempore treugis inter regna inviolabiliter observandis, sine alio aliquo contractu, homagio, regni dismembracione seu subjeccione, vel exaccione aliquali. Ad cuius summe pecunie 15 securitatem regno Anglie integraliter persolvende, dati sunt obsides filii et heredes pene omnium nobilium ac procerum regni Scocie in manus Anglicorum, necnon comites et barones in propriis personis quamplures, qui<sup>b</sup> pro domino suo in Anglia diu obsides remanserunt. <Sed et dictus rex David antequam liberaretur obligatione et 20 promissione coactus fuit castra et municiones infra Nyddisdal prostrnere que illis diebus maxime Anglicis<sup>c</sup> dampna intulerunt. Qui quidem rex juxta promissum cum ad propria redisset castra scilicet Dalswynton, Drumfress<sup>d</sup>, Mortona et Durisdere cum aliis novem ad terram prostravit, que adhuc remanent in edificata [pro majore 25 parte].<sup>d</sup> | Eodem anno obiit domina Christiana de Brois soror regis Roberti et uxor quondam incliti Andree de Moravia boni custodis Scocie, nobilissima matrona in senectute bona, sepultaque est in Dunf cum parentibus et progenitoribus suis, quorum locus proprius est sepulture. Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc lvi<sup>i</sup> domina Johanna de Turribus 30 regina Scocie et Eadwardi de Wyndesor regis Anglie soror, petita licencia a David rege sponso suo, Angliam peciit, et ibidem aliquanto tempore commorata obiit peregrina. | <Isto anno scilicet m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lvii proposicionem solemnissimam fecit Armachanus primas Hibernie

G ii,360

fo.299v

a +librarum del.C  
b interlin.C

c +et castro de Lochmaban CA  
d D; lac.C

*The release of King David from England and his ransom*

King David was still being held a prisoner in England at that time. At length on the instructions of the king of England he was sent to [1354: Berwick castle in the company of the earl of Northampton. The Sept.-Nov.] magnates and prelates of Scotland came to meet him to negotiate over his release with the said earl and certain commissioners who had 5 authority in this matter. After discussions on this subject for four or five days on end, they achieved nothing; instead they recalled King David to London without the business being completed. At length in the same year as above about Michaelmas King David was released [1357: 7 Oct.] from prison after he had been strictly guarded as a prisoner in various places in England for eleven years. His ransom of 100,000 marks sterling had been agreed, payable straightforwardly at intervals over the fourteen years immediately following. Meanwhile for that period of time an inviolable truce was to be observed between the kingdoms, 15 without any other treaty, performance of homage, break-up or annexation of the kingdom, or any kind of levy. As security that this sum of money would be paid to the kingdom of England in full, sons and heirs of nearly all the nobles and magnates of the kingdom of Scotland were handed over into English hands as hostages, as also 20 were very many earls and barons in person, who remained in England for a long time as hostages for their lord.

But it was also the case that before he was released King David was forced to bind himself and promise to knock down the castles and forts in Nithsdale which at that time had inflicted the greatest damage 25 on the English. When the king had returned home, then, he razed to the ground according to his promise the castles of Dalswinton, Dumfries, Morton, Durisdeer, and nine others; to a large extent they have still not been rebuilt.

That same year the Lady Christian de Bruce, the sister of King 1357 Robert and wife of the late celebrated Andrew de Moray the Good the guardian of Scotland, died. She was a most noble matron who died at a good old age, and was buried at Dunfermline with her parents and ancestors, whose own place of burial it is.

In 1357 the Lady Joan of the Tower queen of Scotland and sister of [1358] Edward de Windsor king of England made for England after seeking permission from King David her husband; and after spending a little 35 time there as a pilgrim she died. [1362: 7 Sept.]

coram domino papa contra defectus fratrum mendicantium, et quod 35  
voluntaria mendicitas contrariatur legi divine, et de confessione et  
[sepultura etc.]<sup>d</sup> Istud proposuit viii die novembris.>

d D; lac.C

## 19

fo.300

*De quodam dominatu rusticorum in Francia contra nobiles*

Eodem anno consurgentes rustici, ignobiles et degeneres viri fere de  
omni parte regni Francie, juxta quod intra se, coadunato secrete  
consilio, contrectabant, sibi ducem principem et preceptorem,  
moribus et natu ceteris rusticiorem Jak Bonhom nomine eligentes, cui  
in omnibus ut<sup>a</sup> obedirent de more bellancium statuerunt. Qui graviter 5  
et injuriose ferentes regem Francie solum apud bellum de Poyteris  
inanem dimissum, nullo generoso secum in campo comitante cum  
caperetur, ulcionemque ex eis, ea ratione, et ne regnarent super eos,  
animo presumptuoso expetere volentes, omnes ingenuos et generoso<sup>b</sup>  
stemate natos debellantes, atrociter peremerunt.<sup>c</sup> Ubicumque eciam 10  
in oppidis, castris, maneriis et villis, quibus eorum rabies approxima-  
bant,<sup>d</sup> quoscumque titulo clari sanguinis vel gentilitatis clamantes  
repererant, crudeliter morti nepharie tradiderunt, dominari avide  
anhelantes, quibus compeciit servitus a natura. In tantum enim tunc  
excreverat rusticorum malicia, ut speciosiores et eleganciores 15  
mulierum et dominarum nobilium eligentes,<sup>e</sup> in conspectu maritorum  
turpi lenocinio fedarent. Et, quod dictu horrendum est, postea  
abscisis brachiis, nasis, auribus vel articulis, membratim eas gladiis  
decarperent, vel in fluminibus saccatas demergerent, aut alias  
inhonestioribus modis morti darent. Juvenes eciam et virgines, senes, 20  
et infantulos in cunis vagientes in summitatibus lancearum ad  
spectaculum ingenuorum transfixos, etati non parcentes, nec misere  
scientes, ab hac luce fecerant alienos. Insuper alienigenas viatores, et  
de provincia in provinciam gradientes, quoscumque capere poterant,  
abire non sinebant nisi prius prestito juramento quod generositatis 25  
origine caruissent. Sed ipsis sic insatiabiliter<sup>f</sup> proborum mortem et  
interitum sitientibus,<sup>g</sup> misericors et miserator Dominus dispensative  
de remedio providebat. Qui sepe, cum iratus fuerit homo, miseretur  
Deus, suscitans spiritum unius nobilis viri ex regali stirpe proge- | niti,

fo.300v

a interlin.C  
b generosos D  
c D; pervenerunt C  
d approximabat CA

e +et del.C  
f +de del.C  
g CA; sitientes C

In this year, namely 1357, [the archbishop of] Armagh, primate of 1357  
Ireland, argued a formal proposition before the lord pope against the  
40 deficiencies of the mendicant friars, that voluntary mendicancy is  
against divine law, and about [the friars' participation in] confession  
and burials etc. He presented his case on 8 November. 8 Nov.

## 19

*The rule of peasants over the nobles in France.*

That same year some rebellious peasants, men of obscure origin and [1358:  
degenerate character from nearly every part of the kingdom of May-June]  
France, following a plan which they discussed among themselves  
after uniting in secret consultation, elected as their leader, chief and  
5 commander Jack Bonhomme, who was even more of a peasant in his  
habits and birth than the others, and decided in the manner of fighting  
men to obey him in everything. They harmfully and insultingly  
alleged that the king of France was alone and left deserted when he  
was captured at the battle of Poitiers, with no gentleman standing by  
10 him on the battlefield; and wanting in a presumptuous spirit to exact  
retribution from them for this reason, and to prevent them ruling over  
them, the peasants waged war against all men of noble birth and those  
born with a gentleman's pedigree, and savagely killed them.  
Wherever indeed in towns, castles, manors and villages which these  
15 men approached in their frenzy they found any who had a claim to the  
title of distinguished family or gentle status, they killed them most  
horribly. Men whom nature intended for servitude were eagerly  
thirsting to be masters. For the wickedness of the peasants had then  
grown to such an extent that they would seek out the more good-  
20 looking and graceful of the noble women and ladies, and dishonour  
then by shameful sexual abuse in front of their husbands. And (what  
is horrible to relate) afterwards they cut off their arms, noses, ears or  
limbs, and picked them off limb by limb with swords, or drowned  
them in sacks in rivers, or dealt death to others in shameful ways.  
25 Indeed they removed from this world young men and girls, old men,  
and infants wailing in their cradles transfixed on the points of spears  
as a spectacle for local people, without sparing a thought for age or  
knowing pity. In addition whatever foreign travellers and people  
moving from one region to another they could capture they would not  
30 allow to leave without first taking an oath that they had no taint of  
gentle birth. But while these men thirsted insatiably for the death and  
destruction of honourable men, the Lord in his mercy and compas-  
sion provided a remedy by way of a dispensation. Often when man is  
enraged, God will be moved to pity. He aroused the spirit of a noble



qui, adjunctis sibi quibusdam de nobilioribus et forcioribus, irrui in 30  
degeneres; et, animositate resumpta, eos insecutus est, perdens et  
trucidans quoscumque ex eis invenire poterat, nemini ex eis parcens,  
sed sine misericordia occidens, quousque universos de toto regno |  
Francie, sicuti male egerant et meruerant, penitus aboleret. Ipsumque 35  
ducem principem prenommatum, apprehendens,<sup>b</sup> cum tripode fer-  
reo, ad instar urentis flamme calefacto, eius funestum caput in  
modum corone circumcinxit. Sicque exustus, vite finem miserabiliter  
dedit, vertens 'Jak Bonum' in 'Kai Malum'.

<sup>h</sup> corrected from *apprehendens* C

## 20

*De interfeccione nobilis Rogeri de Kirkpatrick*

Anno supradicto circa festum Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste  
occisus est nobilis armiger Rogerus de Kirkpatrick apud castrum de  
Carlaverok per dominum Jacobum de Lyndesay militem secum ea  
nocte hospitatum; et post cenam vino hausto in leticia et hinc inde  
valefacto, Rogero lecto collocato nil mali premeditante,<sup>a</sup> et ostio 5  
cubilis clauso, nescitur quo instinctu, dictus miles cereis ardentibus  
pulsavit thalamumque intravit, et sine plure Rogerum lectulo  
inhumaniter jugulavit. Qui quidem Jacobus, de milite tyrannus  
effectus post illud injuriosum commissum, fugere et se salvare pro  
meliore diliberans, a dicto castro nocte secessit, et per totam illam 10  
noctem teterimam minister noctis equitando aufugit, sperans se longa  
terrarum spacia impune peragrasse, sed a castro supradicto per tria  
miliaria in crastino sole lucente vix distabat. Nec mora ab interfecti  
amicis regis David conspectui presentatur per sponsam dicti Rogeri  
interfecti, et a rege legis exigitur implementum. Statimque per 15  
dominum regem ordinata<sup>b</sup> assisa, per quam proximi sanguinis reus  
inventus, apud Dunfres sententia punitur<sup>c</sup> capitali. Propter quod  
notandum est quod premissi Jacobus et Rogerus primogeniti sive  
heredes fuerunt illorum qui cum Roberto Brois complices fuerunt  
internicionis Johannis de<sup>d</sup> Red Comyn in ecclesia fratrum de 20  
Drumfres. Et sic hic completur<sup>e</sup> quod in spiritu audivit senior frater in  
choro fratrum de Drumfres sequenti nocte interfeccionis eiusdem  
domini Johannis Comyn, cum audiret vocem vindictam imprecantem,  
cui responsum fuit: 'Modicum expecta, quia transfertur ad

<sup>a</sup> first -t- interlin. C

<sup>b</sup> electa nobilium for per ... ordinata CA

<sup>c</sup> plectitur for punitur CA

<sup>d</sup> le CA

<sup>e</sup> verificatum est for hic completur CA

35 man descended from royal stock, who, after gathering some noble  
and brave men, attacked the degenerates; and when he and his men  
had regained their courage, he followed them closely, destroying and  
killing such of them as he could find, sparing none of them, but  
slaughtering them without mercy until he entirely obliterated them all  
40 from the whole kingdom of France as they deserved for having acted  
so wickedly. Once he had captured that aforesaid leader and chief, he  
crowned as it were his head which had done such damage with an iron  
tripod that had been heated in the manner of a scorching flame. Thus  
was he completely destroyed by fire, so ending his life in a wretched  
45 fashion, turning 'Jack the Good' into 'Kay the Bad'.

## 20

*The killing of the noble Roger de Kirkpatrick*

In the said year around the feast of the Nativity of the blessed John the Baptist, the noble man-at-arms Roger de Kirkpatrick was killed at the castle of Caerlaverock by the knight Sir James de Lindsay, who was staying with him that night. After dinner when the wine had been 5  
pleasurably drained and both men had said goodnight, Roger went to bed with no anticipation of evil and with the door of his bedroom closed. Led by some unknown impulse, the said knight knocked and entered the bedroom with lighted candles, and without more ado heartlessly cut Roger's throat on his bed. This James, who by 10  
committing that wrongful act had changed from a knight to a tyrant, decided that it would be better to flee and save himself. He left the said castle by night, and as a servant of the night fled on horseback through all that vilest of nights, hoping to cover a long distance without retribution; but as the sun rose in the morning he was scarcely 15  
three miles away from the said castle. Without delay he was presented for King David's attention by friends of the dead man on behalf of the wife of the said dead Roger, and the execution of the law was enforced by the king. Immediately the king ordered the holding of an assize, by which James was found guilty of blood-feud, and punished with a capital sentence at Dumfries. 20

For this reason it should be noted that James and Roger were the first-born or heirs of those who were accomplices with Robert Bruce in the slaughter of John the Red Comyn in the church of the friars of Dumfries. And so here was fulfilled what the elderly friar heard from a spirit in the choir of the friars of Dumfries on the night following the killing of the same Sir John Comyn, when he heard a voice crying out for vengeance, to which the answer was made: 'Wait for a little while, for the matter is handed on to the heirs' (see above, Book XII,

[1358;]  
24 June

heredes' (ut supra libro XII capitulo vii). Pro isto eciam vide libro XII 25  
capitulo xix, videlicet quomodo filii puniuntur pro commissis  
patrum; et ut in huiusmodi factis non mireris iudicium Dei quod est  
abissus multa, audi quod scriptum est Libro Questionum domine  
Brigitte, <sup>f</sup> cui dicit Dominus quod:

30 Multociens contingit quod filii imitantur peccata parentum, et ideo  
quandoque puniuntur peccata patrum in filiis, non quia peccata  
patrum in ipsis impunita erunt, licet pene peccatorum transferantur ad  
tempus, sed unusquisque in peccato suo morietur et punietur.  
Quandoque eciam peccata sicut scriptum est visitantur in quartam  
generacionem, quia divina iusticia mea est, ut cum filii nec pro se nec 35  
pro patribus studeant mitigare iram meam, puniantur cum patribus  
quos contra me secuti sunt.

<Deus eciam propter unius persone maliciam aliquando flagellat  
unam totam multitudinem. Exemplum Genesis xx, ubi tota domus  
Abimalech sterilis facta fuit propter demeritum eius, et totus populus 40  
Israel pro peccato Achor furis punitus fuit (Josue vii et xxii). Ex quo  
patet quod Deus punit aliquando innocuos pro peccato alterius  
temporaliter sed [non e-]ternaliter.<sup>g</sup>>

<sup>f</sup> + ubi sive del.C

<sup>g</sup> D; lac.C

## 21

G ii,362

*De inundacione in partibus Laudonie, et nunciis regis missis ad  
papam pro impetracione decime*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc lvi in vigilia Nativitatis Nostre Domine tanta et  
talis inundacio pluvie et aque in partibus Laudonie subito erupit,  
qualis a diebus Noe usque in presens non apparuit; in tantum ut aque  
intumescerent alveos ripas et receptacula sua transgredientes, in  
agros villas et urbes ac monasteria se diffunderent,<sup>a</sup> impetuque<sup>b</sup> suo 5  
muros lapideos, pontes fortissimos, necnon vicos ac domus firmissi-  
mas funditus everterent et delerent. Nichilominus quercus excelsas et  
arbores robustas prope flumina situatas, alluvione aque a radice  
evulsas, usque ad maris confinia vehemens unda protraxit. Segetes  
eciam stipula abscisas, et in loco seccionis ad siccandum expositas, de 10  
locis vicinis ac remotis ab usibus hominum dampnabiliter abstraxit ac  
delevit. Hoc eciam contigit in Hadyngtona quod aqua intumescens  
totum quasi vicum de Nwngate, ripis valde supereminentem, delevit  
et solo coequavit. Ubi quidam vir Johannes<sup>c</sup> Birley nomine, aqua

<sup>a</sup> + ac del.C  
<sup>b</sup> -que interlin.C

<sup>c</sup> + Bil del.C

Chapter 7). In this connection see also Book XII, Chapter 19, on how  
30 sons are punished for the crimes of their fathers; and so that in matters  
of this kind you are not to be amazed that the judgment of God is a  
great bottomless pit, hear what is written in the 'Liber Questionum' of  
the Lady Bridget, to whom the Lord states that:

35 Many times it happens that sons copy the sins of their parents; and so  
some day the sins of the fathers are punished in the sons, not because  
the sins of the fathers will in themselves go unpunished, although the  
penalties for the sins are transferred for a time, but because everyone  
will die and be punished for his own sin. Also some day the sins [of the  
fathers] (as it is written) are visited in the fourth generation, because my  
40 justice is Divine, inasmuch as when sons do not seek to soften my  
anger, either for themselves or for their fathers, they are to be punished  
with their fathers whom they have followed against me.

God also, on account of the wickedness of one person, sometimes  
scourges a whole multitude. For example see Genesis 20, where the  
45 entire house of Abimelech was made barren on account of his fault,  
and the whole people of Israel was punished for the sin of the robber  
Achan (Joshua 7 and 22). From this it is obvious that God sometimes  
punishes innocents for the sin of someone else, on the temporal but  
not on the eternal level.

## 21

*Flooding in parts of Lothian, and the sending of envoys from  
the king to the pope to request a tenth*

In 1358 on the eve of the feast of Our Lady's Nativity flooding of rain  
and water suddenly burst out in parts of Lothian in such quantity and  
of such a kind as have not been seen from the days of Noah to the  
present. Its extent was such that the rising water overflowed channels,  
5 embankments and reservoirs, and spread into fields, villages, towns  
and monasteries. By its force it threw down from the foundations and  
demolished stone walls and the strongest bridges, as well as built-up  
areas and the most substantial of houses. Likewise the violent flow  
dragged tall oaks and strong trees sited near rivers, uprooted by the  
10 flood water, all the way to where the rivers joined the sea. It was also  
responsible for removing from human use from places near and far  
and destroying corn that had been cut and spread out where it had  
been cut for drying. It also came about in Haddington that rising  
water destroyed and by itself levelled practically all the Nungate  
15 quarter which lay well above its banks. There a man called John  
Birley, as the water entered his house and to a great extent took it  
over, climbed to the upper part of his roof, and was carried to the

1358:  
7 Sept.

domum eius invadente et nimium prevalente, superiorem partem 15  
 tecture eius ascendens et summitati domus sue<sup>d</sup> lignis firmiter trabate  
 et laqueate innixus, transvectus fuit usque ad Pontem Monialium de  
 Haddington. Cui vir domum equitans et<sup>e</sup> approximans,<sup>f</sup> et in<sup>e</sup> eiusdem  
 [ca-]lumen<sup>g</sup> secedens, ac epistilium fortiter apprehendens,<sup>h</sup> se salva-  
 vit, cato, cane et gallo secum individue concomitantibus.<sup>i</sup> A quo, cum 20  
 aque decrescerent, quesitum fuerat quomodo se [habuit],<sup>g</sup> | respondit  
 ut sequitur, quod hucusque inibi proverbialiter<sup>j</sup> frequentatur, videli-  
 cet: “*Now row we mirili*,” quoth [?] *Johannes Birley*.<sup>j</sup> Sed quia hec  
 premisimus pro mirabili, audite quod ibi accidit miraculi. Nam  
 procella illa undevaga succrescente, et alvei terminos pretergrediente, 25  
 quedam monialis simplicitate quadam fatua, sed mente quamvis non  
 secundum scienciam<sup>k</sup> devota, cum aqua minitaretur subversionem<sup>l</sup>  
 cenobii, assumpta de ecclesia Virginis imagine, pernici gradu cucurrit  
 ad dimergendum eam nisi Maria a profluvio defenderet abbaciam.  
 Cum igitur aqua officinarum fores attingeret, monialis imaginem 30  
 elevans ad jactandum, et ecce! in momento aqua cursum retorquens  
 fugantem aufugit, et mirabile dictu nusquam resteterat donec ad  
 communem<sup>m</sup> terminum refluxisset.

Anno sequenti misit rex David ambassatores suos, videlicet  
 dominum Robertum de Erskin militem et Normannum Lesly 35  
 armigerum, cum quibusdam aliis viris industribus, ad apostolicam  
 sedem ad impetrandum decimam omnium fructuum ecclesiasticorum  
 et reddituum tocius ecclesie Scoticane in subsidium solucionis  
 redempcionis sue. Quam quidem petitionem summus pontifex per  
 tres annos tantum immediate sequentes benigne concessit, ita tamen 40  
 quod a clero regni pro totali redempcione sua non exigeret vel  
 amplius peteret ab eodem. Nuncii vero liberaliter expediti cum bullis  
 papalibus clero Scocie super eodem negotio destinatis leti ad propria  
 redierunt.

d + innixus del.C

e interlin.C

f approximavit CA

g D; lac.C

h + sic a rapace gurgite CA

i + universis domus sue aliis submersis  
 animantibus CA

j istud quod proverbialiter inibi  
 communiter for quod ... proverbialiter  
 CA

k conscienciam CA

l submersionem CA

m consuetum CA

*De transitu regis Anglie in Franciam, et tractatu super  
 deliberacione regis Francie*

Anno supradicto Eadwardus Wyndesor rex Anglie, retento apud eum  
 rege Francie, erga festum beati Michaelis cum omni gloria et potencia  
 sua ac tocius Anglie multitudine regnum Francie crudeliter intravit.

Nuns' Bridge at Haddington, securely resting on the top of his house,  
 which had beams and panels of wood. As the man riding the house  
 20 approached the bridge, he detached himself on to the top of it; and by  
 holding firmly to the cross-beam, he saved himself along with a cat, a  
 dog and a cockerel that were his inseparable companions, [while all  
 the other living things in his house were drowned.] As the waters were  
 going down, he was asked how he was, and made the following  
 25 answer (which to this day is frequently used there as a proverb),  
 namely: “*Now we row merrily*,” said John Birley.’

But now that we have first set out something wonderful, listen to  
 something miraculous which happened there. For as that violent  
 storm over the sea was increasing and blowing past the bounds of the  
 30 river, a certain nun with a degree of foolish simplicity, but with devout  
 intention even if without understanding, when the water threatened  
 to submerge the monastery, seized an image of the Virgin from the  
 church, and ran speedily to plunge it into the water if Mary did not  
 defend the abbey from the flood. When therefore the water reached  
 35 the doors of the domestic quarters, and the nun was raising the image  
 to throw it away, behold! in a moment the water fled from the image  
 that was driving it away; and the wonder was that it never paused  
 until it had flowed back to its [customary] limits.

The following year King David sent his ambassadors, that is the 1359  
 40 knight Sir Robert Erskine, and the man-at-arms Norman Leslie, with  
 certain other diligent men to the apostolic see to request a tenth of all  
 ecclesiastical incomes and of the revenues of the whole Scottish  
 church to help the payment of his ransom. The Supreme Pontiff  
 kindly granted this request only for the three years immediately  
 45 following, provided that the king would not raise a levy for the whole  
 of [the period of] his ransom from the clergy of the kingdom, nor seek  
 more from the same. The envoys, indeed, were generously supplied  
 with papal bulls directed to the clergy of Scotland on the same  
 business, and returned home content.

*The crossing of the king of England to France, and the  
 negotiations over the release of the king of France*

In the aforesaid year Edward Windsor king of England, keeping the  
 king of France by his side, about Michaelmas cruelly entered the 1359:  
 kingdom of France in all his pride and power and with a host from all [28 Oct.]

Qui videlicet Anglici faciem terre quasi locuste operuerunt, nulli  
 provincie vel loco parcentes; monasteria eciam eximia et alia 5  
 religionis diversa loca insignia, deletis cunctis eorum substanciis  
 super terram, ad interminabilem redigerunt vastitatem. Contra quos  
 nullus de regno Francie caput levare presumebat. Sed inoffenso pede  
 in urbes et oppida, civitates et villas, strages innumeras exercebant. Et  
 sic plaga nimis magna facta in populo Dei, usque ad civitatem 10  
 Parisiensem hostiliter pervenerunt. At illi de civitate, sibi in futuris  
 precaventes, cum eodem rege tractabant de pace et sui regis  
 liberacione. Verum rex Anglie predictus, providens maximum com-  
 modum sibi et regno suo ex contractu eodem perpetuo proventurum,  
 utiliori consilio acquiescens, recessit ab eis Angliam petens, sanus 15  
 rediit sine dampno, ditatus prediis et spoliis infinitis.

Anno igitur sequenti, id est domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>a</sup> lx, modico temporis  
 cursu transacto a reditu regis Anglie de Francia, quidam cardinalis et  
 omnes natu majores, ac tocius Gallie nobiliores consilioque concor-  
 des,<sup>b</sup> tractatum et regis sui negocium execucioni debite cupientes 20  
 demandare, miserunt legatos suos ac nuncios solemnes predicto regi  
 Anglie pro sui principis liberacione. Qui videlicet rex et omnes de  
 consilio suo vias possibiles et convenciones utilissimas pro suo  
 honore ex parte altera sibi oblatas<sup>c</sup> provide decernentes, habito prius  
 inter ipsos diligenti tractatu deliberacioneque matura, eisdem inter- 25  
 nunciis plenam commissionem habentibus assensum prebere decre-  
 verunt, et regem ipsorum, datis obsidibus, redire <ad propria>  
 permiserunt. Non tamen sine maxima regni Francie mutilacione ac  
 bonorum omnium confusione. Nam pro redempcione sua de terris ac  
 dominiis subscriptis cum multis aliis regem Anglie suosque succes- 30  
 sores investivit ac sasivit, ac de regno Francie perpetue alienavit,  
 videlicet totam Gasconiam cum pertinentiis libere et absolute sibi et  
 heredibus suis concessit, ac de fidelitate et homagio prius sibi debito  
 penitus absolvit. Dedit eciam eidem ducatum de Gyhane, id est 35  
 Aquitanie, dominium de Berri,<sup>d</sup> et oppida de Cales et Gynez, cum  
 multis aliis terris et possessionibus. Insuper aurum et argentum  
 multum nimis ac thesauros infinitos de erario regis Francie, sicut de  
 summa concordatum est, extraxit, <scilicet tres miliones> eique  
 largitus est. Verumptamen omne jus quod habuit rex | Anglie, super  
 quo guerrabat, in regno Francie pro se et heredibus suis<sup>e</sup> in 40  
 perpetuum resignavit; ac armis, quibus prius usus est, et que sibi ut  
 verus ac legitimus heres et rex Gallie de facto assumebat, cum  
 dedecore renunciavit.

a + xl del.C  
 b concordens CA  
 c ablatas D

d + id est Biturcense CA  
 e + concessit ac de fidelitate et homagio  
 del.C

of England. These English, of course, spread over the face of the land  
 5 like locusts, sparing no province or place; in addition they reduced  
 splendid monasteries and various other religious houses to a  
 condition of eternal desolation, after destroying all their landed  
 property. No-one in the kingdom of France dared to raise up his head  
 against these men; but moving without obstruction they carried out  
 10 countless killings in cities and towns, urban areas and villages. And so  
 they inflicted exceedingly great wounds on the people of God, and  
 advanced in hostile manner to the city of Paris. Now those of the city, [1360: Apr.]  
 with an eye to their own interests in the future, negotiated with the  
 same king [of England] over peace and the release of their king. But  
 15 the aforesaid king of England, foreseeing the very great benefit for  
 himself and for his kingdom that would emerge from the same  
 permanent agreement, followed advice that was more profitable to  
 him; he left them, and made for England, returning in good condition [18 May]  
 without loss, enriched with booty and boundless spoils.

20 In the following year therefore, that is 1360, when a short time had  
 elapsed after the return of the king of England from France, a certain  
 cardinal and all those of high birth, and the noblemen of all France  
 who were of like mind, with a view to securing suitable effective action  
 on a treaty and the matter of their king, sent their representatives and [1 May]  
 25 formal envoys to the aforesaid king of England for the release of their  
 prince. This king and all the members of his council astutely latched  
 on to possible ways and agreements most advantageous to his honour  
 that had been offered to him by the other side; and after careful  
 discussion and mature deliberation among themselves, they decided  
 30 to offer their agrément to the same fully-authorised negotiators, and  
 allowed their king to return home once hostages had been handed  
 over. This was not, however, done without very great mutilation to  
 the kingdom of France and disturbance to everyone's property. For  
 as his ransom King John invested and gave seisin to the king of  
 35 England and his successors in the lands and demesnes mentioned  
 below with many others, and perpetually alienated them from the  
 kingdom of France. That is John freely and unconditionally  
 surrendered to Edward and his heirs all of Gascony and its  
 pertinences, and freed Edward entirely from the fealty and homage  
 40 formerly owed to himself. John also surrendered to Edward the duchy  
 of Guyenne (that is Aquitaine), the demesne of Berry [that is  
 Bourges], and the towns of Calais and Guines, with many other lands  
 and possessions. In addition John withdrew gold and silver in  
 excessively large amounts and endless treasures from the treasury of  
 45 the king of France, in accordance with the agreed total (three  
 millions, if you please), and it was bestowed on Edward. On the other  
 hand Edward resigned for ever for himself and his heirs all right which  
 the king of England had over the kingdom of France regarding which  
 he was fighting the war; and he renounced to his dishonour the arms

## 23

*De eodem*

G ii,364

Hiis igitur sic appunctuatis, et obsidibus in Anglia consistentibus, rex<sup>a</sup> Francie <Parisius> parlamentum suum convocavit. Ubi proceribus suis de infortunio suo et destruccione domus Francie lamentabiliter querelam peroravit. Inter cetera talia dicens: 'O Francigene commilitones intimi, olim cunctis nacionibus ut victoriosi predicabiles! 5 Quonam devenit fortitudo vestra, quo terror potencie vestre? Cum ecce iam vincimur ab illis qui nobis olim colla subjeccionis sponte dedere, qui nobiscum pacem<sup>b</sup> continuare cupiere! Ubi sunt, O Francia, prisci patroni tui, fortes et armipotentes athlete, propugnatores et pugiles, veluti Rotholandus et Oliverus, Scotigillemore et 10 Engelijs, Gaiferus et Gundevoldus, Orgerus et Garinus?' Et cum lacrimosis singultibus imber stilliferus genas regias madidarunt. Ad continenciam igitur regis, proceres gemibundi et silencio longo omnes soporati, quidam<sup>c</sup> emeritus miles sic loqui exorsus est: 'O princeps inclite ducum! Paribus primoribus et proceribus regni tui objurgando, nequaquam impingas; nec movearis quod servus tuus loquatur quod in mente retinet.<sup>d</sup> Causaris enim et accusas degenerositatem<sup>e</sup> athletarum Francigenarum, querendo ubi sunt incliti bellatores et pugiles, ut olim Rotholandus etc. Et ego<sup>f</sup> dico tibi: Ostendas michi Karolum, et ego adducam tibi Rotholandum et 20 Oliverum!' Expositis igitur ibi demembracione regni et convencione scripti inter regna, ut premititur, confectis, exoriuntur nove difficultates<sup>g</sup> circa contractus observancias,<sup>h</sup> et abhinc remissis regi Anglie de modo assecurancie novis proposicionum<sup>i</sup> questionibus, tractatus prisci retractantur, et rex<sup>j</sup> Francie<sup>k</sup> Anglie remittitur, et obsides 25 absolvuntur. Et<sup>l</sup> ecce paulo post, Deo disponente, rex Francie captivus Anglie moritur, et sic totum negocium infectum redditur et imperfectum.<sup>m</sup>

a + Anglie del.C  
b nobis for nobiscum pacem CA  
c CA; Quidem C,D  
d + proferendum CA  
e -ta- interlin.C  
f + tibi del.C  
g dif- interlin.C  
h observandas CA

i exposicionum D  
j + ano del.C  
k + denuo CA  
l interlin.C  
m + dominia cum adhuc per fas vel nephas, nescio Deus scit, remanent cum Anglis in possessione CA

## 23

*The same*

50 which he had previously used when he claimed to be the true and legitimate heir and *de facto* king of France.

Once these matters had been agreed in this way, therefore, with the hostages remaining in England, the king of France summoned his parliament at Paris. There he mournfully spoke at length to his magnates, complaining about his misfortune and the destruction of the House of France. Among other similar matters he said: 'My dearest comrades from France who used to be commendable as victors over all nations! What point has your courage reached? Where is the terror inspired by your power? For look! we are now being defeated by those who at one time surrendered their necks to us of 5 their own accord as a mark of submission, and who wanted to maintain peaceful relations with us. France! Where are your former patrons, strong and valiant champions, defenders and fighters, like Roland and Oliver, Guillemer l'Escot and Engelier, Gaifier and Gondebuef le Frison, Ogier le Danois and Garin le Lorrain?' And 10 with tearful sobs a shower of drops moistened the royal cheeks. With a view to helping the king regain his self-control, therefore, while the magnates sighed and kept quiet with a long silence, a certain long-serving knight began to speak in this manner: 'Most distinguished and renowned of leaders! If you rebuke the peers, nobles and magnates of your kingdom, you would by no means strike home. Do not be angry because your servant is saying what is in his mind. For you bring a case and make an accusation about the degeneration of the champions of the French race, enquiring where renowned warriors and fighters are to be found, like Roland etc. in times past. I 15 say to you: Show me Charlemagne and I shall bring you Roland and Oliver!'

When therefore the dismemberment of the kingdom and the previously-mentioned written treaty between the kingdoms had been explained there and finalised, new troubles presented themselves about the observance of the agreement; and then once some new proposals had been sent back to the king of England on the matter of surety, the earlier treaties were revoked, the king of France was sent back to England, and the hostages were released. And behold! by God's ordinance the king of France died soon afterwards as a 20 prisoner in England, and thus the whole business turned out unfinished and incomplete.

1360:  
[Oct. x]

[1364:  
4 Jan.]  
[8 Apr.]



*De secunda mortalitate*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxi<sup>o</sup> quidam frater Ordinis Minorum Johannes nomine, in curia Romana existens, sanctissimo patri nostro Innocencio v<sup>to</sup> a vices apostolicas gerenti de tribulacionibus et miseriis multis in universum mundum propter peccata hominum infra novem annos continue futuros superventuris prophetavit. Qui ob hoc incarceratione donec annorum numerus compleretur, et ipsius prophecie effectus et exitus videtur. Nam in regno Scocie evenit ut predixit, quia secunda mortalitas permaxima incepit a festo Purificatione Nostre Domine et usque ad Natale Domini immediate sequens continuavit. Que vires et virulencias suas, tam in proceribus et magnatibus quam in popularibus et aliis mediocribus personis, in tantum exercuit, ut humano iudicio fere tertia pars | humani generis ex prima<sup>b</sup> pestilencia remanentis debitum nature reddere cogeretur, eodem modo et eadem forma in hiis qui infirmantur ut prius cursum habens. Rex autem David, habens in comitatu suo plures de melioribus et nobilioribus regni, secessit in partes aquilones eiusdem regni, tum propter horribiles visus et auditus multitudinis infirmorum et mortuorum, tum propter timorem et metum illius pestilencie tunc in partibus australibus regni ingruentis, quam devitare salubriter proposuit. Qui, tempore quo ibidem morabatur, ob quandam discordiam motam inter ipsum et Thomam<sup>c</sup> comitem de Mar castrum de Kyndromy obsessit. Quo in brevi accepto, ipsum per quandam militem suum dominum Walterum Monyhe<sup>d</sup> <et Ingeramum de Wynton<sup>e</sup>> custodiri pro tempore demandavit. Comes vero juxta beneplacitum regis de regno recessit, sed post conductum tempus repatriavit, et in grariam regis receptus est, restitutus sibi castro et possessionibus. <Hoc anno tenuit rex Natalis festum celebre in monasterio de Kinlos.> Quo etiam anno in ipsa pestilencia mortuus est Thomas Senescallus comes Angusie <in castro de Dunbretan>, qui per regem ibidem incarcerationis fuit ante per annum ob inquietudines et injuriosos actus per ipsum communitati perpetratos. Et quia, relicto seniorum et prudentum consilio, effrenat[orum] lusibus se jungebat, et ad petulancium complacita se irregebat,<sup>g</sup> tum etiam quia suspectus habebatur de

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C<sup>b</sup> interlin. over secunda del.C<sup>c</sup> interlin.C<sup>d</sup> corrected from Monyng C<sup>e</sup> + armigerum CA<sup>f</sup> D; lac.C<sup>g</sup> C, R, CA; irrigabat D, E*The second mortality*

In 1361 a certain Franciscan friar called John, who was then at the Roman court, delivered a prophecy to our most sainted father Innocent [VI], who was then serving his turn in the apostolic office, regarding the many tribulations and afflictions which were going to befall the whole world continuously throughout the next nine years because of men's sins. On this account he was imprisoned until this period of years had passed, and the result and outcome of his prophecy was seen. For in the kingdom of Scotland it turned out as he foretold, because a second extremely severe mortality began on the feast of the Purification of Our Lady and lasted until the Christmas immediately following. It spread its strength and virulence as much among nobles and magnates as among common people and other persons of intermediate rank, to such an extent that it seemed to men at the time that nearly a third of the human race that remained after the first pestilence were forced to render their debt to nature. It took its course in the same way and with the same character among those who took ill as before. But King David, accompanied by many of the more wealthy and more noble men of the kingdom, withdrew to the northern parts of the same kingdom, partly because of the horrible sights and sounds of the multitude of ill and dead, partly because of fear and alarm at that pestilence which was then spreading in the southern parts of the kingdom, and which he planned to escape in good health. While he was staying there, he besieged Kildrummy castle on account of a quarrel that had arisen between himself and Thomas earl of Mar. Once it had fallen to him after a short time, he entrusted its keeping for the time being to one of his knights, Sir Walter Moigne, and to [the man-at-arms] Ingram de Wynton. Moreover the earl withdrew from the kingdom at the king's pleasure; but came home after a stated period, and was received into the king's favour, with restoration of his castle and property.

This year the king celebrated the Christmas feast at the monastery of Kinloss. 25 Dec.

In the year of that pestilence also Thomas Stewart earl of Angus died in Dumbarton castle; he had been imprisoned there by the king for the previous year because of disturbances and damaging actions perpetrated by him against the community. It was also because, abandoning the advice of older men of good sense, he joined in the games of men of violence, and had recourse to the pleasures of loose- [Aug x]

consensu et sciencia interfeccionis Katerine de Mortuomari Wallensis, quam in comi-[tiva] regis venientis de Anglia, homines sui videlicet Richardus Holly et [ ]<sup>h</sup> Dewar nequiter occiderunt. Quam pre ceteris mulieribus rex pretulit in amore; propter quam nimium reg-[ina] fuit nelecta et complexa concubina. Adulterii igitur magnitudo et periculum patet ex tribus, videlicet

ex  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{legis antique gravi punicione,} \\ \text{prolis perverse procreacione,} \\ \text{date fidei violacione.} \end{array} \right.$

De primo Levitici xx: 'Si mechatatus fuerit aliquis cum uxore alterius, et adulterium perpetravit cum uxore proximi, morte moriantur mehus et adultera.' Secundum etiam leges civiles pro huiusmodi delicto non recipitur aliqua redemptio. Quam graviter etiam punitus fuit rex Sanctus David pro hoc vicio. Dicit Dominus: 'Non recedet', inquit, 'gladius de domo tua usque in sempiternum, eo quod despexeris me, et tuleris uxorem Urie' (ii<sup>o</sup> Regum xii).

Secundo, patet huius criminis periculum ex prolis perverse procreacione, que solet esse frequenter mala et inhonesta, tum propter parentum imitationem, tum propter castigacionis defectum, quia tales pueri vel dimittuntur cum matre, que non castigat filium, vel cum extraneis personis, qui de moribus pueri nichil curant; unde fiunt insolentes, ingrati, degeneres et viciosi. Et hoc est quod Anglicis comminatur Bonifacius<sup>h</sup> martyr, et ponitur in canone lvi 'Si gens Anglorum' (pro hoc vide supra libro iii<sup>o</sup> capitulo lvii<sup>o</sup>).

iii<sup>o</sup>, patet huius criminis magnitudo ex date fidei violacione. Violatur enim fides data coniugi in sacramento coniugii. Unde mulier adultera peccat in Deum violando matrimonii sacramentum; peccat in virum dupliciter, videlicet fidem sibi frangendo et falsos heredes substituendo; peccat etiam in prolem, quam dampnificat reddens eam ignobilem et inhabilem ad ecclesiasticam dignitatem; peccat in proximum quem admittit; et frequenter de adulterio nascitur occisio et membrorum mutilacio.<sup>k</sup> Unde Sanctus David, cum in adulterium cecidisset, precepit fidelissimum militem suum occidi Uriam. Propter quod in Ecclesiastico scriptum est: 'Omnis mulier relinquens virum suum peccabit statuens heredem ex alieno matrimonio.' Unde et preter premissa sic scribit veridicus poeta:

Ex istis penis plectetur quisquis adulter:  
aut erit hic pauper, alias subito morietur;  
aut erit infamis per quod sit carcere vinctus;  
aut aliquod membrum casu vel vulnere perdet.  
Hoc lex condempnat, prohibet Deus, hoc quoque punit.

<sup>h</sup> no space CA  
<sup>i</sup> sua CA

<sup>j</sup> + po- del.C  
<sup>k</sup> + et prec del.C

living men; and also because he was suspected of consenting knowledge of the murder of Katherine de Mortimer, the Welsh woman whom his men Richard Holly and [ ] Dewar wickedly killed when she was in the king's company as he was coming from England. The king loved her more than all other women, and on her account the queen was entirely neglected while he embraced his mistress. [1360: 24 June]

The gravity and danger of adultery is clear for three reasons, namely:

1. the heavy punishment laid down in ancient law;
2. the procreation of illegitimate offspring;
3. the breaking of pledges of faithfulness.

First, see Leviticus 20: 'If a man commits adultery with another man's wife, and commits adultery with a neighbour's wife, both adulterer and adulteress are to be put to death.' According to the civil law also no financial compensation is allowable for a crime of this kind. St David the king was indeed most severely punished for this offence. The Lord says: 'Your house will never again have rest from the sword, because you have despised me and taken the wife of Uriah' (2 Kings 12).

Second, the danger of this crime that arises from the procreation of illegitimate children is clear. This is customarily often distressing and shameful, whether because the example of the parents is copied, or there is an absence of corrective guidance, for such boys are either left with the mother, who fails to correct her son, or with people outside the family, who care nothing for the boy's character. As a result they become insolent, ungrateful, degenerate and depraved. And it is with this that Boniface the martyr threatens the English, as is set out in Canon 56: 'If the English people' (for this see above Book III, Chapter [58]).

Third, the gravity of this crime is obvious in the breaking of promises of faithfulness. For the faithfulness promised to a spouse in the sacrament of marriage is violated. It follows that an adulterous wife sins against God when she violates the sacrament of marriage; she sins doubly against her husband, namely by breaking faith with him and by substituting false heirs; she sins also against her offspring, whom she injures in reducing them to a humble station in life unfit for promotion to an ecclesiastical dignity; she sins against the neighbour whom she admits; and frequently murder and mutilation of the limbs arise out of adultery.

Hence when St David fell into adultery, he ordered Uriah his most faithful soldier to be killed. On this account it is written in Ecclesiasticus: 'Every woman who leaves her husband will sin in presenting him with an heir from a different marriage.' Hence and besides the foregoing a poet has truthfully said:

Et si istud viciū quemcumque simplicem dedecoret, quia infamis 75  
est, quantum putas dedecet regem! Dicit enim Vegetius quod omnis  
principatus habet suum ordinem, et excessus illius parat tyrannidem.  
Nunc ad propositum redeamus.

## 25

*Quomodo rex David proposuit statibus de successione*

Eodem eciam anno premissa mortalitate in Anglia nimium preva-  
lente, mortui sunt quidam de melioribus natu Scocie nobilioribus  
obsides pro rege suo David, videlicet Johannes de Suthirland, unicus  
filius comitis eiusdem nepos regis, apud Lincolniam circa festum 5  
Nativitatis Nostre Domine, et dominus Thomas comes de Moravia in  
civitate Londoniensi circa festum Sancti Michaelis, et alii quamplures  
nobiles et procures, quorum mors regno Scocie lugubris extitit et  
dampnosa. Eodem anno mortuus est Johannes de Eglemore episco-  
pus Moraviensis, qui ecclesiam sibi creditam tempore quo stetit 10  
laudabiliter rexit. Cui successit magister Alexander Bur, doctor  
decretorum, vir egregie sciencie, canonicus eiusdem ecclesie, canonicè  
electus.

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxxiii<sup>o</sup> rex David parlamentum in Scona  
convocavit, ubi tribus statibus proponendo suggessit ut post mortem 15  
eius unum de filiis regis Anglie assumerent in regem, quam  
multipliciter et singulariter recommisso per eundem Leonello filio  
predicti regis; persuadendo exinde perpetuam pacem regno posse  
pervenire, cum et ipse libere regnum protegeret, et rex Anglie pater  
eius pro se et heredibus suis a modo et in sempiternum numquam jus  
et clameum ad ipsum regnum quocumque<sup>a</sup> titulo vendicaret vel 20  
colore. Cui breviter, et sine ulteriore deliberacione aut retraccione,  
responsum fuit per universaliter singulos et singulariter universos de  
tribus statibus numquam se<sup>b</sup> velle consentire Anglicum super se  
regnare, arguentes | improvidam regis proposicionem, attento quod  
heredes<sup>c</sup> apparentes virtute et etate preminentes<sup>d</sup> superfuerunt. 25  
¶[Quibus astricti erant tres status virtute talliarum interpositis

fo.302v

<sup>a</sup> CA; quibuscumque C.D  
<sup>b</sup> interlin.C

<sup>c</sup> + regni CA  
<sup>d</sup> corrected from preminientes C

85 With these penalties each adulterer will be punished:  
either he will be impoverished, or he will die suddenly;  
or he will be notorious so that he is bound in prison;  
or he will lose one of his limbs by accident or wounding.  
This the law condemns, God prohibits, and also punishes.

And if this vice brings discredit on any simple man because he is  
90 notorious, how much do you think it is unbecoming in a king! For  
Vegetius says that every government has its established procedure,  
and any departure from that is a preparation for tyranny. Now let us  
return to our theme.

## 25

*King David's proposals to the estates on the succession*

Also in the same year, while the said mortality was raging in England, [1361]  
some men from among the best nobles of Scottish birth died while  
hostages for David their king, namely John de Sutherland, the only  
son of the earl of the same and a nephew of the king, at Lincoln about ca 8 Sept.  
5 the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, and Sir Thomas Moray in the  
city of London about the feast of St Michael, and very many other ca 29 Sept.  
nobles and magnates, whose deaths were the occasion of sorrow and  
harm to the kingdom of Scotland.

In the same year died John de Pilmor bishop of Moray, who ruled [1362:  
10 the church entrusted to him in a praiseworthy manner for his period 28 Sept.]  
of office. He was succeeded by Master Alexander Bur, doctor of [23 Dec.]  
decrees, a man of outstanding learning, a canon of the same church,  
who was canonically elected.

In 1363 King David called a parliament at Scone, where he [1364:  
15 proposed to the three estates the suggestion that after his death they 4 Mar.]  
should adopt as king one of the sons of the king of England. In many  
various ways David recommended Lionel, a son of the said king. He  
subsequently argued that the kingdom might achieve permanent  
peace, since on the one hand Lionel would be free to protect the  
20 kingdom, and on the other his father the king of England would never  
by any title or pretext now and in future assert a right or claim to the  
kingdom for himself and his heirs. He was answered at once and  
without further discussion or hesitation by all of the three estates each  
together and all separately that they would never be willing to give  
25 consent for an Englishman to rule over them. They criticized the  
king's proposal as blinkered, since men of splendid character and  
standing were available as heirs apparent. The three estates were  
bound to stick faithfully to these heirs by virtue of tailzies which had  
been agreed with the most solemn of oaths. On this account the king,  
30 apparently convinced, turned to other matters.

maximis iuramentis fideliter adherere.]<sup>e</sup> Propter quod rex, ut apparuit commotus, divertit se ad alia. Huiusmodi igitur propositio seminarium et fomitem cuiusdam sinistre zelotipie erga regem in liegios generavit, quamquam rex, ut presumendum est, numquam in mente habuit huiusmodi factum | anormalum velle ad effectum processisse. Forte enim, / antequam de manibus inimicorum Anglorum evaserat, talia proponere promiserat, et quantum in ipso fuerat, fecit quod debebat. Unde rex, reddendo singula singulis, promissum Anglis servavit, et de inconcessa petitione in corde non penituit. Sed sive ob hoc, sive ob alia, magna conjuratio et sedicio fuit in regno concepta per magnates. Nam in unam sententiam convenerunt principes et majores adversus regem dominum suum, et inter se consilium inierunt ut ipsum super sua repetitione eorum opinioni aut flecterent, aut de regno exularent.<sup>g</sup> Et ne quis illorum ab isto proposito resiliret, edite sunt indenture ragmannice hinc inde<sup>h</sup> firmiter roborate. Verum conceptam intencionem, ne prodicionem dicam, statim operibus demonstrantes, in manu armata et multitudine gravi se crudeliter<sup>i</sup> erexerunt, ut intentum suum vi et metu optinerunt. Porro regi adherentes, <qui maleficiis suis assentire nolebant,> ubicumque locorum erant inventi, capiebant conjurati<sup>j</sup> captosque carceribus mancipabant, in villas et burgos totamque in patriam hostiliter irruentes, et spolia populi<sup>k</sup> inter se dividentes, ac mala alia dampnabiliter perpetrantes, ad illum finem ut rex tociens compassionis gladio confossus, de plebeorum miseria condolendo, facilius eorum votis condescenderet.<sup>l</sup> Sed rex proprie excellenciam potestatis recognoscens manum misit ad forciam, eorum<sup>m</sup> temeritati obviare volens, et<sup>n</sup> sibi precavens in futurum, ne alias huiusmodi insolencia aliis succederet in exemplum, si <tantum attemptatum> remaneret<sup>o</sup> inpunitum, et tanta<sup>p</sup> strages ulterius invalesceret, ac reipublice status deficere videretur. A iii<sup>or</sup> plagis terre suos collegit fideles, in stipendiis illorum exposita multa pecunia, ut presumpcionem ipsorum frangeret et consilium dissiparet, prius tamen, juxta consuetam clemenciam suam, edicto publico proclamato quod ipsi<sup>q</sup> et illorum fautores ab huiusmodi stulticia desisterent ac silerent. Sed ipsos in obstinacione sua<sup>r</sup> induratos, et facta sua<sup>s</sup> defendentes, insecutus. Et<sup>t</sup> viri virtutis, mori cicuius cupientes quam videre mala gentis sue et terre desolacionem, <arma capescunt, et insurgentibus

<sup>e</sup> D; lac.C<sup>f</sup> + et ut dicitur CA<sup>g</sup> propellerent CA<sup>h</sup> litere ragmannice sigillis for indenture ... inde CA<sup>i</sup> interlin. over viriliter del.C<sup>j</sup> interlin.C<sup>k</sup> predatorum CA<sup>l</sup> + et exorbitantem eorum petitionem concederet CA<sup>m</sup> + voluntati altered to volunteti and del.C<sup>n</sup> contraire contendens ac for obviare

volens et CA

<sup>o</sup> sub dissimilacione transiret for remaneret CA<sup>p</sup> consimilis CA<sup>q</sup> + principales CA<sup>r</sup> preconcepta CA<sup>s</sup> + temere CA<sup>t</sup> est viriliter. Similiter sui fideles for Et CA

It is not surprising that a proposal of this kind created among the lieges a seed-bed and kindling of a certain unfortunate antagonism towards the king, although he (it is presumed) never expected that an unprecedented action of this kind would be put into effect. For it may be that before he escaped from the hands of his English enemies, he had promised to set aside the tailzies, and as far as he could, he did what he had to do. Hence the king, in rendering to every individual his due, kept his promise to the English, and did not regret in his heart that his request had been refused.

But whether because of this or for other reasons a great seditious conspiracy was planned in the kingdom by the magnates. For the leading important men were agreed against their lord the king, and formed a plan among themselves either to persuade him to return to their point of view or to drive him out of the kingdom. And in case any of them backed out from this plan, indentures were formally drawn up, securely reinforced by seals added by all the parties. But as an immediate demonstration of the purpose they had planned (let me not call it treachery) in their actions, they arose cruelly in an armed band in serious numbers to achieve their aim by force and fear. Accordingly in whatever places supporters of the king were found, who had no wish to give approval to their misdeeds, the conspirators siezed them and thrust them into prison as captives. They rushed into towns and burghs and around the whole country, dividing the loot taken from the people among themselves, and perpetrating other evils in damnable fashion, with this end in view that as often as the king was pricked with the sword of compassion with fellow-feeling for the distress of the people, he might more easily acquiesce in their prayers. But the king, recalling the superiority of his own power, sent a force in strength, wishing to oppose their boldness, and on his guard for the future lest on another occasion this sort of insolent behaviour should serve as a precedent to others if so serious an attack remained unpunished and so much destruction increased further and the condition of the state was seen to weaken. He assembled men loyal to him from the four regions of the land, spending a great deal of money on their wages, so that he might shatter the presumption [of the conspirators] and break up their plan. This was, however (in accordance with his usual leniency), after he had issued a public edict that [the leaders] and their supporters were to desist and abstain from folly of this kind. He pursued them, however, hardened in their obstinacy and defensive about their actions, for men of spirit who would rather die than see their people harmed and their land desolate take up their arms and in manly fashion go to meet their opponents. But his adversaries did not dare to clash openly with the king and his men, mindful of the saying of Solomon: 'A king's threat is like a lion's roar; whoever provokes him sins against his own soul.' When they realized that they did not have the power to complete what they had

[1363: early]

viriliter obviunt ex adverso." Sed adversarii cum rege et<sup>v</sup> suis aperte  
congregi non audebant, attendentes quod dicat Salomon quod: 65  
'Terror regis sicut terror leonis. Qui provocat eum peccat in animam  
suam.' Missa sibi legacione, postquam perficere quod inceperant non  
valebant, rogabant ea que pacis erant, submittentes se et sua<sup>w</sup> pro sue  
placito voluntatis. At ille, ut erat vir mansuetissimus, mallens  
ignoscere quam ulcisci, recepto ab eisdem fidelitatis iuramento ne 70  
talía de cetero facere attemptarent, vel communitas<sup>x</sup> ulterius majora  
dampna pateretur, pro illo tunc sapienti usus consilio, ipsis decrevit  
indulgere etc.<sup>y</sup> Quassacio illa cessavit.

<sup>u</sup> transverso CA

<sup>v</sup> Quo cognito conjurati cum for Sed ... et  
CA

<sup>w</sup> + sibi CA

<sup>x</sup> + terre CA

<sup>y</sup> in eum malignantibus decrevit indulgere  
quod sine plure fecit et sic for ipsis ... etc.  
CA

## 26

G ii,368

*De clemencia paciencia et indulgencia multum  
in rege commendabilibus*

Multum michi videtur quod<sup>a</sup> rex in hoc facto esset commendandus,  
qui, tamquam legislator et<sup>a</sup> qui debuit et potuit transgressionem  
punire, ac<sup>b</sup> tamen <misericordia> motus ignoscere preelegit. Et  
quamvis canones dicant quod expedit reipublice ne crimina rema-  
neant impunita, tamen Augustinus, recitans quomodo quidam poeta<sup>c</sup> 5  
in laudem Cesaris exurrexit, dicit: 'Longe melius et humanius, et  
piorum sensibus accomodacius, in Cesaris laude locutus est ubi ait:  
"Nulla de virtu-[tibus]<sup>d</sup> tuis nec admirabilior nec graciosior misericor-  
dia.'" Rex enim clemencie et misericordie indulgens, de facili non  
potest deperire, quia ut scriptum est Proverbiis xx: 'Misericordia et 10  
veritas custodiunt regem.' Nam, ut dicit Seneca libro de Clemencia:  
'Officium regis principaliter est ut remittat.'<sup>e</sup> Unde dicit: 'Nullum ex  
omnibus clemencia magis quam regem decet. Pestifera', inquit, 'vis  
est preesse ad nocendum.' Nam | principum crudelitas bellum est;  
clemencia vero, in quamcumque domum introierit, eam felicem et 15  
tran-[quillam]<sup>d</sup> prestat. Idem: 'Si dii equi et placabiles delicta  
potencium non fulminibus persecuntur, quanto equius est hominem,  
homini propositum, miti animo exercere<sup>f</sup> imperium!<sup>g</sup> Hiis attentis,  
potest non inconvenienter ratiocinari, quod vindicta malivolencie

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C

<sup>b</sup> interlin. over in del.C; attamen for ac  
tamen D

<sup>c</sup> om. CA

<sup>d</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>e</sup> + two letters del.C

<sup>f</sup> + propositum del.C

<sup>g</sup> + Hec ille. CA

begun, they sent a deputation to the king, asking for peace, and  
submitting themselves and their property for disposal at his pleasure.  
But he, as the mildest of men, preferred to forgive them rather than  
80 take revenge; he accepted an oath of fealty from them lest they try to 14 May  
act in a similar fashion again, or the community suffer serious harm  
any more; and following wise advice on that occasion, he decided to  
be lenient with them etc. That disturbance then ceased.

## 26

*Mercy, patience and leniency are much to be admired  
in a king*

I am strongly of the opinion that the king is to be commended for this  
action when in his capacity as the legislator he was entitled and able to  
punish law-breaking, and yet was moved by mercy and preferred to  
exercise forgiveness. And although the canon law says that it is  
5 beneficial to the state that crimes do not remain unpunished, yet  
Augustine, when recalling how a certain poet stood up in praise of  
Caesar, says: 'He spoke in Caesar's praise in a far better and more  
humane way, and more in harmony with the feelings of men of piety,  
when he said: "Of all your virtues none is more admired nor more  
10 agreeable than mercy.'" For a king who is lenient with mercy and pity  
cannot easily perish, because as it is written in Proverbs 20: 'Mercy  
and truth preserve a king.' For as Seneca says in his book *On Mercy*:  
'The office of king exists mainly so that he may grant remission.'  
Hence he says: 'Of all men none is better graced by mercy than a king.  
15 Power is deadly', he says, 'when it uses its strength to cause harm.' For  
the cruelty of leaders amounts to war; indeed whichever house it is  
that mercy enters, it will make that house contented and peaceful. The  
same author says: 'If the gods who are fair-minded and quick to  
forgive do not avenge with thunderbolts the misdeeds of powerful  
20 men, how much more fair-minded it is for a man set over a man to  
exercise his authority in a merciful spirit' Once these things have been  
considered, it cannot be inappropriate to take the view that  
retribution arising from the malevolence of a worldly man who



mundialis hominis patientis injuriam, qua succensus, non vult  
 remittere proximo, nec ulcionem committere Deo, sed ipsemet  
 omnino vult semetipsum vindicare,<sup>h</sup> est injusta,<sup>i</sup> secundum jura tam  
 humana quam divina. Et ratio est, quia nullus bonus iudex, durante  
 offensa, similiter nullus potest esse iudex<sup>j</sup> suiipsius. Unde Tullius:  
 'Nemo fere est qui in sua causa iudex est, quin non sibi se<sup>k</sup> equiorem  
 sed favorabiliorem quam reo prebeat.' Hinc Christus Jacobum et  
 Johannem increpavit dure satis, quando ignem de celo petivisse  
 volebant, in ulcionem injurie quando Samaritani Christum recipere  
 recusabant. In quo datur nobis intelligere quod non semper in eos qui  
 peccaverunt in nos est exercenda vindicta. Ratio autem, quia in sua  
 injuria nemo bene iudicat, patet per exemplum. Quando nubes  
 interponitur inter solem et oculum nostrum, ex motu sive tremore  
 tanto, in nube media apparet nobis sol tremere, et dicunt simplices  
 solem tripudiare. Et causa huius deceptionis est tremor in medio, per  
 quod visus sit. Isto modo moraliter, quando homo considerat  
 injuriam illatam sibi, durante offensa, sive rancore; in sensualitate  
 considerat justiciam suam per medium tremulum et nebulosum, et  
 necessario errat in iudicando. Hec igitur vindicta est nobis interdicta  
 sub pena gravissima, videlicet quod si non remiserimus proximo,  
 remissionem non consequemur<sup>l</sup> a Deo dicente:

'Serve nequam! Omne debitum dimisi tibi quoniam rogasti me. Nonne  
 ergo oportuit te misereri conservi tui sicut et ego tui misertus sum?' Et  
 iratus dominus eius tradidit eum tortoribus, quoadusque redderet  
 universum debitum. Sic et Pater meus faciet vobis, si non remiseritis  
 unusquisque fratri suo de cordibus vestris.

G ii,369

Propter enim misericordiam factam liegiis suis | post tam obstinatam  
 conspiracionem, rex semper dum vixerat allexit sibi corda omnium  
 regnicolarum, glutino dileccionis inserta. <Unde quidam sic de eo  
 rescripsit:

Davit donavit Dominus ditissima dona;  
 amavit David et flavit aurea zona.

*h* + istud del.C  
*i* corrected from injustum C  
*j* + durante offensa del.C

*k* + sed del.C  
*l* + in del.C

suffers a wrong over which he has become inflamed, and is not willing  
 to forgive his neighbour nor to leave vengeance to God, but wishes to  
 take vengeance entirely by himself on that man – such retribution is  
 unjust under both human and divine law. And the reason is that no  
 one while harbouring an active sense of grievance is a good judge;  
 similarly no one can be a judge of himself. On this Cicero says: 'There  
 is almost no one acting as a judge in his own case who does not put  
 himself forward as more reasonable and conciliatory than the other  
 party.' This is why Christ rebuked James and John quite severely  
 when they wanted to call fire down from Heaven to avenge the insult  
 when the Samaritans refused to receive Christ. From this we are to  
 understand that retribution is not always to be meted out against  
 those who have sinned against us. The reason why no one is a good  
 judge when it is he who has been wronged is clear in an example.  
 When a cloud comes between the sun and our eye, as a result of so  
 much movement or flickering the sun appears to us to flicker in the  
 middle of the cloud, and simple people say that the sun is dancing the  
 tripudium. And the cause of this misunderstanding is the flickering in  
 the middle through which the sun is seen. It is the same allegorically  
 when a man broods on a wrong done to himself so long as the sense of  
 injury or grudge remains. Under the influence of his senses he reflects  
 on the justice of his case through a flickering and cloudy medium, and  
 necessarily is mistaken when making a judgment. Therefore this kind  
 of retribution is forbidden us under a very heavy penalty, namely that  
 if we have not forgiven a neighbour, we shall not acquire forgiveness  
 from God, who says:

'You scoundrel! I cancelled the whole of your debt when you appealed  
 to me. Should you not have shown mercy to your fellow-servant just as  
 I showed mercy to you?' And his angry master handed him over to the  
 torturers until he should pay the debt in full. That is how my Father will  
 deal with you, unless each of you forgives his brother from your hearts.

On account then of the mercy which he showed to his subjects after  
 such an uncompromising conspiracy, the king as long as he lived  
 always appealed to the hearts of all the inhabitants of the kingdom,  
 attached as they were to him by the bond of love. Thus someone has  
 written about him:

The Lord granted the richest gifts to David;  
 he loved David and a golden clime breathed on him.

*De renovacione fidelitatis regi prestita et de forma juramenti*

At sibi rex precavens in futurum eodem anno apud Inchemurdach, convocatis omnibus regni optimatibus, novam ab eis fidelitatem exegit xiiii die mensis maii. Et propter aliorum exemplum nepotem suum primo deinde reliquos jurare fecit, huiusmodi sub tenore:

Cunctis pateat evidenter quod ego Robertus Senscallus Scocie comes 5  
de Strathern xiiii die mensis maii anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc lxi<sup>o</sup> apud  
Inchemurdach in presencia venerabilium in Christo patrum domi-  
norum Dei gracia Willelmi episcopi Sanctiandr', Patricii episcopi  
Breachinensis cancellarii Scocie, Johannis abbatis Dunf', magistri 10  
Walteri de Wardelaw archidiaconi Laudonie domini nostri regis  
secretarii, magistri Gilberti Armestrang prepositi Sancti Andr',  
dominorum Roberti de Erskin camerarii Scocie, Archibaldi de  
Douglas, Roberti de Ramsey, Thome de Fawside militum, Normanni  
de Lesley, Alexandri de Lyndessey et plurium aliorum, corporale super 15  
sancta Dei evangelia prestiti juramentum, quod fidelis ero pro toto  
tempore vite mee domino meo David Dei gracia regi Scotorum illustri,  
in omnibus causis motis seu movendis, ipsum dominum meum et suos  
ministros ac quoscumque, videlicet quos ipse dominus meus rex suos 20  
fideles dicere voluerit et vocare, pro totis viribus meis, contra omnes  
viventes cuiuscumque condicionis seu status extiterint, juvabo, defen-  
dam, manutenabo et sustinebo; non obstantibus quibuscumque  
obligacionibus, ligamentis vel juramentis per me factis et exhibitis  
Patricio comiti Marchie et Moravie, Willelmo comiti de Dowglas,  
Johanni Senescallo de Kille, Roberto Senescallo de Menteth filiis meis 25  
seu quibuscumque aliis, expresse et omnino renunciavi, et imperpe-  
tuum renuncio per presentes; obligans me, et promittens per juramen-  
tum meum predictum, quod de cetero nullam obligationem, ligamen-  
tum vel juramentum cum ipsis, vel ipsorum aliquo, | aut cum  
quocumque aut quibuscumque faciam, nisi prius scire fecero dictum  
dominum meum regem, et ipsius licenciam et voluntatem super hec 30  
peciero et optinuerero specialem; nec contra dictum dominum meum  
regem, vel ipsius ministrorum seu fidelium<sup>a</sup> aliquem, consilium,  
auxilium, favorem vel defensionem clam vel palam cuicumque vel  
quibuscumque impendam. Sed quandocumque et quocienscumque  
scivero vel audiero aliquos contra dictum dominum meum regem 35  
rebelles existere, aut sibi obtemperare nolle, ipsos pro totis viribus meis  
et potencia compescam, puniam, refrenabo, et usque ad condignam  
satisfaccionem ad voluntatem dicti domini mei regis | distringam et

fo.303v

G ii,370

<sup>a</sup> G; fidelem C,D,CA

*The renewed fealty offered to the king and the text of the oath*

But in the same year the king, with an eye to the future, called all the 1363:  
leading men of the kingdom together at Inchmurdo, and on 14 May 14 May  
exacted from them a new oath of fealty. And as an example to the  
others he had his nephew swear first, and then the rest, in the  
5 following terms:

May it be manifestly clear to all that I, Robert the Steward of Scotland,  
earl of Strathearn, on 14 May 1363 at Inchmurdo, in the presence of the  
venerable fathers in Christ by God's grace sir William bishop of St  
Andrews, sir Patrick bishop of Brechin, chancellor of Scotland, sir  
John abbot of Dunfermline, Master Walter de Wardlaw archdeacon of  
Lothian, secretary of our lord the king, Master Gilbert Armstrong  
provost of St Andrews, Sir Robert de Erskine chamberlain of Scotland,  
Sir Archibald de Douglas, Sir Robert de Ramsay, Sir Thomas de  
Fauside, knights, Norman de Leslie, Alexander de Lindsay and many  
others, have sworn a corporal oath on the Holy Gospels of God that I  
shall be faithful for the rest of my life to my lord David, by God's grace  
the illustrious king of Scots. I shall assist, defend, maintain and support  
in all proceedings already begun or to be begun my lord and his  
ministers and whomsoever my lord king wishes to call his faithful men,  
with all my strength against all men living whatever their condition or  
state may be. This is notwithstanding whatever contracts, bonds and  
oaths that I have made and maintained with Patrick earl of March and  
Moray, William earl of Douglas, John Steward of Kyle, Robert  
Steward of Menteith my sons or anyone else, which I have expressly  
and entirely renounced, and which I renounce for ever by this  
document. I oblige myself and promise by my aforesaid oath that in  
future I shall make no contract, bond or oath with them, or any one of  
them, or with any one or any group whatever, without first letting my  
said lord the king know, and requesting and obtaining his special  
licence and agreement on them. Nor shall I give counsel, assistance,  
approval or defence secretly or openly to any one or any group  
whatever against my said lord the king or any one of his ministers or  
those faithful to him. But whenever and as often as I know or hear of  
any rebels active against my said lord the king, or unwilling to submit  
to him, I shall with all my strength and power curb, punish and restrain  
them, and distrain and force them to give appropriate satisfaction as  
my said lord the king wishes. And so that all and sundry of the  
aforesaid may be done, fulfilled and observed firmly and inviolably, I  
have promised and by this document I promise under pain of  
disinheritance of all my lands, revenues and possessions, and under  
pain of losing all right of succession to the kingdom of Scotland and to

40

compellam. Et ad hec omnia et singula premissa firmiter et inviolabiliter facienda, perimplenda ac observanda, obligavi me et obligo per presentes sub pena exheredacionis omnium terrarum mearum, reddituum et possessionum; ac sub pena amissionis omnis juris successionis regni Scocie, et quorumque aliorum dominiorum seu terrarum que michi competit quocumque jure, titulo vel ordinacione, vel contingere poterit infuturum, sine ulla spe gracie vel favoris optinende. Et sub pena perjurii, dehonorationis, reprobacionis, et defaccionis militis et armorum. In cuius testimonium presentibus sigillum meum est appensum anno die et loco supradictis

Sub isto tenore juraverunt ceteri, mutatis tamen certis terminis, prout personarum qualitas<sup>b</sup> expostulavit.

<sup>b</sup> -ta- interlin.C

## 28

*Quomodo rex desponsavit dominam Margaritam de Logy  
et de eorum divorcio*

Volens igitur rex David providere pro successione regni de fructu ventris sui, si Deus dederit, elegit unam speciosissimam dominam, Margaritam Logy relictam<sup>a</sup> <Johannis Logy>,<sup>b</sup> forte non tam bonitate virtutis femineae quam voluptate forme appetitive; cum tamen matrimonium non de facili, sicut expedit, sine gracia previa et magna providencia precedentibus, <contrahendum [est].<sup>c</sup>> Et ideo uxorem ducendus ista <sup>iiii</sup><sup>or</sup> noscet,<sup>d</sup> que perfecte rex David non previdit,

videlicet qualiter

- eligenda
- corrigena
- dirigenda
- diligenda

est enim uxor

- eligenda discrete
- dirigenda mansuete
- corrigena secrete
- diligenda complete

<sup>a</sup> CA; filiam C,D

<sup>b</sup> corrected from Malcolmi Drommonth  
patris Anabelle [?] regine <conjugis iii

regis Roberti> del.C

<sup>c</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>d</sup> G; nocet C,D

certain other lordships or lands which I acquire by any right, title or ordinance, or which fall to my lot in future, without any hope of obtaining grace or favour. This is also under pain of perjury, dishonour, rejection and cancellation of my knighthood and defacing of my arms. As witness of this I have attached my seal to this document on the year and day and at the place mentioned above.

The others swore along similar lines, just with certain details changed as the distinguishing characteristics of the individuals demanded.

## 28

*How the king married Lady Margaret de Logie,  
and their divorce*

With the aim therefore of providing for the succession to the kingdom from the fruit of her womb (if God granted it), King David chose a most beautiful lady, Margaret Logie, the widow of John Logie, perhaps not so much for the excellence of her character as a woman as for the pleasure he took in her desirable appearance. Yet marriage ought not to be entered into lightly for immediate advantage without first establishing previous mutual regard and serious forethought. And thus a man about to marry will get to know the following four matters which King David did not fully anticipate, namely: (1) in choosing a wife, she ought to be chosen prudently, so that it is done with prudent consideration; (2) in correcting a wife, she ought to be given gentle guidance, so that it is done with gentle control; (3) in guiding a wife, she ought to be corrected in private, so that it is done with private instruction; (4) in loving a wife, she ought to be loved to the full, so that it is done with full sharing.

[1363:  
Apr.?

ut sit electio per 
 discretam deliberacionem  
 mansuetam gubernacionem  
 secretam informacionem  
 completam comunicacionem
  20

Primo igitur est uxor eligenda discrete, non subito nec precipitanter capienda, quia talis fervor in principio parit penam in futuro. Exemplum habemus Genesis xxxiiii de Sichem filio Emor, qui ad primum aspectum Dine filie Jacob eam rapuit, et mori voluit nisi eam ducere posset. Quod et fecit in tanto fervore, quod pro eius amore se et populum suum totum circumcidi promittit. Ob cuius facti precipitationem interfectus est cum populo per fratres Dine. Non igitur in eligenda uxore habeatur totalis aspectus ad formam vel ad speciem mulieris, quia 'propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt' (Ecclesiastici 9), nec etiam ad divicias, vel ad parentes, sed precipue ad bonos mores. Nam in tantum est graciosum negotium bene nubere, quod, teste Salomone, donum Dei proprie reputatur. Unde Salomon: 'Domus et divicie dantur a parentibus, a Domino proprie uxor prudens.' Dicitur autem Aristoteles, scilicet Ethicorum, tres species amicitie 35

G ii,371 videlicet propter 
 utile  
 delectabile  
 honestum.

Hoc ultimum est propter bonos mores; et ista sola perfecta est amicitia. Et quicquid boni est in duabus primis speciebus, totum est in ista. Unde ista sola proprie est amicitia. Propter utile, quod est proprie senum mercatorum, transit beneficium utilitatis, cessante utilitate. Est et amicitia propter delectabile, que est proprie juvenum, que cessat velociter, delectacione transeunte. Et ideo dicit Aristoteles quod amicitie juvenum sunt de facili transmutabiles propter duo: primo quia secundum etatem variatur delectacio – non enim eadem delectacio placet adolescenti que placet puero; secundo quia incipiunt amare, non ex perfecto iudicio rationis, sed ex passione. Pass[io] autem cito transit; et velociter amant, et velociter ab amore cessant. Sed tertia amicitia, que est propter honestum, habet istas condiciones, quia est mansiva et rara, quia fundatur super bonos mores, qui in virtuosus semper manent. Rara autem est, quia pauci sunt virtuosus; et indiget hec amicitia longo tempore, et convictu, et experientia morum.<sup>g</sup> Cum igitur viri ad uxo[rem] debeat esse amicitia maxima, non poterit fundari super pulcritudinem formalem, quia [illa] cito 55

fo.304

e D; Discit C  
f D; luc.C

g + Unde dicit ibi Aristoteles del.C

Firstly therefore, a wife should be chosen prudently, and not married suddenly or hastily, for such passion in the beginning produces its penalty in the future. We have an example in Genesis, chapter 34, regarding Shechem son of Hamor, who on first seeing Dinah the daughter of Jacob raped her, and then wanted to die if he could not marry her. And he acted with such passion that for the sake of his love he promised that he and all his people would be circumcised. Because of the hasty nature of this deed, he and his people were killed by Dinah's brothers. In choosing a wife therefore, not all consideration should centre on the appearance or beauty of the woman, because 'many have been seduced by the beauty of a woman' (Ecclesiasticus, chapter 9), nor on her wealth or her parentage, but rather on her good character. For to marry well is to such an extent a matter of God's grace that, as Solomon says, it is strictly speaking regarded as a gift from God. Hence Solomon says: 'Home and wealth may be provided by parents; but a sensible wife is strictly speaking a gift from the Lord.'

But Aristotle in his *Ethics* says that there are three kinds of friendship, whether because it is useful, pleasurable or honourable. This last case is based on good character, and it alone is a perfect friendship. And whatever good there is in the first two kinds is all included in it. Hence it alone is friendship strictly speaking. In the case of useful friendship, which properly belongs to old merchants, the benefit of utility disappears when the utility comes to an end. Likewise with friendship based on pleasure, which properly belongs to young men; it speedily comes to an end when the pleasure goes away. And thus Aristotle says that the friendships of young men are easily changeable for two reasons: first because pleasure changes with age – for the same pleasure does not please the adolescent as pleases a boy; and second because they begin loving, not out of the mature judgment of reason, but out of passion. But passion quickly passes; and they speedily fall in love, and speedily fall out of love. But the third kind of friendship, which is the honourable one, has these qualities – that it is permanent and individual, because it is founded on good character, which always lasts in people of virtue. It is indeed individual, because few people are virtuous; and this kind of friendship requires a lengthy period of time, intimate association, and knowledge of character.

Since therefore a man's greatest friendship ought to be with his wife, it cannot be founded on the essence of beauty, for that quickly fades, as is said in Proverbs, chapter 31: 'Charm is deceptive and beauty fleeting; but the woman who fears the Lord is honoured.' Nor can it be founded on wealth, for this kind of friendship is based on utility; it is friendship [only] accidentally, because it is possessions that are loved, not a person. Hence Jerome writes that: 'When Marcia the younger daughter of Cato was asked why she did not marry again after losing her husband, she replied that she could not find a man

transibit; unde Proverbia [xxxii]:<sup>h</sup> 'Fallax gracia, et vana est pulcritudo; mulier timens Deum ipsa laudabitur.' Nec poterit fundari super divicias, quia illa amicitia est propter utile; et est amicitia per accidens, quia bona diliguntur, et non persona. Unde Jeronimus<sup>i</sup> scribit quod: 'Marchia Catonis filia minor, cum quereretur cur post amissum maritum denuo non nuberet, respondit se non invenire virum qui se magis vellet quam sua. Quo dicto,' inquit Jeronimus, 'elegantem ostendit divicias magis quam pudiciam.' Certe modernis temporibus non pudicitia, nec honestas morum, movent ad nuptias, sed tantum divicie vel libido. Et ideo nec perseverat amicitia, nec provenit proles, quod si proveniat, non tamen apta inter conjuges tales, ut frequenter. Unde Crisostomus<sup>j</sup> Super Matheum Omelia Prima, exponens istud Matheum 10: 'Salmon<sup>k</sup> genuit Booz ex Ruth.' 'Quia', inquit, 'secundum imperium Dei accepit uxorem, et a Deo promissam, in virtute generat filios, et in seipsum virtutem exercentes; Booz enim "robur" interpretatur. Qui autem accipiunt uxores ex promissione Diaboli, vel numquam generant, vel in infirmitate generant nec valentes nec fortes nisi in malo, et ad penam sue irregularitatis, non ad gaudium et consolacionem, videantur filios genuisse.' Et infra: 'Booz ex Ruth genuit Obeth', qui interpretatur 'subditus'. 'Nunc autem qui divicias eligunt, et non mores, pulcritudinem, et non fidem. Et', inquit, 'quod in meretricibus solet queri, hoc in conjugibus optant. Propterea non generant filios subditos vel sibi vel Deo, sed contumaces et contra se et contra Deum, ut filii eorum non sint fructus iuste conjunctionis eorum sed pena condigna irregularitatis.' Hec ille. Hoc exemplum habemus expresse Thobie vi, ubi legimus quod Sara<sup>k</sup> filia Raguelis septem viris tradita fuerat, quos singulos prima nocte demon quidam Asmodeus suffocavit, virgine manente intacta. Et ideo cum Raphael suggereret juniore Thobie ut eam duceret, et quod sibi debebatur uxor, timentis Thobie dixit:

G ii, 372

'Audi me Thobia, et ostendam tibi qui sunt, quibus prevalere poterit demonium. Hii namque qui conjugium ita | suscipiunt ut Deum a se et sua mente excludant, et sue libidini vacent, sicut equus et mulus in quibus non est intellectus, habet potestatem super eos demon. Tu autem cum ceperis eam, ingressus cubiculum, per tres dies continens esto ab ea, nichil aliud nisi oracionibus vacabis. Transacta autem tertia<sup>j</sup> nocte, accipies virginem cum timore Dei, et magis amore filiorum quam libidinis eam ducens, et habebis in uxorem, ut in semine Abrahe in filiis benedictionem consequaris.'

Et notandum quod hec fuit prima occasio quare filii Seth recesserunt a Deo, et quare Diluvium inundavit (Genesis vi): 'Cum cepissent homines multiplicari super terram, et filios procreassent, videntes filii

<sup>h</sup> G  
<sup>i</sup> underlined by rubricator C  
<sup>j</sup> corrected from Salomon C

<sup>k</sup> corrected from Sarra C  
<sup>l</sup> corrected from prima C

who preferred her to her possessions. By saying this', says Jerome, 'she neatly called attention to her wealth rather than her modesty.' Certainly today it is not modesty nor respect for character that lead to marriage, but only regard for wealth or lust.

And therefore friendship does not last, nor are children produced, because if they are produced, they do not fit in well with such marriage partners, as is frequently the case. Hence Chrysostom in his *First Homily on Matthew*, commenting on Matthew, chapter 1, 'Salmon fathered Boaz by [Rahab]', says: 'Because he took a wife according to God's command, a wife who had been offered in marriage by God, he virtuously fathers sons who practise virtue among themselves; for Boaz means "strength". Those who take wives who have been offered by the Devil, either never produce children, or produce them as weaklings; they seem to produce sons who are neither healthy nor strong except in evil-doing, and as a punishment for the irregularity of the union, rather than to be a joy and consolation.' And later 'Boaz fathered Obed by Ruth'; Obed means 'subject'. 'For now they choose wealth and not character, beauty not honour. And', he says, 'they desire in their wives what is customarily found in mistresses. Besides they do not father sons obedient either to themselves or to God, but who defy both themselves and God, so that their sons are not the fruits of their legitimate union, but are the appropriate penalties of irregular behaviour.'

We find this exemplified specifically in Tobias, chapter 6, where we read that Sarah daughter of Raguel was given to seven husbands, each of whom a certain demon called Asmodeus strangled on his first night, leaving her still a virgin. And therefore when Raphael suggested to the younger Tobias that he marry her, and that she ought to be his wife, he said to the fearful Tobias:

'Listen, Tobias, and I shall show you who they are over whom a demon can prevail. For those who enter matrimony in such a way that they shut out God from themselves and their minds, and who give their time to their lust like the horse and the mule who have no powers of understanding – the demon will have power over them. But you, when you take her, go into the bedroom and avoid having sex with her for three days, devoting yourself only to prayers. When the third night has passed, take the young woman in fear of God, uniting with her more for the love of children than for lust, and you will have her as your wife, so that in the seed of Abraham you may acquire a blessing in children.'

And it is noteworthy that this was the first occasion whereby the sons of Seth withdrew from God, and whereby the Flood spread over [the land] (Genesis, chapter 6): 'When men began to increase over the land, and sons were born to them, the sons of God saw that the daughters of men (that is the sons of Seth saw the daughters of Cain) were beautiful, and took as wives from all of them such as they chose.' So therefore a wife had to be chosen discreetly for the first man who



Dei filias hominum (id est filii Seth filias Cain) quod essent pulcre, acceperunt sibi uxores ex omnibus, quas elegerant.' Sic ergo primo volenti<sup>m</sup> nubere est uxor eligenda discrete. Exemplum quomodo Abraham Eliazar oneravit quod non acciperet uxorem filio suo Isaac de filiabus Chanaan. Jacob etiam cum matura deliberacione sibi de uxoribus providit, serviens pro eis xiiii annis.

*m D; velenti C*

29<sup>a</sup>

*Adhuc de eodem, et quod uxor regenda est c'*

Dixi secundo quod uxor regenda est mansuete, non cum tiranide, austeritate vel terrore, rigore verbis vel verberibus, sed amore non timore, dulcedine non amaritudine. Coloc' iii<sup>o</sup>: 'Viri, diligite uxores vestras, et nolite esse amari ad illas.' Unde formata fuit mulier, non de capite, nec de pede, sed de costa de latere, in signum quod nec debet esse domina nec ancilla, sed socia viro<sup>b</sup> suo. Tria enim sunt in quibus Spiritus Sanctus dicit sibi beneplacitum esse (Ecclesiastici xxv): 'In tribus beneplacitum est spiritui meo, que sunt probata coram Deo et hominibus, concordia fratrum, amor proximorum, et vir et mulier sibi consensientes.'

Tercia est uxor corrigenda secrete, non cum confusione vel verecundia publice vel contemptibiliter arguenda. Unde Varro in quadam comedia: 'Vicium conjugis aut tollendum est, aut ferendum. Qui tollit vicium, commodiorem conjugem efficit. Qui fert, seipsum efficit | meliorem.' Et ideo merito arguenda erat severa austeritas trium virorum, de quibus narrat Valerius, quorum primus vocabatur Sulphicus Gallus: hic publice uxorem repudiavit quia in publicum prodierat discooperto capite. Secundus dicebatur Sexini Sephus, qui similiter uxorem repudiavit quia ausa est ludicra spectare, ipso ignorante. Tercius dicebatur Metellius: hic uxorem, pro eo quod vinum bibisset, fuste percussam interemit. Non sic Sanctus Job uxorem licet pessimam arguebat, sed secrete et modeste, 'quasi', inquit, 'una de stultis mulieribus locuta es.' Non dixit quod fuit stulta, sed quasi una de stultis loquebatur.

Quarto est uxor diligenda complete. Istam complecionem dilectionis et amicitie, que esse debet inter virum et uxorem, apostolus mensurat tripliciter; primo modo per dileccionem Dei ad ecclesiam, que fuit maxima. Unde Ephesios v<sup>o</sup>: 'Viri diligite uxores vestras sicut et Christus dilexit ecclesiam. Tradidit enim semetipsum pro ea.' Alio

*a corrected from xxviii C*

*b + spt del. C*

wanted to marry. For example Abraham charged Eliazar not to take a wife for his son Isaac from the Canaan girls. Jacob also with mature deliberation provided himself with wives, serving fourteen years for them.

29

*Still the same, and that a wife should be guided etc.*

I said secondly that a wife should be guided gently, not with cruelty, severity and terror, with severity in words or blows, but with love not fear, sweetness not bitterness. Colossians, chapter 3: 'Husbands, love your wives, and do not be harsh with them.' In this way woman was fashioned, not from the head, nor from the feet, but from a rib from the side, as a sign that she ought not to be a mistress nor a maidservant, but a companion to her husband. For there are three things which the Holy Spirit says are pleasing to him (Ecclesiasticus, chapter 25): 'There are three sights which warm my spirit and are approved of by God and men – concord among brothers, amity among neighbours, and a man and his wife in agreement with each other.'

Thirdly, a wife should be corrected privately, not publicly in confusion and shame, or with contemptible accusations. As Varro says in one of his comedies: 'A wife's fault should be ignored or tolerated. Whoever ignores a fault, will make his wife more agreeable; whoever tolerates it, will make himself a better man.' And therefore the strictness of three husbands has rightly been shown to be severe by Valerius. The first was called Sulpicius Gallus; he publicly repudiated his wife because she had appeared in public with her head uncovered. The second was called Sempronius Sephus, who similarly repudiated his wife because she dared to watch public entertainments without his knowledge. The third was called Metenius; he killed his wife by striking her with a club, because she had been drinking wine. St Job did not condemn in this way, even if the wife was of the worst kind, but spoke privately and temperately: 'You have spoken like a foolish woman.' He did not say she was foolish, but that she was speaking like a foolish woman.

Fourthly a wife is to be loved to the full. The Apostle spells out the completeness of the love and friendship which there ought to be between husband and wife under three headings. The first aspect arises from the love of God for the church, which was very great. Thus

modo per dileccionem viri ad corpus proprium, unde ubi supra: 'Viri debent diligere uxores suas sicut corpus proprium.' Tercio modo per dileccionem viri ad semetipsum, unde: 'Unusquisque diligat uxorem suam sicut semetipsum.' Sed hec audiens uxoratus habens vipeream conjugem michi potest respondere: 'Quomodo diligam eam, cum semper sit contraria operibus meis?' Responsum est supra per Varronem: plus ad responsum intexere supersedeo. Sed quia homo debet esse cautus in nubendo, nulli dubium quin mulieres de facili cognosci nequeunt, quia si semel diverterit se mulier ad nocendum, verificabitur quod dicit Scripture, videlicet: 'Brevis omnis malicia super maliciam mulieris; sors peccatorum cadet super eam!' Unde in eodem capitulo paulo ante comparat eam Sapiens tribus bestiis multum nocivis, et tamen dicit eam excellere omnes in malicia. Comparatur enim

mulier 
 colubro  
 leoni  
 draconi

De colubro dicit sic: 'Non est caput nequius super caput colubri; et non est ira super iram mulieris.' De leone et dracone dicit sic: 'Commorari leoni et draconi placebit quam habitare cum muliere nequam.' Et subintelligitur magis.

## 30

*Quibus mala mulier comparatur*

<sup>9</sup> Comparatur igitur mala mulier primo colubro ratione quadruplici. Nam coluber dicitur, quia colit umbras, et mala mulier tenebras diligit plus quam lucem.

ii<sup>o</sup>, coluber totum venenum habet in capite, et mulier ornamentum suum precipuum in velis, peplis, reticulis, coronis, gemmulis, unguentis, <spinctibus>, et, quod deterius est, cornua in capite suo portat, ut oculos intuentium valeat intoxicare. Quare multum Deo displicet, quando vidit signum superbie, quod est vexillum Diaboli, in superiori parte castri sui, scilicet in capite mulieris, et videt vexillum suum remotum esse a loco illo, in quo pocius voluit illud esse humilitatem penitencie. Unde Ezechiel ix: 'Signa tau T super frontes virorum gemencium.' In signum huius rei, fit signum crucis in illis qui baptizantur, et illis qui confirmantur in fronte, et in Capite Jejuni cinere capita asperguntur. Signum eciam est male mulieris et infeste exaltare pepla cornuta, vel que alienam cesariem apponunt capiti, vel innaturalem colorem more meretricio stibiate ponunt in facie.

Ephesians, chapter 5: 'Husbands, love your wives as Christ loved the church; for he gave himself up for it.' The second aspect arises from a man's love for his own body. Thus in the same place: 'Men ought to love their wives as they love their own bodies.' The third aspect arises from a man's love for himself. Thus: 'Every man must love his wife as his very self.' But on hearing this a married man who has a viper for a wife may reply to me: 'How can I love her, when she is always hostile to what I do?' Varro has given the answer to this above: I refrain from inserting more to that answer.

But a man has every reason to be careful over his marriage, for no one doubts that wives cannot be easily mastered, because if a wife once strays into immorality, Scripture will be confirmed when it says: 'There is nothing so wicked as a wicked wife; the fate of the wicked will overtake her!' Thus a little earlier in the same chapter Wisdom compares her to three very harmful beasts, and says nevertheless that she surpasses them all in wickedness. Indeed a wife is compared with a serpent, a lion and a dragon. Regarding the serpent the text says: 'There is no head deadlier than the serpent's, and no anger deadlier than a woman's.' Regarding the lion and dragon it says: 'It will be more agreeable to stay with a lion and a dragon than to live with a wicked wife.' And this is developed at greater length [below].

## 30

*To whom a bad woman is comparable*

A bad woman is firstly comparable to a serpent for four reasons. For a serpent is so called because it lies in the shadows, and a bad woman likes darkness rather than light.

Second, a serpent has all its poison in its head, and a woman wears her special adornment by way of veils, wimples, nets, coronets, jewels, perfumes, brooches, and (what is worse) a horned cap on her head, so as to have the effect of poisoning the eyes of onlookers. For this reason God is much displeased when he sees a sign of pride (which is the banner flown by the Devil) on the upper storey of his castle, that is on the head of a woman, and when he sees that his banner has been removed from that place, in which he would rather see that banner take the form of humble penitence. Thus Ezekiel, chapter 9: 'Mark with a T [a cross] the foreheads of men who are groaning.' As a sign of this condition, the sign of the cross is made on the forehead of those who are baptized; and on those who are confirmed, and on Ash Wednesday ashes are sprinkled on their heads. It is also a sign of a bad

Apponere enim cornua vel crines capiti, vel dare colorem faciei, specialiter pertinet ad Deum. Que autem talia faciunt cum Lucifero, similes volunt esse Altissimo. Ipse sunt velut tauri feroces, que<sup>a</sup> alios<sup>b</sup> cornibus impetunt; vel sicut simie, que, dum volunt se decorare, spiritualiter seipsos jugulant. Ipse etiam sunt angeli tenebrarum transfigurati in angelis lucis. Contra illas que colorem innaturalem ponunt faciebuis suis videtur esse dictum illud Ecclesiastici iiii<sup>10</sup>: 'Ne accipias faciem adversus faciem tuam.' Facies quam fatua mulier sumit contra faciem interiorem anime est, quia eam deturpat. Dum enim exterius vult habere faciem pulcram, interius assumit diabolicam. Juxta illud [Psalmum:]<sup>c</sup> 'Et facies peccatorum sumitis?' De tali depicta sive stibiata muliere ait Jeronimus: 'Quali fiducia erigit ad celum vultum, quem Conditor non agnoscit?' Talibus enim mutuanti-  
bus alienas crines | comminatur Propheta, dicens: 'Decalvabit  
Dominus verticem filiarum Sion, et [crinem]<sup>c</sup> | earum nudabit.' In presenti etiam quandoque, justo Dei iudicio, crines earum nudantur. Unde accidit Parisius [in]<sup>c</sup> quadam solemnii processione, quod quedam simia cuidam domine peplum, cum alienis crinibus quos deferebat, coram toto populo abstulit, et turpis ac depilata ad modum cornicule, depositis alienis plumis, remansit; et merito hoc ei accidit. Unde Propheta: 'Ve qui predaris, nonne predaberis?' Nam:

Rebus in humanis non est lex equior ulla  
quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

Talis fatua vult illud facere ad contumeliam Dei et dampnum proprie anime, quod nullo modo faceret propter honorem Dei et salutem propriam. Nam si injungeretur alicui mulieri pro penitencia, quod haberet per noctem ad caput suum manum alicuius mortue mulieris, nullo modo diceret hoc se facturam, quia ex hoc in tantum terreretur et amens fieret. Crines autem mulieris mortue vult habere in nocte ad caput suum, in Dei contumeliam et contra voluntatem ecclesie; nec terretur inde, nescio quo diabolico miraculo. Exemplum igitur potest esse talibus mulieribus, et precipue principissis et reginis, regina Hester. Que quamquam ad placendum regi certis diebus solemnibus induit se culcioribus, attamen displicuit multum consciencie sue, quia timuit huiusmodi signum superbie displicere Deo. Unde ait Hester xii: 'Domine Deus, tu scis necessitatem meam, quod abominer signum superbie et glorie mee quod est super caput meum in diebus ostentacionis mee, et detester illud quasi pannum manstruate, et non portem in diebus silencii mei.' Quidam etiam ferunt quod venenum habet in cauda sic et superba mulier, sicut multas iam videmus que longas caudas post se trahunt, preciosis vestibus terram induentes, et de nuditate Christi in pauperibus non curantes. Caudis suis pulveres

<sup>a</sup> corrected from qui C  
<sup>b</sup> + co. del. C

<sup>c</sup> D; lac. C

and troublesome woman to wear horned wimples, either those who attach flowing false hair to their heads, or those who in the manner of prostitutes put the unnatural colour of antimony on their faces. The wearing of horned caps or [false] hair on the head, or putting colour on the face, belongs specifically to God. Women who do such things with Lucifer are wanting to be the equals of the Most High. They are like wild bulls who attack others with their horns; or like monkeys, who, while wanting to adorn themselves, cut each other's throats in respect of spiritual things. They are also messengers of the dark transfigured as messengers of the light. Against those who put unnatural colour on their faces seems to be the saying in Ecclesiasticus, chapter 4: 'Do not take upon you a [new] appearance in opposition to your [natural] appearance.' The appearance which a foolish woman adopts is contrary to the interior form of her soul, because it disfigures this form. For while she wishes to have a beautiful appearance on the outside, inside she is taking on a diabolical form. This accords with the Psalm: 'And do you adopt the appearance of the wicked?' Jerome says regarding such a woman who wears paint or eye-shadow: 'With what confidence does she raise to Heaven a face which the Creator does not recognize?' The Prophet threatens such as borrow false hair, saying: 'The Lord will smite with baldness the heads of the daughters of Zion, and will make them lose their hair.' In the present case also, by God's just judgment, these women at some time lose their hair. Thus it happened at Paris, in a certain solemn procession a monkey stole a wimple from a certain woman in front of everybody, along with the false hair attached to it, and with her false plumage taken away, she stood ugly and plucked like a crow; and she deserved to have this happen to her. Thus the Prophet says: 'Woe betide you, destroyer! Will you not be destroyed?' For:

There is no juster law in human affairs  
than that murderers perish by their own devices.

A foolish woman of this kind wants to act in that way as an insult to God and harm to her own soul, because she was in no way acting for the honour of God and her own salvation. For if any woman was enjoined as a penance to hold to her head for a night the hand of some dead woman, in no way would she consent to do this, because by this act she would be terrified to such a degree that she would become demented. But she is willing to have the hair of a dead woman on her head during the night, which is an insult to God and against the wishes of the church; and by some kind of devilish miracle she is not terrified as a consequence. An example therefore can be found for such women, and especially for princesses and queens, in Queen Esther. Although to please the king she dressed in ornamental garments on certain holidays, yet she was much troubled in her

et pulices colligunt, et pulverem hominibus movent; Christum vero, quem in tot pauperibus nudum inspiciunt, non operiunt. Timendum est ne in caudis earum Diabolus nidificet. Unde legitur de quodam sancto, quod ipse vidit quendam diabolum ridentem, et quesivit ab eo quare rideret. Respondit: 'Vidi socium meum equitantem super caudam illius domine pretransiuntis, [sic] que dum traheret ad se caudam, cecidit socius meus in lutum, et inde risi.' Quid igitur fiet de huiusmodi colubrinis dominabus mitratis et caudatis? Respondit Propheta dicens: 'Veniet dies quando auferet Dominus ornatum calciamentorum, et lunilas, et torques, et monilia, et armillas, et mitras, et discriminalia, et perischelides, et murenulas, et olfactoriola, et innaures, et anulos, et gemmas in frontes pendentes, et mutatoria, et pallia, et lintheamina, et acus, et specula, et sindones, et vittas, et theristra.' Quid ergo erit eis post hoc? Sequitur ad supra: 'Et erit pro suavi odore fetor, et pro zona funiculus, et pro crispanti crine calvicium, et pro fascia pectorali cilicium.' Hoc est ut<sup>d</sup> quidam vulgariter dicit:

At for swete smel at yi nose, stink sal yu find;  
and for yi gay gilt girdil, a hard strop sal ye bind;  
and for yi crispe kell and fair here, al bellit sal yu be;  
and as for yi wild and wanton luke, nothig sal yu se;  
and for yi semat semand cote, ye hair sal be wnsset;  
for yi paintit face and prowld hert, in Hell sal be yi set.

*d interlin.C*

conscience, for she feared that this sign of pride was displeasing to God. Thus Esther said (chapter [14]): 'Lord God, you know my necessity, that I abominate this sign of my pride and glory which is on my head on the days of my public appearance, and that I detest it like a menstrual towel, and that I do not wear it on the days when I am silent.'

Some people also say that a proud woman as such has poison in her train, as indeed we now see many women who drag long trains after them as they clothe the land with costly garments, having no concern over the naked truth of Christ in the poor. Dust and fleas collect in their trains, and move the dust on to men; they do not clothe Christ, however, whom they see naked in so many of the poor. The fear is lest the Devil builds his nest in their trains. On this we may read concerning a certain saint, that he saw a certain demon laughing, and asked why he was laughing. He answered: 'I have seen my associate riding on the train of that woman passing by. While she was dragging her train after her, my associate has fallen into the mud, which has made me laugh.'

What then is to be done about these serpent-like ladies wearing headdresses and trains? The Prophet answers saying: 'The day will come when the Lord will take away the adornment of shoes, and crescents, and neck-chains, and necklaces, and bracelets, and bonnets, and headdresses, and anklets, and fish-necklaces, and smelling-bottles, and ear-rings, and finger-rings, and jewels hanging on the forehead, and wimples, and short cloaks, and fine linen, and pins, and mirrors, and muslins, and headbands, and lightweight garments.' What therefore will be their situation after this? There follows as above: 'Instead of perfume there will be the stench of decay, there will be a rope instead of a girdle, baldness instead of hair elegantly coiled, haircloth instead of a stomacher.' This is how someone puts it in the vernacular:

[That] instead of sweet smell at your nose, you shall find  
stink,  
and instead of your gay gilded girdle, a hard thong shall bind  
you.  
And instead of your neat ornamental hairnet and beautiful  
hair, you shall be totally bald.  
And as for your wild and wanton glances, you shall see  
nothing.  
And for your petticoat looking like an undershirt, [your?] hair  
shall be disarrayed.  
For your painted face and proud heart, your seat shall be in  
Hell.

## 31

*De proprietatibus colubri  
et de secunda*

Tercio, coluber totum venenum suum colligit in fauces, ut per eos effundat. Et mala mulier per os et fauces suam totam maliciam, menciendo, contendendo et detrahendo effundit. Ve igitur copulato maliciose mulieri, quia, ut ait Crisostomus super illud Mattheus xix 'Non expedit nubere': 'Quid aliud est', inquit, 'nisi amicitie inimica, 5 ineffugalis pena, necessarium malum, naturalis temptatio, desiderabilis calamitas, domesticum periculum, delectabile detrimentum, mali natura boni colore depicta?' Ergo si dimittere illam peccatum est, tenere autem vere tormentum est. Necesse est autem ut aut dimittentis adulteria faciamus, aut tenentes cotidianas pugnas 10 habeamus.

iiii, coluber sibilat ut noceat, et mala mulier cantando et adulando mirabiliter multos fallit. Propter quod Augustinus de singularitate clericorum ait: 'De carbonibus scintille dissiliunt, de ferro rubigo nutritur, morbos aspidēs sibilant, et mulier fundit concupiescentie 15 pestilenciam.' In risu aliquando dissolvitur, nunc blandicias exhibet; et quod est venenosius super cuncta, psallere delectatur aut canere, cuius cantu tolerabilius est audire basiliscum sibilantem.

Secundo, mala mulier comparatur leoni propter tria. Primo propter iracundiam,<sup>a</sup> quia sicut leo sine vindicta subsecuta placari 20 non potest, sic nec mulier. Unde Ecclesiastici vi<sup>to</sup>: 'Non est ira super iram<sup>b</sup> [mul-]ieris.'<sup>c</sup> Secundo, leonis ossa si adinvicem collidantur, causant ignem; similiter mulieris verba,<sup>d</sup> | confabulaciones et colloquia, quantumcumque videantur solida, ignem voluptatis accendunt. Propter quod <cuicumque continere volenti ait> poeta: 25

Non stes nec fueris, nec cum muliere loqueris!  
Ignibus ureris Veneris, si tu mulieris  
verba, jocos sequeris, quamvis nec ames nec ameris.

Et sicut leonis ossa adinvicem collisa causant ignem, sic oscula et tactus viri et femine. Propter quod <poeta:><sup>e</sup> 30

Ni fugias tactus, vix evitabitur actus;  
hos igitur vita, ne morieris ita.

<sup>a</sup> +Primo del.C  
<sup>b</sup> D; ira C  
<sup>c</sup> D; luc.C

<sup>d</sup> +confabu del.C  
<sup>e</sup> replaces propheta in text del.C

## 31

*The characteristics of a serpent [continued];  
and the second [comparison]*

Third, a serpent collects all its poison into its throat so that it may discharge through it. And a bad woman discharges all her wickedness by lying, arguing and uttering disparaging remarks through her mouth and throat. So much the worse therefore for a man married to 5 a wicked woman, because, as Chrysostom writes on the text in Matthew, chapter 19, 'It is better not to marry': 'What is it', he says, 'other than the enemy of friendship, an inescapable punishment, a necessary evil, an inherent temptation, a desirable misfortune, a domestic danger, a delightful source of financial loss, when a natural 10 disposition for evil-doing is depicted in the colour of good.' Therefore if it is a sin to repudiate a wife, it is really torment to keep her. But it is necessary for us either to commit adultery in repudiating her or to be involved in daily battles in keeping her.

Fourth, a serpent hisses in order to do harm, and a bad woman by 15 singing and flattering deceives many men to an amazing degree. On this account Augustine says regarding clerical celibacy: 'Sparks break out from coals, rust is produced from iron, snakes hiss out diseases, and a woman spreads the plague of sexual desire.' Sometimes she bursts out in laughter, at another time she displays her charms; and 20 what is most poisonous of all, she takes delight in making music and in singing, for when she sings, it is more bearable to hear a hissing basilisk.

Secondly, a bad woman is like a lion for three reasons. First, because of her hot temper, because just as a lion cannot be appeased 25 without retribution following, so a woman cannot be appeased. Thus in Ecclesiasticus, chapter [25]: 'There is no anger [deadlier than a] woman's.'

Second, if the bones of a lion are rubbed together in turn, they cause fire; likewise do a woman's words, conversations and talk kindle a fire 30 of sexual pleasure however much they appear reliable. For this reason the poet says to anyone wishing to keep control:

May you not stand, or dally with, or talk with a woman!  
You will burn with the fires of Venus, if you follow  
the words and jests of a woman, although you neither love  
her nor are loved by her.

35

And just as when the bones of a lion are rubbed together they cause a



Sed forte tu, vir ecclesiastice, dicis in animo quod fidenter sine periculo cum muliere conversari potero. Attende igitur quod premisi dictum Augustini dicentis, quod de vestimentis tinea procedit, et de carbonibus scintille dissiliunt. Et si dictum Augustini pertransieris, illud B[ernardi] recogitare non differas, dicentis: 'Cotidie latus tuum ad latus iuvenile in mensa, oculus tuus ad oculum eius in sermone, manus tua ad manum eius in opere, et tu vis continens videri? Scis quod sis; ego tamen suspicione non careo', quia omnis inconueniens sodalitas mulieris gluten est inuiscatum et viscus intoxicatum, quo Diabolus | aucupatur ad miseris animas captivandas.

G ii,376

Tercio, leonis cautela est quod cauda vestigia sua tegit; et hoc est proprium mulieris, crimina sua excusacionibus et mendaciis operire. Et ideo signanter dicitur: 'In medio mulierum noli commorari; de vestimentis enim procedit tinea, et a muliere iniquitas viri.'

Tercio, comparatur mala mulier draconi, propter <sup>iii</sup><sup>or</sup>. Habet enim draco os parvum, inficit aerem, incedit cristatus et specialiter elephanti insidiatur. Eodem modo mulier os habet parvum, per verborum et vultus simplicitatem in principio, eiam si sit commessatrix et gulosa, simulat se in aula tamquam appetitu careret comedendi. <ii<sup>o</sup>,> inficit aerem aspectu suo, sicut basiliscus qui hominem solo visu interficit. Que non solum cum videt, sed eiam cum videtur, occidit. Ad literam mulier menstruata aspectu suo inficit speculum, secundum Aristotelem <sup>ii</sup><sup>o</sup> De Sompno et Vigilia, et facit in eo maculam. Eodem modo mulier mala virum, quantumcumque speculum sit scienciam omnem representans, inficit et maculat, si mulierum consorcio se immiscet. Exemplum de Sapiente Salomone, per mulierum illecebras infatuato. De quo scriptum est: 'Inclinasti mulieribus femora tua, et posuisti maculum in gloria tua.'

<sup>iii</sup><sup>o</sup>, draco incedit cristatus; et mulier fatua cristas in capite habens,<sup>s</sup> coronis, cornibus, gemmis et crustulis aureis mitrata incedit. Propter quod Babio in suis comediis de tali sic prophetatur, dicens quod occurrit:

Indisciplinata mulier — ornata capite, ut edus;  
effurens fronte, ut taurus;  
oculis venenata, ut basiliscus;  
facie blanda ut scorpio  
auribus indisciplina, ut aspis;  
signo fallax, ut vulpis;  
ore mendax, ut Diabolus.

Quod est vlgari dicere:

Ye wnlait woman ye lichtman wil lait,  
gangis coitand in ye cowrt hornit like a gait;  
als brankand as a bole<sup>h</sup> in frontis and in vice;

f + in mensa del.C  
g interlin.C

h + in del.C

fire, so do so do the kisses and touching of a man and a woman. Hence the poet says:

40 Unless you keep away from touching, an act of love will  
hardly be avoided;  
therefore avoid it, lest this way you are lost.

But perhaps as a man of the church you say in your mind that I will be able to associate with a woman without danger. Note therefore that I have mentioned already the saying of Augustine that a moth emerges from clothes, and sparks break out from coals. And if you have ignored Augustine's saying, you should not put off thinking about that of Bernard when he says: 'Every day your side [meets with] a young girl's side at table, your eye [meets] her eye in talking, your hand [meets] her hand when working, and you yet wish to be regarded as chaste? You know what you are; for my part I am not without my suspicion', because every inappropriate close association with a woman is a sticky glue and poisoned birdlime, by which the Devil lies in wait to capture wretched souls.

Third, a lion is careful to cover its traces with its tail; and this is a woman's characteristic — to shroud her misdeeds with excuses and lies. Therefore it is significantly said: 'Do not let her spend her time among other women, for out of clothes comes the moth, and out of woman comes man's wickedness.'

Thirdly, a bad woman can be compared with a dragon for four reasons. For a dragon has a small mouth, it poisons the air, it walks with a crest on its head, and it lays a trap especially for the elephant. In the same way a woman has little to say, as in the ingenuousness of her talk and appearance at the beginning; even if she is a woman fond of her food and gluttonous, she pretends in the dining hall to have no appetite for eating.

Second, she poisons the air with her gaze, like a basilisk who kills a man just with a look. She kills not only when she looks, but when she is looked at. A woman who has menstruated literally poisons a mirror by her gaze, according to Aristotle, *De Sompno et Vigilia*, book II, and makes a stain on it. In the same way a bad woman poisons and stains a man, however much he is a mirror exhibiting all knowledge, if he involves himself in association with women. There is an example in Solomon the Wise, who was infatuated by the allurements of women. About him it is written: 'You took women to your side, and you have stained your reputation.'

Third, a dragon walks with a crest on its head; and a foolish woman walks with plumes on her head, covered with crowns, horns, jewels and golden mosaic-work. For this reason Babio predicts about such a woman in his comedies, saying that he has met an undisciplined woman with a horned head like a young goat, with an angry forehead

mare venuerit [?] is hir luke yan ye coketrice.  
 Blithe and bletherand in ye face like anc angell,  
 bot a wisk in ye tail like a draconell.  
 With prik zowkand eeris as ye awske gleg,  
 mare wili yan a fox, pungis as ye cleg.  
 Als sikir for to hald as a wete evil,  
 bot als trew in hir tong as ye mikil Devil.

80

Quarto, draco insidiatur elephant. Elephas est animal<sup>i</sup> castissimum, et tantum secundum Naturales semel gignit. Si femina fuerit impregnata, mas ei non appropinquat. Isti animal-[i] draco insidiat. 85  
 tur, et pedes suos sua cauda constringens occidit. Moraliter, quantumcumque homo sit castus, si mulierum malam familiaritatem diligit, constringent pedes aff-[eccionis] sue et occident. Unde:

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Femina fax Sathane, rosa fetens, dulce venenum,  
 <urit in vultu, visu, risu, cute, cultu.  
 Huius ab insultu, quantum potes, esto procul tu.>

90

fo.306

Propter quod | Hugo, in libello Ad socium volentem nubere, super illud Proverbium v<sup>to</sup> 'Favus distillans labia meretricis et nitidius guttur eius oleo', dicit sic:

i -A interlin.C

j D; lac.C

32

*De eodem*

In favo enim duo sunt, mel et cera. Et in facie mulieris similiter duo, scilicet decor et gracia, hec est pulcritudo oris, et dulcedo sermonis. Cera succendit ignem, mel prebet dulcedinem. Sic pulcritudo fatue mulieris ignem libidinis inflamat, blandimento lenocinantis sermonis mentem subvertit. Stillat mel de cera dum mulier sua verba mollit et facit dulcia. Hanc autem dulcedinem eterne mortis amaritudo comitatur. Unde sequitur ibi 'novissima illius amara quasi absinthium et acuta quasi gladius biceps'. Diligit mulier ut decipiat, decipit ut capiat; amat quod habes, non quod es.

5

like a bull, with poisoned eyes like a basilisk, with a deceiving countenance like a scorpion, with undisciplined ears like a snake, making deceitful signs like a wolf, with lies in her mouth like the Devil. That is to say in the vernacular:

85 The undisciplined woman will think nothing of the frivolous man.

She goes [ ] to the court, horned like a goat;  
 as prancing as a bull in forehead and in vice;  
 more poisonous is her look than the cockatrice.  
 90 Blithe and talkative, in face like an angel,  
 but a sting in the tail like a scorpion;  
 with yoked ears pricked, quick as a newt,  
 more cunning than the fox, [she] pierces as the horsefly.  
 As firm to grip as a wet eel,  
 95 but as true in her tongue as the great Devil.

Fourth, the dragon lays a trap for the elephant. The elephant is a very chaste animal, and according to the *Naturales* gives birth only once. If a female is made pregnant, the male does not approach her. The dragon lays a trap for this animal, and kills it by binding its feet 100 with its tail. Allegorically, to whatever degree a man is chaste, if he has a liking for the evil intimacy of women, they bind the feet of his affection and kill him. Hence:

Woman flame of Satan, stinking rose, sweet poison,  
 burns in appearance, seeing, laughing, the skin, adornment.  
 105 Keep as far away from her attack as you can.

On this account Hugh in his little book *Ad socium volentem nubere*, when commenting on Proverbs, chapter 5, 'The lips of a whore are a dripping honeycomb, and her throat is smoother than oil', says:

32

*The same*

There are two substances in a honeycomb, honey and wax. Likewise there are two characteristics in a woman's appearance, namely good looks and grace – that is beautiful lips and a sweet way of speaking. Wax kindles a fire, honey provides sweetness. So the beauty of a silly woman inflames the fire of lust, while with the cajolery of flattering talk she upsets a man's intentions. Honey drips from the wax as a woman softens her words and lays on the charm. But the bitterness of eternal death accompanies this charm. Thus it follows then that 'in the end she is as bitter as wormwood and as sharp as a two-edged sword'. A woman loves in order to deceive, and deceives in order to ensnare; she loves what you have, not what you are.

5

10

Hec ille. Ideo si solute conjungeris, mors et dampnatio est; si nupte, bellum intestinum. Propter quod Jeronimus *Contra Jovinianum*:<sup>a</sup> 'Uxorem pauperem alere, difficile est; divitem ferre, tormentum est.' Quid prodest diligens custodia cum uxor servari impudica non possit? Et ideo Valerius scribens ad Rufinum sic concludit epistolam dicens: 'Amice, ne longo dispendio te suspendam, lege Auriolum Theofrasti, et Medeam Jasonis, et vix pauca invenies impossibilia mulieri. Amice, det tibi Deus Omnipotens<sup>b</sup> omnipotentis femine fallacia non falli.'<sup>c</sup> Et ideo Babio in comediis <insinuat><sup>d</sup> dicens:<sup>e</sup>

In fide, dente, pede – mulieris, equi, canis, est fraus.

Hoc sic vulgariter est dici:

Til hors fote yu never fraist,  
til hondis toth no womannis faith.

Propter quod Babio de se et sua conjunge suam telam trenosam orditur in hunc modum:

Femina perfida, femina sordida, digna catheni.  
Mens male conscia, mobilis, impia, plena venenis  
vipera pessima, fossa novissima, mota lacuna.  
Omnia decipis, omnia recipis, omnibus una.  
Horrida noctua, publica janua, semita trita.  
Igne rapacior, aspide sevir est tua vita.  
Mens tua vitrea, plumbea, ferrea, saxea, nequam.  
Fingere, fallere, prodere, perdere rem putas equam.  
O miserabilis, intolerabilis, insatiata!  
Credere qui tibi vult, mala sunt sibi plura parata.  
Me michi vivere pace, quiescere sunt mea vota.  
Consului me; consule tu tibi; sis tua tota.  
| Summa potencia destruct omnia funditus ante  
quam mea sumere, quam mea demere, sustineam te.

Tunc sic concludit dicens:

Sume tibi frenum, fugiens muliebre venenum;  
nam sanie plenum vas est quod credis amenum;  
Babio testis adest. Hec ultima verba tenete;  
sunt incredibiles uxor, alumpna, cliens.

<sup>a</sup> -ni- interlin.C

<sup>b</sup> corrected from Omnipotentis C

<sup>c</sup> + quia del.C

<sup>d</sup> + replaces consult in text del.C

<sup>e</sup> + quod del.C

Therefore if you lie with an unmarried woman, it is death and damnation; if with a married woman, it is domestic war. On this account Jerome says in *Contra Jovinianum*: 'To support a poor wife is difficult; to put up with a rich one is torture.' What loving restraint is helpful when a loose-living wife cannot be kept under observation? And therefore Valerius, when writing to Rufinus, concludes his letter in this way: 'My friend, so as not to detain you with a lengthy and time-wasting discourse, read about the *Aureolum* of Theophrastus and Jason's Medea, and you will find only a few things impossible in a woman. My friend, may the Omnipotent God grant that you are not deceived by the deceits of an all-powerful woman!' Babio therefore works the following line into one of his comedies:

The guile of a woman, a horse and a dog is to be found in  
honesty, the teeth and the foot.

That is to say in the vernacular:

Never trust in horse's hoof,  
in hound's tooth or in woman's faith.

On this account Babio weaves his lamentable web about himself and his wife in this manner:

Woman you are treacherous, woman you are vile, you should  
be in chains.

You have a guilty conscience; your mind is fickle, wicked, full  
of poison;

you are the worst sort of viper, the ultimate pitfall, a pool  
that has been stirred up.

You deceive all, and take in everything as your profit. You  
alone are sufficient to serve all.

You are a dreaded night-owl, a door open to all, a well-worn  
path.

Your life is more all-devouring than fire, more cruel than the  
asp.

Your mind is made of glass, of lead, of iron and of stone. It is  
wicked.

You think it only right to lie, deceive, betray and spread ruin.  
Miserable creature, not to be endured, insatiable!

Many misfortunes are in store for the man who is willing to  
trust you.

My wish is that you leave me to live my own life and enjoy an  
untroubled life.

I have done what I thought right for me. You too look to  
your own interests. Keep yourself entirely to yourself.

God's supreme power will utterly destroy all things  
before I allow you to take from me and remove what is mine.

Then he ends in this way saying:

## 33

*Quod grate sunt bone mulieres*

Sed quia de condicionibus nequam mulierum aliqua disservimus, restat<sup>a</sup> ut in laudem bonarum pauca interponamus. Sunt enim bone mulieres viris suis grate in multis, videlicet:

in 
 — convivendo  
 — condolendo  
 — commorando

5

Pro primo narrat Valerius de quadam regina uxore Metridatus quod in tantum, effusis dilectionis abenis, virum amavit, quod tonsis capillis, habituque virili assumpto, equis et armis se assuefecit, ut virum fugientem continue per terras sequeretur. Narrat ibi gratitudinis exemplum excessivum, quomodo quidam Romanus apprehendit agnos, masculum scilicet et feminam. Certificatus fuit per aruspitem ut unum amitteret, vel ambo conjuges interirent, et quod dimisso masculo uxor sua celeriter moreretur, dimissa femina ipse moreretur. Ille statim feminam dimitti jussit, sustinuitque in conspectu suo seipsum in interitu suo occidi.

10

15

Secundo sunt grate in condolendo. Narrat enim qui supra quod cum Lacedemoniis Aspartani essent capti, et ad decollandum in carcere servati, conjuges eorum illustris sanguinis, velut allocuturi perituros viros, intraverunt carcerem, impetrato a custodibus aditu, commutata veste, que per simulacionem doloris velatis capitibus eas [sic] abire passi sunt; et ita ipsi et ipse salvabantur

20

Tercio sunt grate in commorando. Narrat Jeronimus Contra Jovinianum libro primo: '[Indi<sup>b</sup>]', inquit, 'ut omnes pene barbari, uxores plurimas habent. Apud Indeos, quorum lex est ut uxor karissima cum marito defuncto cremetur. Hee igitur contendunt inter se amore viri; et ambicio summa certancium est, ac testimonium castitatis, [dignam]<sup>c</sup> morte [decerni];<sup>d</sup> itaque victrix, in habitu

25

<sup>a</sup> final -A interlin.C  
<sup>b</sup> Vidi C

<sup>c</sup> digna C  
<sup>d</sup> decernit C

Put a bridle on yourself, and flee from woman's poison;  
 for that which you believe to be attractive is a vessel full of  
 stinking fluid.

60

Babio is present as a witness. Hold on to these last words;  
 a wife, a foster-daughter, a companion – you cannot believe  
 in any of them.

## 33

*Good wives are welcome*

But because we have set out some aspects of the bad characteristics of women, there remains for us to insert a few [words] in praise of good women. For there are good wives who are pleasing to their husbands in many matters, namely in living together, in providing sympathy, and in staying together.

5

With regard to the first of these, Valerius tells about a certain queen, the wife of Mithridates, that she loved her husband to such an extent once the reins of affection had been loosened that she cut her hair, adopted male attire, and accustomed herself to horses and arms, so that she might follow her husband continuously across the country as he fled. He tells there of an excessive example of gratitude, of how a certain Roman seized two lambs, male and female; it was foretold by a soothsayer that he would lose one, or both married partners would perish, and that on the escape of the male, his wife would speedily die, and on the escape of the female he himself would die. He immediately ordered the female lamb to be let go, and endured that, while he looked on, he should himself be killed in the killing of the male one.

10

15

Second, they are pleasing in providing sympathy. For the above author tells that when the Spartans were captured by the Lacedaemonians, and had been kept in prison for beheading, their wives of distinguished lineage entered the prison as if to comfort the men who were about to perish, after asking the guards for entrance. After changing clothes the women veiled their heads in pretended grief, and the guards allowed them to leave; and thus both the men and the women were saved.

20

25

Third, they are pleasing in staying together. Jerome tells of this in his *Contra Jovinianum*, book 1: 'The Indians', he says, 'like nearly all barbarians, have many wives. Among them it is the law that the favourite wife is burned on the funeral pyre along with her dead husband. These women therefore compete with each other for the man's love; and it is the highest ambition of the rivals, and a testimony of fidelity, to be declared worthy of death; and so the victor lies next the corpse adorned in her finest clothes, embracing and kissing him, disregarding the flames of fires which have been lit underneath amid

30

fo.306v

ornatuque culciori, juxta cadaver sedebat, amplexens illud et  
 deosculans, et suppositas | ignium flammis pudicie laude contemp- 30  
 nens.' Et si tanta laus attribuitur pagane mulieri, quid fiet Christiane?  
 Dicit enim Scriptura Ecclesiastici xxxvi: 'Mulieris bone beatus vir.'  
 Audivi dictum de quodam juvene filio burgensis, qui mortuo patre  
 pubescens, uxorem juvenulam cepit, que improprio mordaciori et  
 evectione procaciori semivirum suum usque ad desperationem 35  
 cotidie quasi anxiata est. Qui eius saguinolente lingue refragari non  
 audens, etsi dolore ad intra suffossus, pacienter tamen eam sustinuit  
 donec e medio sublata est. Qua morte, laqueo funebri contrito, et ipse  
 liberatus apud se diffinivit numquam iugo matrimonialis copule  
 submittere collum; sed et quia unicam et virginem desponsavit, 40  
 transtulit ad scholas ut exinde presbyter effectus Deo liberius  
 deserviret. Ubi | contigit eum semel cum sodalibus debere construere  
 unusquisque in ordine suo casum biblie. Tandem eventum est sibi ad  
 exponendum illud Ecclesiastici xxxvi 'Mulieris bone beatus vir' in se,  
 vel verius a se, reversus substituit, ac quasi extaticus factus, et ad 45  
 tertium celum raptus substitit, nec unum verbum proferre valuit. Cui  
 ait magister: 'Exponas, fili, leccionem.' Ad huiusmodi verba sepius  
 repetita vix compulsus est respondere, dicens: 'O magister, cogito,  
 cogito!' 'Quid', inquit, 'miser, cogitas? Leccionem exponas.' Novis-  
 sime vero in fletum prorumpens, exclamavit voce sonora dicens: 'Per 50  
 Deum Omnipotentem, domine, pauci sunt beatus vir.' Ne igitur,  
 propter bona conjugii supradicta, aliquis inconsulte ad nuptias  
 moveatur, notanda sunt verba Hugonis de Sancti Victore in quodam  
 libello quem scripsit ad quendam suum familiarem nubere volentem,  
 ita dicens: 55

Non est uxor ducenda sapienti, primo quia studia philosophie impedit,  
 nec potest quisquam<sup>e</sup> libris et uxori inservire. Multa sunt que  
 matrimoniorum usibus sunt necessaria, videlicet precise vestes,  
 aurum, gemme, sumptus, ancille, suppellex varia, deinde per totas 60  
 noctes garrule questiones. Illa ornacior procedit in publicum; hec  
 honoratur ab omnibus: 'Ego in conventu feminarum misera despicio.  
 Vicinam aspiciebas? Quid cum ancilla loquebaris? De foro veniens,  
 quid michi attulisti?' Alterius amorem suum suspicatur odium.

Et infra:

Nulla est uxoris electio, sed qualis advenerit, talis est habenda si 65  
 iracunda, si fatua, si deformis, si superba, si suspiciosa, si fetida,  
 quodcumque vicium est, post nuptias dicimus. Equus, asinus, bos et  
 vilissima mancipia prius probantur, et sic emuntur; sola uxor non  
 ostenditur, ne displiceat, antequam ducatur.

35 praise for her fidelity.' And if such praise is awarded to a pagan wife,  
 what should be done for a Christian one? For Scripture says in  
 Ecclesiasticus, chapter [26]: 'A good wife makes a happy husband.' I  
 have heard it said that a certain young man, the son of a burghess, who  
 as an adolescent when his father died, took a girl as his wife. She, by  
 40 her biting abuse and shameless sexual appetite, daily annoyed her  
 immature husband to the point of despair. Not daring to oppose her  
 vindictive tongue, although pierced with grief inside, he nevertheless  
 patiently put up with her until she died. After her death, with the  
 deadly snare wiped out, as a freed man he laid down a rule for himself  
 45 that he would never submit his neck to the yoke of the marriage bond;  
 but also because he married just one young girl, he moved to the  
 schools so that after subsequently becoming a priest he might devote  
 himself to God more freely. There it happened that he along with his  
 fellow-students each in turn had to comment on a passage in the  
 50 Bible. At length his turn came to expound the text in Ecclesiasticus,  
 chapter [26] 'A good wife makes a happy husband': he turned inward,  
 or rather right out of himself, faltered, and as if in a trance stood in the  
 rapture of a third heaven without the ability to utter a single word. His  
 master said to him: 'Expound the text, my son.' In response to words  
 55 of this kind often repeated, he replied haltingly: 'Master, I am  
 thinking, I am thinking.' 'Wretch,' he said, 'what are you thinking?  
 Expound the text.' In the end indeed he burst into tears, and cried out  
 in a ringing voice, saying: 'By the Omnipotent God, sir, few husbands  
 are happy.'  
 60 Lest therefore anyone inadvisedly enters marriage on account of  
 the foregoing good aspects of marriage, the words of Hugh of St  
 Victor should be noted in a little book which he wrote to one of his  
 circle who was wanting to marry, saying:

65 A wise man should not take a wife, firstly because she gets in the way of  
 philosophical studies, for no one can devote himself to books and a  
 wife. Many things are needed for maintaining marriages, namely  
 valuable clothes, gold, jewels, extravagant expenditure, maid-servants,  
 various furnishings, then chattering discussions through the night. One  
 wife goes out in public richly adorned; another is respected by everyone  
 70 [when she says]: 'I am despised as a wretch among other women. Did  
 you notice the woman next door? What did you say to the maid-  
 servant? Coming as you are from the market, what have you brought  
 me?' Her antipathy suspects his love for another.

And further on:

75 The choice of a wife is non-existent, but whatever kind it is that comes  
 along, that is the kind you will have – whether hot-tempered, or foolish,  
 or ugly, or proud, or suspicious, or foul-smelling – whatever is the  
 defect, we identify it after the marriage. A horse, an ass, an ox and the  
 lowest of servants are examined beforehand, and then bought; only a  
 80 wife is not put on display before her marriage lest she is not pleasing.



Unde quidam:

Conjugis et nati vicium vix nosse valemus,  
quodque domi geritur postremi forte sciemus.  
Cum conjunx, natus, servus peccat, vel alumpnus,  
cantica vulgus habet, nos tamen ista latent.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup> latent *D*; latenter *G*

34

*De morte regis*

Hanc igitur dominam Margaritam de Logy rex David apud  
Inchemurdach desponsavit, et in reginam igitur magnifice exaltavit,  
cum qua parvo tempore habitavit, et<sup>a</sup> divorcium celebravit cum  
eadem circa festum Carnisprivii anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxi<sup>o</sup>. Propter  
quod ipsa, ascensa clam navi in aqua de Forth,<sup>b</sup> curiam peciit 5  
apostolicam, et Avinione ubi tunc papa extiterat devenit, et per  
appellationem causam suam illuc devolvit, et totum regnum sua  
prosecucione commovit. Procuratoribus itaque regis ad apostolicam  
| sedem transmissis, acriter altercatum est, et<sup>c</sup> inter oratores parcium  
contendencium processus in tantum<sup>d</sup> protelatus est, quod liber inde 10  
confectus et notariorum signis signatus precellit<sup>e</sup> script-[ura],<sup>f</sup> iudicio  
meo qui processum vidi et hec scripsi, continenciam literis<sup>g</sup> iiii<sup>or</sup>  
Psalteriorum. Multum enim fuit causa eius<sup>h</sup> in auribus auditorum et  
cardinalium recommissa, ita ut,<sup>i</sup> si super-[vix]-jisset,<sup>f</sup> regnum<sup>i</sup> inter-  
dicto supposuisset; sed ipsa Romipeta moritur peregrina. Ad cuius<sup>k</sup> 15  
[sug-]gestionem<sup>i</sup> rex<sup>i</sup> nepotem suum<sup>m</sup> Robertum S[tewart]<sup>n</sup> cum tribus  
filiis suis,<sup>o</sup> videlicet Johannem, Robertum et A-[lexandrum],<sup>f</sup> arresta-  
vit, et in diversis municionibus ad custodiendum deputavit. Sed, facto  
divorcio, [eos]<sup>f</sup> liberavit et ad pristinam gratiam recepit.<sup>p</sup>

G ii, 380

<sup>a</sup> sed propter quasdam similtates inter eos  
conceptas *for* et *CA*

<sup>b</sup> multum bene auro munita *for* in aqua de  
Forth *CA*

<sup>c</sup> *interlin. over ut del. C*

<sup>d</sup> in tantum *interlin. C*

<sup>e</sup> + in *CA*

<sup>f</sup> *D*; *lac. C*

<sup>g</sup> + sive literature *CA*

<sup>h</sup> regine *for* eius *CA*

<sup>i</sup> quod *for* ut *CA*

<sup>j</sup> + ut creditur *CA*

<sup>k</sup> + olim *CA*

<sup>l</sup> dum rex in amore suo efferbuisset *for* rex  
*CA*

<sup>m</sup> + proprium *CA*

<sup>n</sup> *D*

<sup>o</sup> eiusdem Roberti *for* suis *CA*

<sup>p</sup> Hec domina Margarita Logy filia fuit  
[illegible] et soror Johannis Dromount  
patris Anabelle regine sponse tercii  
Roberti *del. C*

Hence someone says:

We hardly have the power to know the shortcomings of a  
marriage-partner or a son,  
and we are the last to know just by chance what is happening  
85 at home.  
When a marriage-partner, son, servant or foster-son does  
wrong,  
though these things are the subject of songs among  
neighbours, they are hidden from us.

34

*The king's death*

King David married this Lady Margaret de Logie therefore at  
Inchmurdo, and exalted her in splendour as queen. He lived with her  
for a short time, [but following animosity that arose between them,]  
he divorced her about the beginning of Lent 1369. On this account she  
5 secretly boarded a ship in the Firth of Forth [well supplied with  
money] and made for the papal court. She arrived at Avignon where  
the pope was then to be found. By making an appeal she transferred  
her case there, and disturbed the whole kingdom by her legal action.  
And so once the king's proctors had travelled to the apostolic see, the  
10 case was bitterly disputed, and the pleading between the advocates of  
the contending parties was so prolonged that a book compiled from  
that source and certified by notarial marks is longer [in] wordage (in  
my judgment, for I who have written this have seen this pleading) than  
the contents of the text of four Psalters. For her case was many times  
15 committed for hearing by auditors and cardinals, so that if she had  
lived, she would have subjected the kingdom to an interdict; but she  
died on a pilgrimage to Rome.

1369: ca  
14 Feb.

Earlier, [while the king was boiling with passion,] at her suggestion  
he arrested his nephew Robert Stewart along with three of his sons,  
20 namely John, Robert and Alexander, and arranged for them to be  
warded in various castles. But after the divorce he released them and  
restored them to favour as before.

[1374?]

Afterwards King David reformed his kingdom with excellent laws,  
he punished rebels, he calmed his subjects with undisturbed peace,  
25 and he united to their fatherland by means of one legal contract Scots  
speaking different tongues, both the wild caterans and the domesti-  
cated men with skills. And [this was not achieved] without a great deal  
of enthusiasm and hard work. For because the wild caterans across  
the mountains and in the islands appeared always to be almost  
30 untameable and rebels against the kings and law-makers of Scotland,

fo.307

Post hec rex David regnum suum optimis legibus innovavit, 20  
 rebelles castigavit, tranquilla [suos] pace composuit, et diversarum  
 linguarum tam Scotos silvestres catervanos, quam eruditos domesti-  
 cos, unius federis lege patria conjunxit. Et<sup>q</sup> non sine magno studio et  
 industria. Nam quia catervani silvestres, transmontani et insulani,  
 quasi indomabiles semper et rebelles regibus Scocie et legislatoribus 25  
 extiterunt, huiusmodi cautela usus est rex, videlicet componendo et  
 inducendo unum tirannum ad occidendum vel capiendum, sive regi  
 alium sibi similem presentandum, promissis sibi bonis tam mobilibus  
 quam immobilibus interfecti pro mercede. Quibus utique promissis et  
 datis allecti, unusquisque rebellium catervanorum alterum seriatim 30  
 fefellit et destruxit, donec, regno pacato, malignancium formidine  
 sublata, plebicula tranquillitate et securitate cupitis potiretur. Ipse  
 autem rex toto annisu ad domandum paganorum feritatem Terram  
 Sanctam petiturus, cum militari potencia spectabili decrevit<sup>r</sup> se  
 transferre, et in Terram Repromissionis<sup>s</sup> vitam presentem terminare. 35  
 Nam ad pium eius propositum attestandum, multum et ultra modum  
 milites suos et armigeros, qui eo tempore quamplures fuerant,  
 huiusmodi laboribus deditos et conscriptos faverat et dilexerat; ac  
 eisdem propterea largas possessiones et donativa militaria contulit et  
 concessit. Sed tandem, visitacione Altissimi preventus, mors amara 40  
 sorti non pepercit regie, regem virilitati mature vix approximantem,  
 sub sua lege funebri extinxit ac conclusit. Et sic David regem, regnum  
 suum regifice regentem, casus fatalis prepropere, legibus prurptis,  
 subjecit, et tenuis solucionis anticipans terminum,<sup>u</sup> extorsit heu  
 debitum ante diem! anno scilicet etatis sue xlvii, regni vero sui 45  
 trecesimo ix, <in festo Cathedre Sancti Petri anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup>  
 lxx<sup>o</sup>> apud castrum de Edenburgh, et sepultus<sup>v</sup> in monasterio Sancte  
 Crucis coram magno altare."

<sup>q</sup> + hoc CA

<sup>r</sup> positis regni custodibus disposuit for  
 decrevit CA

<sup>s</sup> Re- interlin.C

<sup>t</sup> interlin.C

<sup>u</sup> + est CA

<sup>v</sup> + Cuius epitaphium est del.C

35

### *De eiusdem epitaphio*

"Hic rex sub lapide David inclitus est tumilatus,  
 vir stirpis nitide, per climata magnificatus;  
 non vixit cupide, sed dapsilicate probatus,  
 gesture lepide dulcedine mellificatus.

<sup>a</sup> this whole chapter is written in double-  
 column format C

the king was cautious in the following way, namely by persuading and  
 inducing one chieftain to kill or capture [another one], or bring before  
 the king someone else like him [in his place], after promising the  
 moveable and immoveable goods of the dead man to him at a price.  
 35 When these goods of the man selected had been expressly promised  
 and given, each of the rebel caterans deceived and destroyed another  
 in turn, until the kingdom became peaceful, the threat of wicked men  
 was removed, and the common folk could obtain the peace and  
 security that they wanted.  
 40 The king himself, when he was about to set out for the Holy Land to  
 tame the ferocity of the pagans with all his might, [appointed  
 guardians for the kingdom,] and determined to go over there with a  
 military force, and to end his life in the Promised Land. For as  
 evidence of his pious intention he had shown favour and affection to a  
 45 great and exaggerated extent to his knights and men-at-arms (who  
 were very numerous at this time), who had been assigned and enlisted  
 for undertakings of this kind. On this account he had assigned and  
 granted to the same men broad estates and grants of knighthood. But  
 in the end, forestalled by a visitation of the Most High, bitter death  
 50 did not spare the kingly fate, but extinguished and brought to an end  
 under its fatal law a king who was scarcely approaching mature  
 manhood. And so the fate of death with great speed subjected King  
 David to its severe laws while he was ruling his kingdom as a king  
 should, and anticipating the payment-date of his slight payment,  
 55 sadly extracted the debt before it was due – when he was in his forty-  
 seventh year, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, on the feast of St  
 Peter's Chair 1370, at Edinburgh Castle; and he was buried in the  
 monastery at Holyrood before the high altar.

[1371:]  
 22 Feb.

35

### *The king's epitaph*

This renowned King David was buried under a tombstone,  
 a man of glittering ancestry, highly praised throughout the  
 regions of the world;  
 he was not ruled by passion in his life, but was a man of  
 5 tested generosity,  
 sweetened by his delightful charming behaviour.

Miles munificus, mitis moderamine, letus,  
pulcher, pacificus, placida probitate facetus;  
ductor dignificus, in se pietate quietus,  
fragrans fructificus flos fertilitate repletus.

<sup>a</sup>Stemata stellifera sibi certatim radiarunt;  
germina florifera morum sibiserta pararunt.  
Agmina scutifera sibi laudes accumularunt,  
et sua fructifera<sup>c</sup> fulcimina furta fugarunt.

Ipsam continui veri virtus solidavit,  
moris melliflui moderatio mitificavit;  
sanguinis almi flui genus ipsum principiavit,  
et nichil exigui reputaminis edificavit.  
Ipsam largiflua mens multis gratificavit,  
gratum dulciflua comitiva sequax decoravit;  
vis sua continua bene regnum pacificavit.  
et loca perspicua regionis multiplicavit.  
Regis perspicui<sup>d</sup> constancia se reservavit,  
regni contigui dum pressuras toleravit;  
[in]<sup>e</sup> regno tenui res et decus amplificavit,  
[nil]<sup>f</sup> paciens minui dum vita virum validavit.

[Terre]<sup>g</sup> fertilitas illi fuit obsequialis,  
[et ma-]ris<sup>h</sup> utilitas patriotis presidialis;  
diffugit feritas, lusit lex imperialis,  
accessit probitas, in orbe quies generalis.

Eius<sup>i</sup> visceribus sapiencia nidificavit,  
amplis muneribus adventicios recreavit;  
sub verbis brevibus sapide responsa paravit,  
fidis faminibus discordes unificavit.

G ii,382    | Prelatos coluit cleri tractando decenter,  
et proceres voluit sibi circumstare potenter;  
burgenses statuit sua commutare licenter,  
et populum studuit sub jure tenere patenter.

Pro regno voluit fedus treugale subire,  
confratrem potuit regem dulcore linire;  
quod pepigit tenuit, renuit pacta resilire.  
Sic sicut deuit fecit lamenta perire.

Anglis diligitur, et pro valido veneratur,  
verax asseritur, et pro bonitate beatur.  
Scocia iam queritur, quia fertilis aura fugatur;  
et timor ingeritur, ac defectus sociatur.

<sup>b</sup> divided into verses irregularly as here D;

no divisions C

<sup>c</sup> corrected from furcifera C

<sup>d</sup> conspicui CA

<sup>e</sup> D; lac. C

<sup>f</sup> suis CA

A generous knight, he was kindly as a ruler, cheerful,  
handsome, a peace-maker, courteous in his gentle goodness;  
a worthy leader, given to unobtrusive acts of charity,  
he was a fragrant and fruitful flower filled full of fertility.

Starry crowns have eagerly sent out their beams for him;  
the flowering shoots of his character have prepared garlands  
for him.

Shield-bearing troops have heaped up praises for him,  
and his fruit-bearing supports have chased thefts away.

The virtue of steadfast truth established him,  
the authority of his mellifluous behaviour made his character  
mild;  
an origin of gracious blood made him a prince,  
and he built nothing that was held in low esteem.

A generous mind made him gracious to many,  
a sweet company of followers enhanced his popularity;  
his unrelenting exercise of authority well pacified the  
kingdom,  
and he increased the places of note in the region.

He preserved his energies with the firmness of an outstanding  
king,  
while he sustained the pressures put upon him by the  
neighbouring kingdom.  
He increased the wealth and glory of his poor kingdom,  
allowing nothing to be weakened while life gave him strength.

The fertility of the land obeyed his wishes;  
so too the useful element of the sea, which benefits his  
compatriots;  
savagery has disappeared, imperial law has triumphed,  
honesty has increased, there is general quiet in the country.

Wisdom has built her nest in his bowels,  
he has refreshed foreigners with ample gifts;  
he has wisely prepared answers in few words,  
he has brought together men at variance with each other by  
means of trustworthy utterances.

He has cultivated the prelates of the clergy by treating them  
with respect,  
and has desired the magnates to come to his side with their  
power;  
he made a statute that burgesses could exchange their goods  
with his permission,  
and he made it his business to keep the people visibly in  
obedience to the law.

O dolor! O gemitus! Premitur princeps preciosus!  
 O furor! O fremitus! Decessit dux dominosus!  
 O stupor! O strepitus! O miles deliciosus!  
 Ipse fuit penitus decor in regno rutilosus.

45

Ergo Pater Venie, qui misit aroma reorum,  
 ad loca leticie trahat illum Rex Superorum.  
 In iubilo patrie, cum Principe Pacificorum,  
 sub cultu latrie quiescat in regno polorum.<sup>g</sup>

50

g last two lines run into margin to fit end of  
 folio C

*De coronacione Roberti secundi regis*

Post mortem magnifici principis regis David, tres status regni  
 convenientes in villa regia de Lynlithqw, pro rege futuro sibi fiendo  
 tractare ceperunt. Quorum concors votum extitit ad preferendum  
 illustrem principem dominum Robertum Stewart, nepotem regis  
 David, juxta statum suum hereditarium, et intentum talliarum 5  
 primitus super hoc confectarum. Sed huiusmodi proposito contrarium  
 se exhibuit dominus Willelmus de Douglas comes eiusdem  
 militari virtute conglobatus, allegans sibi ex parte <Cominensium><sup>a</sup>  
 sive Balliolorum regio solio<sup>b</sup> competere sublimari. Cui dominus  
 Georgius de Dunbar comes Marchie, et Johannes frater eius comes 10  
 Moravie, necnon nobilis miles Robertus de Erskine custos castrorum<sup>c</sup>  
 de Dunbretan, Edinburg et Striveline, in hoc clameo aperte restiterunt.  
 Quibus se resistere non posse perpendens, dictus Douglas de

a in margin replacing Comiensium in text C c + regionum CA  
 b + sibi CA

50 He wanted to enter into a truce agreement for his kingdom,  
 he managed to smear his fellow-king with sweetness;  
 he held on to what he settled, he refused to go back on  
 agreements.

Thus, as was proper, he brought an end to expressions of  
 55 grief.

He is highly regarded by the English, and revered for his  
 strength,  
 he is regarded as truthful, and blessed for his goodness.  
 Scotland now complains because the breeze that brought her  
 60 fertility is being chased away,  
 and fear is being let loose, and plots laid for a revolt.

What grief! What lamentation! What a dear prince is afflicted!  
 What raging! What roaring! What a masterful leader has  
 departed!

65 What numbness! What a noise! What a dear knight!  
 He was a profoundly shining ornament in the kingdom.

Therefore, may the Father of Mercy, who has sent away the  
 spice of the guilty,

70 as may the King of Heaven, carry him to places of joy.  
 May he rest amid the rejoicing of his native land with the  
 Prince of the Peaceable,  
 an object of worship in the kingdom of Heaven.

*The coronation of King Robert II*

After the death of the splendid prince King David, the three estates of  
 the realm met in the royal town of Linlithgow, and began to negotiate  
 over the choice of their future king. They amicably voted in favour of  
 the illustrious prince Sir Robert Stewart, King David's nephew, in  
 5 accordance with his hereditary position and with the implications of  
 the tailzies originally drawn up on this matter. But Sir William de  
 Douglas earl of Douglas, surrounded by an armed force, came out in  
 opposition to this proposal, claiming to be a candidate for elevation  
 to the royal throne in the Comyn or Balliol interest. Sir George de  
 10 Dunbar earl of March, and his brother John earl of Moray, and also  
 the noble knight Robert de Erskine the keeper of the [royal] castles of  
 Dumbarton, Edinburgh and Stirling, openly opposed him in this  
 claim. Calculating that he could not resist them, the said Douglas  
 took the advice of the prelates and magnates and relinquished his ill-  
 15 advised presumption. In this situation an agreement was quite

G ii,383

consilio prelatorum et procerum cessit sue inconsulte presumpcioni. Ubi tamen expedite satis tractatum extitit quod Jacobus de Douglas primogenitus eius et heres filiam dicti domini Roberti regis futuri de legitimo thoro procreatam sibi matrimonialiter copularet; et ipse comes de D[ouglas] una cum filio suo regi suppliciter<sup>d</sup> se subderent et obtemperarent. Ac | in sequenti festo Annunciacionis Nostre Domine dictus dominus Robert S[tewart] apud Sconam cum debita solemnitate coronatus est. Qui fuit humilis, mitis, affabilis vultu, vir hilaris, rex honorabilis,<sup>e</sup> responsis lepidus, statu spectabilis, statura ceteris et corporis proceritate preeminens.<sup>f</sup> Tamquam alter Abraham pater fuit multarum gentium, non solum habundans in natis, sed et in ceteris divitiis<sup>g</sup> animatis, ut sibi<sup>h</sup> competere poterat hoc quod scriptum est Deuteronomii xxx: 'Habundare te faciet Dominus Deus tuus in cunctis operibus manuum tuarum, in sobole uteri tui, in fructu jumentorum tuorum, im ubertate terre tue, et in rerum omnium largitate.' Hec omnia sibi evenerunt, nam maxima habundancia victualium fructuum et animalium tempore suo,<sup>i</sup> ymmo pacis tranquillitas, prosperata est. Sed de filiis suis quid dicam? Quidam erant pacifici et benigni, quidam insolentes et maligni, quia<sup>j</sup> filiis suis naturalibus congruere quidam putant illud Isaie lix videlicet: 'Quod confotum fuerit ex ovis aspidum erumpet in regulum.' Hoc est quod ex ovis aspidis,<sup>k</sup> quoad naturam matrum, generatur regulus, qui dicitur rex venenosarum bestiarum sive serpencium. A simili de indisciplinatis matribus generatur iniquitas sobolis.<sup>l</sup> Et ideo non est utrobique gaudendum si rex vel princeps generet filium non matrimonialiter, sed ex voluptuoso connubio, procreatum, sicut in sua Apologia<sup>m</sup> scribit Esopus quod quando natus fuit cuidam principi magnifico filius,<sup>n</sup> omnes aulici pre gaudio tripudiaverunt, et lusibus indulserunt, flente<sup>o</sup> philosopho qui hec attendebat. Querentibus cur fleret respondit: 'O stulti! Attendite gaudium vestrum, quia quando sol generat solem, omnis creatura ingemiscit. Hucusque habuimus nisi unicum solem, nec est qui se absconderat a torrido calore eius; et nunc sol multiplicatus vos omnes incinerabit, et ad nichilum rediget.' Sol certe regis Roberti placidus erat, et fomentativus suis liegiis; sed<sup>p</sup> multiplicatus in<sup>q</sup> filiis hucusque caumate torrido<sup>r</sup> pauperes incinerat, et regnum conturbat. <Unde de bastardis sic quidam inquit:

Prodiga natura bastardis dat tria jura:  
aut sunt pomposi, fures, aut luxuriosi.>

- |   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
| d | second -p- interlin.C  | k | aspidum CA                                 |
| e | cito pacabilis for rex honorabilis CA                                    | l | effrenata soboles for iniquitas sobolis CA |
| f | incomparabilis corpore clarus et mente for et corporis ... preeminens CA | m | + fabulosi CA                              |
| g | ipse in regnicolis et ceteris divitiis et bonis for in ... divitiis CA   | n | + naturalis CA                             |
| h | + congrue CA   | o | + tamen CA                                 |
| i | + ii del.C   | p | + nunc CA                                  |
| j | Unde CA  | q | radiosis suis for in CA                    |
|   |  | r | consumptivo CA                             |

speedily reached that James de Douglas his eldest son and heir should be linked in marriage to a legitimately-born daughter of the said Sir Robert the future king; and the earl of Douglas himself along with his son humbly submitted to the king and offered obedience to him.

- 20 So on the following feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady the said Sir Robert Stewart was crowned at Scone with due ceremony. He was humble and gentle, friendly in appearance, a cheerful man, an honourable king, witty in his responses, admirable in the way he carried himself, surpassing others in stature and the height of his body. Like another Abraham he was the father of many descendants, for he had plenty not only of children, but also of other living riches, so that this quotation from Deuteronomy [chapter] 30 could apply to him: 'The Lord your God will make you prosperous in all the works of your hands, in the offspring of your womb, in the fruit of your cattle, in the productivity of your land, and in abundance of everything.' All these things happened to him, for his times were made prosperous by way of great abundance of provisions, fruits and animals, and especially the tranquillity of peace.
- 25
- 30

1371:  
[26] Mar.

- But what am I to say about his children? Some were peace-loving and open-handed, some were arrogant and ill-disposed, because some people think that the saying in Isaiah [chapter] 59 is appropriate for his natural children, namely: 'What is nurtured from snakes' eggs will hatch into a viper.' That is to say that from a snake's eggs (as is characteristic of mothers) is hatched a viper, which is called the king of the most poisonous of beasts or serpents. Similarly from undisciplined mothers irregular offspring are born. Therefore it is not a matter for rejoicing on both sides if a king or prince fathers a son who is not the offspring of a marriage, but [merely] of pleasurable intercourse, just as Aesop writes in his *Apology* that when a son was born to a certain magnificent prince, all the courtiers danced for joy and indulged in entertainments, whilst a philosopher who was present wept. To those who asked why he was weeping he answered: 'Fools! Watch out for your rejoicing, for when the sun fathers a sun, every living thing begins to groan. Thus far we have had only one sun and no one has concealed himself from its scorching heat; but now the sun has been multiplied and will burn you all up and reduce you to nothing.' Certainly King Robert as a sun was kindly and an encouragement to his lieges; but to the extent that he has been multiplied in his sons, he is burning up the poor with scorching heat and is upsetting the kingdom. On the subject of bastards someone has this to say:
- 35
- 40
- 45
- 50
- 55

Lavish nature gives three rights to bastards:  
they are either rich men, or thieves, or wastrels.



*De rupcione treugarum et vindicta de Anglis sumpta per  
comitem Marchie*

G ii,384

fo.308

Treuge (de quibus supra) capte pro xiiii annis nondum adhuc elapsis, deputatis certis d[ie]bus<sup>a</sup> pro reformatione hinc inde ablatorum constitutis, interdum per Johannem Stewart comitem de Carrik filium regis qui eidem successit in regnum, interdum per | Robertum comitem de Menteth fratrem dicti Johannis postea ducem Albanie, 5  
conveniens reformatio sive re-[sti]-tutio<sup>a</sup> Marchianis lesis facta est. Tandem contigit quendam armigerum [ ] cubicularium comitis Marchie domini Georgii de Dunbar tunc cust-[odi]-s<sup>a</sup> | Est Marchie nundinas de Roxburgh inter ceteros visitare, ubi ab Anglis exploratus est et occisus. Propter quod comes Marchie deputatis ex parte 10  
Anglorum scripsit ut interfectores armigeri sui aut debite punirent aut eos sibi mitterent, sinautem trebas ullatenus non servaret. Qui hoc facere plane negabant, rescribentes sibi derisorie, utpote de petitione sua vel seipso modicum curare. Sed sicut dicit poeta:

Irridens alios non inderisus abibit.

15

Dictus comes ad tempus dissimilavit; et in proximo festo Sancti Laurencii, Anglis ad nundinas de Roxburgh undique confluentibus,<sup>b</sup> clam collecto exercitu, summo mane villam circumsessit. Quam inopinate funestis gladiis Scoti<sup>c</sup> intrantes, omnes Anglos mares a 20  
majore ad minimum<sup>d</sup> occiderunt. Et si qui<sup>e</sup> in solariis vel domibus firmioribus defensionem fecerant, taliter eos depreliabantur<sup>f</sup> quod nequaquam eos ad dedicionem sed ad internicionem gladio aut igne humiliabant,<sup>g</sup> auferentes<sup>h</sup> eis preciosa mercimonia et concupiscibilia queque infinita, tali namque juguludio Anglorum irrisionem comes 25  
illudebat. Abhinc rupte sunt treuge, et ex omni parte Marchiarum fiunt trucidaciones, predaciones, depopulaciones, concremaciones<sup>i</sup> et capciones, excedentes qualemcumque reformationem sive respectuacionem, et quia tam acriter Marchiani<sup>j</sup> in ira succensi sunt ut vel unum diem sine dampno alterutra pars adversarios<sup>k</sup> non passa est preterire.

<sup>a</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>b</sup> + dictus comes del.C; + idem comes CA

<sup>c</sup> interlin.C

<sup>d</sup> minimo usque ad maximum for majore ad minimum CA

<sup>e</sup> + forte CA

<sup>f</sup> pro tuicione se ponerent, comes taliter

effecit for defensionem ... depreliabantur

CA

<sup>g</sup> humiliabat CA

<sup>h</sup> auferens CA

<sup>i</sup> + cediciones CA

<sup>j</sup> + rixantes CA

<sup>k</sup> + suos CA

*The rupture of the truce, and the payment levied on the  
English by the earl of March*

Under the truce (mentioned above) arranged for fourteen years, [1369: which had not yet run its course, certain days were laid down for the 24 Aug.] return of goods stolen on both sides. When these were held, suitable restoration or restitution was made to injured inhabitants of the 5  
Borders, sometimes by John Stewart earl of Carrick, the son of the king who succeeded him on the throne, sometimes by John's brother Robert earl of Menteith, afterwards duke of Albany. After some time it happened that a man-at-arms who was a chamberlain of the earl of March, Sir George de Dunbar who was then warden of the East 10  
March, was one of a group attending Roxburgh fair, when he was challenged by the English and killed. On this account the earl of March wrote to the officers on the English side that they should either punish the killers of his man-at-arms or send them to him; otherwise he would not keep the truce in any way. They flatly refused to do this, 15  
writing back to him in mocking tones with as might be expected little concern for his request or himself. But as the poet says:

He who scoffs at others will not escape without himself being derided.

The said earl disguised his intentions for the time being; and on the 20  
next feast of St Lawrence, when the English had gathered at the Roxburgh fair from all sides, he secretly collected a force and surrounded the town early in the morning. The Scots entered the town unexpectedly with murderous swords, and killed all the English men from the highest to the lowest. And where some put up a defence in 25  
upper rooms or houses, the Scots fought with them in such a way that they humbled them by sword or fire, not just to surrender, but to slaughter, depriving them of precious merchandise and some things which were extremely desirable, for by such a murderous game the earl mocked the scoffing of the English. From then on the truce was 30  
broken, and in every part of the Borders killings, robberies, plunderings, burnings and arrests took place, going beyond any kind of restoration or respite, for the [quarrelling] Borderers were so bitterly inflamed with anger that one side did not allow even one day to pass without harming their opponents.  
35 Therefore on account of the bloody Roxburgh fair the English were extremely enraged, and after immediately gathering together carried

[1377:]  
10 Aug.

Ob igitur sanguinolentas nundinas de Roxburgh Angli nimium 30  
 exacerbati, incontinenti collegerunt se et maximas predas terrarum  
 domini Johannis de Gordon, qui principalis fuerat cum comite ad  
 nundinas, secum abduxerunt. Post quos statim dominus de Gordon  
 cum valida potencia Angliam intravit, et maiorem predam duplo inde  
 abigebat. De cuius adventu dominus Johannes Lilburn miles premu- 35  
 nitus, collectis undequē Marchianis<sup>l</sup> dupliciter pluribus quam Scoti,<sup>m</sup>  
 quorum viam<sup>n</sup> ipse Lilburn preoccupans, ad pugnam Scotos provoca-  
 vit. Hinc inde<sup>o</sup> decertatum est; sed vigorosa probitate domini  
 Johannis de Gordon suos viriliter animantis, victoria sibi cessit <apud  
 Carram,><sup>p</sup> et capto Johanne de Lilburn cum fratre suo et aliis 40  
 quampluribus valentibus viris, multis eciam interfectis, et Scoti<sup>q</sup> de  
 spoliis eorum ditati,<sup>r</sup> tandem cum<sup>s</sup> predis et captivis feliciter ad  
 propria revererunt non tamen sine maxima difficultate et<sup>t</sup> ammira-  
 cione. Nam dominus de Gordon diversis vulneribus sauciatus, et  
 quinque quasi vicibus in illo conflictu devictus, ac in procinctu fuge 45  
 cum suis propulsus, tandem ipsius solius cordata animositate, socii  
 sui de <devincentibus><sup>u</sup> reminiscentes<sup>v</sup> victoria<sup>w</sup> sunt potiti.

*l* + Scotis CA  
*m* quam Scoti om. CA  
*n* + in redeundo de Anglia CA  
*o* + acerbe CA  
*p* in margin R also; in text D  
*q* Scotis CA  
*r* ditatis C, D

*s* + armentis et gregibus CA  
*t* + multorum CA  
*u* in margin replacing devictis in text del. C  
*v* D; reminiscentes corrected from  
 reminiscentes C; Anglis mirabiliter  
 triumphantes for reminiscentes CA  
*w* + leti CA

## 38

G ii, 385

*De vili subterfugio domini Henrici de Percy*

Dominus de Percy Henricus comes Northumbrie huiusmodi Ang-  
 lorum infortuniis plusquam credi potest aggravatus, collegit sibi  
 exercitum vii<sup>m</sup> armatorum ad destruendum et depopulandum univer-  
 sum comitatum domini Georgii de Dunbar. Et in expeditione  
 procedens usque ad silvam de Dwms, ibidem prima nocte castrameta- 5  
 tus est. Ubi pauci de<sup>a</sup> verletis et garcionibus Scotorum<sup>b</sup> de nocte ad  
 exercitum Anglorum clanculo accedentes, cum sonoribus instrumen-  
 tis pellium lignis extensis lapillos infra se continentibus strepitum  
 horridum moventes, nobiliores emissarios et Anglorum equos  
 deterrentes, fractis eorum ligamentis et frenis, teris ac hebenis, invitis 10  
 suis dominis terram Anglie prepropere petere compulerunt. Propter

*a* + vernaculis CA

*b* + intra se confingentes CA

off a vast amount of booty from the lands of Sir John de Gordon, who  
 had been a leader along with the earl at the fair. The lord of Gordon at  
 once entered England after them with a powerful force, and drove off  
 40 even more booty from there amounting to twice as much. When the  
 knight Sir John Lilburn was informed of his arrival, he collected from  
 all sides twice as many Borderers as the Scots, whose route [home  
 from England] this Lilburn occupied in advance, and challenged the  
 Scots to a fight. It was a fight to the finish on both sides; but the  
 45 outcome was victory at Carham for Sir John de Gordon, with his  
 vigorous prowess in inspiring his men in manly fashion. John de  
 Lilburn was captured along with his brother and very many other  
 sturdy men, and many also were killed. At length the Scots, enriched  
 by their spoils, returned home in fine fettle with [herds and flocks,]  
 50 booty and captives, though not without very considerable difficulty  
 and to the surprise [of many]. For the lord of Gordon had been  
 afflicted with various wounds, was beaten about five times in that  
 conflict, and driven with his men to the point of readiness for flight.  
 But in the end inspired by the brave fighting spirit of himself alone, his  
 55 associates recollected [themselves] and won a victory over those who  
 were in the act of conquering them.

## 38

*The contemptible escape of Sir Henry de Percy*

Sir Henry de Percy earl of Northumberland was unbelievably vexed  
 by these English reverses, and gathered under his leadership a force of  
 7,000 armed men to destroy and plunder the whole earldom of Sir  
 George de Dunbar. And after advancing in haste as far as Duns [1377: Aug.]  
 5 wood, he pitched his camp there on the first night. There a few of the  
 grooms and servants of the Scots [devised a plan among themselves]  
 to approach the army of the English stealthily by night; and striking  
 up a dreadful din with noisy instruments made of skin stretched on  
 wood and containing pebbles inside, they terrified the noble stallions  
 10 and horses of the English. Their halters and bridles, tethers and reins  
 were broken, and despite the efforts of their owners the Scots forced  
 the horses to make precipitately for the land of England. On this  
 account the English spent a sleepless night wearing their arms,  
 fearfully waiting as footsoldiers for the Scots' arrival; but observing

quod Anglici insomnes tota nocte armis coniecti, pedestres prestolabantur Scotorum adventum timidi; sed nichil unde formidare deberent<sup>c</sup> perspicientes, de mane lanceas in scapulis ferentes non sine magno dedecore, propria letancius derisi<sup>d</sup> pecierunt. Laudandi sunt tales adolescentes vernaculi, qui de tali imperdia fuerunt previsa,<sup>e</sup> quā tam immanis exercitus perterritus fugam, nemine impellente, compulsus est arripere; | quorum laus ex ore Cassiodori non improprie procedit, scribentis sic in epistola et dicentis:

fo.308v

Ars bellandi si non preluditur, cum fuerit necessaria non habetur. Discat ergo miles<sup>f</sup> in ocio, quod perficere possit in bello. Animos subito ad arma non exigant, nisi qui se ad ipsa idoneos premissa exercitacione disponant. Gestiant vituli certamina que implent etate robusta; catuli in novellis venacionibus ludunt. Sic animi hominum, nisi prius leniter fuerint imbuti, ad hoc quod tendunt idonei nequeunt reperiri. Primordia cuncta pavida sunt, et aliter timiditas non tollitur, nisi cum rebus necessariis novitas abrogatur.

Eo tempore quo Henricus Percy ad Dwms, ut premisimus, accessit, sibi dominus Thomas de Musgreve miles custos Bervici cum potencia armatorum ad subsidium accessurus occurrit. Cui latens in abditis ex isidiis erupit dominus Johannes de Gordon cum inferiore<sup>g</sup> potencia et ex improvise. Cuius subita apparicione, Musgreve cum suis circumventus et nimium perterritus fugam iniit; sed non valuit, quia<sup>h</sup> ipso ab insequentibus Scotis capto cum valencioribus suis, et quibusdam interfectis, ceteris captis et fugatis,<sup>i</sup> mirabilem<sup>j</sup> victoriam de ipsis triumphator<sup>k</sup> Gordon<sup>l</sup> est adeptus. Eadem tempestate multos et victoriosos assultus exercuit de Anglis;<sup>m</sup> et expertus est in Westmarchia dominus de Joneston necnon et alii valentes Scotigene, qui, quasi cotidie de inimicis prevalentes, magnifice triumpharunt. Quorum gesta commemorabilia, etsi non omnia, singillatim scriptis commendare, si<sup>n</sup> non militaribus, aliis tamen delicatis lectoribus ecclesiasticis tedium generarent.

c + perp del.C

d illusi CA

e provisi CA

f bellaturus CA

g + tamen CA

h interlin. over Sed del.C

i cum valencioribus suis ad dedecionem

captis et quibusdam interfectis et fugatis

for capto ... fugatis CA

j desideratam CA

k om.CA

l interlin.C

m de Anglis interlin.C

n quamquam CA

15 nothing which should make them afraid, they shouldered their lances in the morning in some disgrace, and making light of things cheerfully made their way home. These young servants are worthy of praise who envisaged such a trick, by which so vast an army was terrified and forced to flee though no one was driving them off. Praise for them  
20 emerges not inappropriately from the lips of Cassiodorus when he writes in a letter saying:

If the art of warfare is not rehearsed, it will not be available when it is needed. Therefore a soldier should learn at leisure what he should put into practice in battle. Men would not stimulate their minds to warfare  
25 at short notice unless they make themselves well suited to it by preliminary practice. Young bullocks exult in fighting-games which they perform seriously when mature; puppies play at hunting for the first time. So the minds of men cannot be found fitted for their aim if they have not previously been gently instructed. All new experiences  
30 are frightening, and fear is not removed unless the novelty is cancelled along with compelling circumstances.

At the time when Henry Percy approached Duns, as we have said, the knight Sir Thomas de Musgrave the warden of Berwick was about to come to join him with the help of a force of armed men. Sir John de  
35 Gordon lay hidden and pounced on him from an ambush unexpectedly with a smaller force. On his sudden appearance Musgrave, surrounded by Gordon's men and extremely frightened, began to flee; but he was not successful, for he was captured by his Scottish pursuers along with his sturdy men, and with some of them killed and others  
40 captured or put to flight, Gordon was triumphant in securing a remarkable victory over them.

At the same time he carried through many victorious attacks on the English; and this was the experience of the lord of Johnstone on the West March together with other Scottish fighting men, who almost  
45 daily prevailed over their enemies with magnificent triumphs. To entrust even just a selection of these remarkable deeds individually to writing would arouse boredom – if not in military men, certainly in other refined readers among churchmen.

[27 Aug.]

39<sup>a</sup>

G ii,386

*De obitu Sancte Brigitte domine de Swecia*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc lxxii<sup>o</sup> ventus Sancti Nicholai qui ecclesias et domos, turres et quercus diruens solo complanavit. Eodem anno coronacio domine Eufemie regine filie domini<sup>b</sup> Hugonis comitis Rossensis solemniter facta apud Sconam<sup>c</sup> per ministerium episcopi Aberdonensis. Ex qua generavit filios scilicet Walterum comitem Atholie dominum de Brechyne, qui postea convictus fuit de prodicione mortis regis Jacobi primi et propterea tractus, suspensus, evisceratus et sectus, et membra sua apud Edenburg et Perth pro monstro elevata et adhuc<sup>d</sup> dependencia. Genuit eciam regina David comitem de Stratherne. Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxxiii obiit domina de Swecia Sanctissima Brigitta que dicitur sponsa Christi per totum librum suum revelacionum. Fuit enim domina Viricie et de Vasten de regno Suecie ex nobili prosapia regum Gotorum progenita. Cuius pater Bergerus, mater [ ], sponsus Wlfo, filius Carolus nuncupabantur. Quem Karolum Willelmus Lyndesey de Birez miles ad Sanctum Sepulchrum cinxit in militem; de cuius anima fuit coram Christo iudice maxima altercacio inter Nostram Dominam et Diabolum, sicut patet capitulo xiii septimi libri Revelacionum. Hec domina Brigitta visione imaginaria et intellectuali in oracione vigilans et non dormiens sepiissime raptata, et in suavi extasi posita vidit revelaciones divinas tocus operis maximi libri sui qui dicitur Liber Revelacionum Brigitte. Que et claruit Rome xx<sup>ii</sup> quinque annis tempore summorum pontificum videlicet Clementis vi, Urbani quinti et Gregorii xi. Tempore cuius Gregorii Rome feliciter obiit in crastino Sancte Marie Magdalene.

fo.309

<Hic debet situari epistola comminatoria Turchorum missa pape Gregorio xi que scripta est capitulo ultimo huius libri. Circa idem tempus scilicet tempore Gregorii xi scripsit idem per bullam regi Roberto ut officiales sui non intromittant se cum [bonis episcoporum dece]-dencium<sup>e</sup> sub pena excommunicationis cuius copiam vide post finem huius libri et titulos sequentis, et eciam copiam [litere regis David ad]<sup>f</sup> idem facientis.>

De hiis summis pontificibus habuit speciales revelaciones a

a corrected from 38 C  
b smudged C  
c D,CA; Scone C

d + inibi CA  
e R; lac.C  
f C,R; om.D,B,II,E

39

*The death of St Bridget, lady of Sweden*

In 1372 there was a gale [on the feast] of St Nicholas, which demolished and flattened churches and houses, towers and oak-trees to the ground. 1372: 6 Dec.

In the same year the coronation of the Lady Euphemia the queen, daughter of lord Hugh earl of Ross, was performed at Scone at a solemn ceremony conducted by the bishop of Aberdeen. By her [the king] fathered [two] sons, namely Walter earl of Atholl and lord of Brechin, who was later convicted of treacherously killing King James I, and was on this account drawn, hanged, disembowelled and beheaded. His limbs were hung up at Edinburgh and Perth as a warning, and are still hanging [there]. The queen also bore David earl of Strathearn. 1372

In 1373 died the lady of Sweden, the most saintly Bridget, who is called the Bride of Christ throughout her *Book of Revelations*. She was lady of Närke and Vadstena in the kingdom of Sweden, being a descendant of the noble stock of the Swedish kings. Her father was called Birger, her mother [ ], her husband Ulf, and her son Charles. The knight William Lindsay of the Byres dubbed this Charles as a knight at the Holy Sepulchre. There was a very great dispute over his soul before Christ as judge between Our Lady and the Devil, as appears in Chapter 13 of Book VII of the *Revelations*. While this Lady Bridget kept watch in prayer and was not asleep, she was very often rapt in an allegorical and spiritual vision, and when gripped in a delightful trance, observed the divine revelations contained in the whole of her very extensive book, which is called *The Book of Bridget's Revelations*. She was a famous figure at Rome for twenty-five years while Clement VI, Urban V and Gregory XI were supreme pontiffs. During this Gregory's pontificate she happily ended her days at Rome on the morrow of the feast of St Mary Magdalene. 1373: 23 July [1349-73]

The threatening letter sent by the Turks to Pope Gregory XI, which is copied in the last chapter of this Book, should be placed here. About the same time (that is the time of Gregory XI) the same pope sent a bull to King Robert to the effect that his officials were not to meddle with the goods of deceased bishops under pain of excommunication; for a copy see after the end of this Book and after the [list of] rubrics of the following one, and also a copy of a letter of King David to the same effect. 23 July

Christo, prout habetur in libro De Summis Pontificibus.<sup>g</sup> Qui  
sepiissime ad eam in honore et reverencia quibus decuit venerunt,<sup>h</sup> et  
ipsius ymmo Dei consilium per eam requisierunt. Incepit autem  
habere revelaciones anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> xxxviii. Cui revelata est a  
Christo una regula nove religionis quam ipse Dominus instituit, que  
in b[ullis] papalibus Sancti Salvatoris Regula nuncupatur. Quam  
confirmavit Urbanus vi, qui ipsam c[a]nonizavit,<sup>i</sup> et qui immediate  
successit G[regorio] xi. Revelatus eciam fuit ei in visione sensibili Ro-  
[me]<sup>j</sup> sermo angelicus in domo cardinnalatus que est contigua ecclesie  
Sancti Laurencii in Dam-[aso].<sup>j</sup> Ibi enim apparuit angelus corpora-  
liter missus a Christo pronuncians eidem sermonem pred-[ictum].<sup>j</sup>  
Qui est de excellencia Virginis Marie, qualiter fratres et sorores  
eiusdem religionis ha-[berent]<sup>j</sup> de eis lecciones legendas in matutinis,  
quem librum ipsa transsumpsit ex ore eius-[dem angeli].<sup>j</sup> | Hec  
domina<sup>j</sup> semel equitans ad castrum suum de Vasten rapta Spiritu in  
illo instante incorpora-[vit totum]<sup>j</sup> Librum Questionum, qui est  
elucidarium plurium dubiorum,<sup>k</sup> et qui ita effectualiter remansit in  
[cor-]de<sup>j</sup> eius, ac si in tabula marmorea totus insculptus fuisset. Quem  
statim scripsit in lingua materna, et consequenter magister Mathias  
de Swecia sacre theologie professor | canonicus Lincopensis eiusdem  
confessor in Latino. Sciendum est igitur quod hee revelaciones sunt  
quasi epistola vel litera Dei missa huic periclitanti mundo ad  
impetracionem gloriose Virginis Marie Matris Misericordie et  
omnium sanctorum, ad innotescendum mundo iram Dei gravissi-  
mam sibi iam imminemtem propter peccata plus solito invalescencia  
tam inferiorum quam superiorum. Quia inferiores iam vacant  
malediccionibus et perjuriis, commessacionibus et ebrietatibus forni-  
cacionibus et adulteriis ac aliis horrendis peccatis, superiores vero  
student nocte et die circumvenire subditos suos omnibus modis  
quibus possunt, ut auferant eorum bona et inducant novas subtili-  
tates adinvenciones et exacciones quatenus color pretense rationis  
eorum possit elevari et communitas subtiliter suppeditari. Et ideo  
dicit Christus, sicut in Libro Revelacionum Extravagancium habetur,  
quod

antiquitus bene regebantur regna quando talis eligebatur<sup>j</sup> in regem qui  
et novit et scivit et potuit regere juste, et sic fieri voluit. Nunc autem  
regna non sunt regna, sed puerilia deliramenta et latrocinia. Quia sicut  
latro inquit modos, loca et tempora quomodo insidietur ut optineat  
lucrum et non notetur, sic et nunc inquirunt reges principes et prelati  
adinveciones quomodo ratio eorum elevetur et pecunie imbursentur.  
Qui et libencius faciunt justiciam ut<sup>m</sup> optineant bonum temporale; sed

g Pontific' C,D  
h D; inerunt C  
i D; lac.C  
j + Brigitta D

k + necessario sciendorum CA  
l corrected from eligibatur C  
m + mercedem optineant temporalem del.C

[St Bridget] had particular revelations from Christ about these  
supreme pontiffs, which are contained in her book 'On the Supreme  
Pontiffs'. They frequently came to her with the honour and reverence  
which were her due, and sought advice even from God himself  
through her. She began to have revelations in 1338. Christ revealed to  
her a rule for a new religious order which the Lord himself instituted,  
and which in papal bulls is called the 'Rule of the Holy Saviour'. It  
was confirmed by Urban VI, who canonized her, and who was the  
immediate successor of Gregory XI. An angelic message also was  
revealed to her when she experienced a vision at Rome in the  
cardinal's house which is next to the church of St Laurence in  
Damaso. For there an angel sent by Christ appeared in the flesh,  
uttering the aforesaid message. This concerned the excellence of the  
Virgin Mary, the manner in which the brothers and sisters of the same  
religious order were to have lessons about them [?] read at Mattins.  
This book she herself wrote down from what the same angel said.  
Once when this lady was riding to her castle of Vadstena she was  
rapt by the Spirit, and in that instant received within herself the whole  
'Book of Questions', which provides the key to very many matters of  
doubt, and which remained thus effectually in her heart as if it had  
been carved on a tablet of marble. She immediately wrote it out in her  
native tongue, and later [it was translated] into Latin by her confessor  
Master Matthias of Sweden, professor of sacred theology and canon  
of Linköping. You should know therefore that these revelations are  
like an epistle or letter sent by God to this endangered world at the  
urging of the glorious Virgin Mary, the Mother of Mercy, and of all  
the saints, to make known to the world the most severe wrath of God  
which is already threatening them on account of the sins of both lesser  
and grander people which are more than usually on the increase. For  
lesser people are now engaging in cursing and perjury, feasting and  
drunkenness, fornication and adultery and other dreadful sins; whilst  
grander people strive night and day to cheat their subjects by every  
means they can, in order to carry off their goods and introduce new  
refinements, inventions and exactions so that a semblance of  
supposed justification on their side can be raised and the community  
neatly crushed underfoot.  
And so, as the 'Book of Additional Revelations' has it, Christ says  
that

long ago kingdoms were governed well when the kind of man was  
chosen as king who was familiar with, aware of, and capable of ruling  
with justice, and so willing for it to be exercised. But nowadays  
kingdoms are not kingdoms, but childish nonsense and vehicles for  
robbery. For just as a robber seeks for the means, places and times for  
him to lie in wait to secure his loot and escape recognition, so now do  
kings, princes and prelates seek new ways of raising their reckoning  
and pocketing the cash. They gladly exercise justice with an eye to



non diligunt iusticiam ut mercedem optineant sempiternam. Ideo 75  
Sapiens sapienter dixit: 'Ve terre cuius rex puer est!' Qui delicate vivens  
et delicatos habens assentatores de profectu communitatis nichil  
angustiatur.

Hec ibi. In sequenti capitulo habetur quod propter huiusmodi 80  
aggravaciones quas faciunt superiores in suis subditis, omnes sancti  
iam petunt vindictam super eos, et eciam subditi sui, tam hii qui sunt  
in terra quam illi qui iam sunt in Purgatorio. Habetur eciam libro vii<sup>o</sup>  
quomodo iusticia clamat vindictam super principes et prelatos ac  
eorum subditos propter eorum peccata ac oblivionem caritatis et 85  
passionis Christi, cum quasi iam nemo cum amaritudine et compas-  
sione recordatur, sed ad delectabilia mundi se convertit. Propterea, ut  
ibi ait Christus: 'Mittam adhuc per te verba oris mei, hoc est verba  
huius voluminis. Qui si ea non audierint, condempnabuntur cum illis  
qui partiti sunt vestimenta mea.'

*Non tuus est, Christe,  
cui liber non placet iste,  
scilicet Revelacionum Brigitte."*

90

<sup>n</sup> Non ... Brigitte C [written in red ink by  
rubricator], R; om. D, CA, B, E; Non ... iste  
only H

40<sup>a</sup>

G ii, 391

*De combustione ville de Pennir et victoria de Anglis  
per Scotos facta*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc lxxviii maximum scisma in Romana ecclesia  
oritur, et continuatur inter vicissim contendentes per sexaginta viii  
annos et ultra<sup>b</sup> usque ad eleccionem Martini quinti. Eodem anno in  
festo Sancti Adamnani sive Tecle virginis combustio magne ecclesie  
Sancti Andr' hora magne misse, ex incuria plumbarii resarcientis 5  
rimulam tecture plumbee navis ecclesie cum plumbo calefacto sive  
ignito, descendente ad nidum nicticoracis nodule vel cornicis, eundem  
incendente, ac inextinguibilem rogam succrescente. Eodem anno  
paulo ante festum Sancti Andr' infra treugas septem dumtaxat  
valentes vernaculi Mercie furtive ceperunt castrum de Berwik, 10  
quorum nomina sunt [ ]<sup>c</sup> Liegeartwod, [ ]<sup>c</sup> Gray,

<sup>a</sup> altered from xxxix del. C  
<sup>b</sup> et ultra interlin. C

<sup>c</sup> blank spaces left for Christian names C, D;  
no blanks CA

85 securing some temporal good; but they do not love justice as a means to  
securing an eternal reward. So Wisdom has sagely said: 'Woe to the  
land whose king is a child!' The man who lives fastidiously and has  
fastidious flatterers is in no way distressed concerning the progress of  
the community.

90 In the following chapter it is stated that on account of the oppressive  
acts of this kind which grander people inflict on their subjects, all the  
saints are already seeking their punishment, as do their subjects also,  
both those who are on Earth and those who are already in Purgatory.  
It is explained also in Book VII how justice clamours for the  
95 punishment of princes and prelates and their subjects on account of  
their sins and their forgetfulness regarding charity and Christ's  
Passion, since now almost no one gives a thought to sorrow and  
compassion, but devotes himself to the agreeable things of the world.  
For this reason, as Christ says there: 'I should still send through you  
100 the words of from my lips, that is the words of this volume. Those who  
have not heard it will be condemned with those who shared out my  
clothes.'

He is not one of yours, Christ,  
who is not pleased with this Book,  
that is the *Revelations* of Bridget.

105

40

*The burning of Penrith village, and the victory won by the  
Scots over the English*

In 1378 the Great Schism in the Roman church began, which lasted 1378: [Sept.]  
between the rival parties who were contending against each other for  
sixty-eight years and more until the election of Martin V.

In the same year on the feast of St Adomnan or Thecla the Virgin 23 Sept.  
5 the great church of St Andrews was burnt at the hour of high mass;  
this was caused by the carelessness of a plumber who was repairing a  
small crack in the lead roof of the nave of the church with lead that  
had been heated red-hot, and then flowed down to the nest of a raven,  
jackdaw or crow, setting it alight and developing into a conflagration  
10 beyond control.

In the same year a little before the feast of St Andrew in time of 30 Nov.  
truce no more than seven sturdy local men of the Merse stealthily  
captured Berwick castle. Their names were [ ] Legerwood,  
[ ] Gray, [ ] Hog, [Hempsede,] and James de Fordun [or  
15 Forde, and two others].

[ ]<sup>c</sup> Hog,<sup>d</sup> Jac-[obus] de Fordon,<sup>e</sup> [ ]<sup>f</sup> Hoc anno natus est David dux de Rothseia ix kl' novembris.

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxxx dominus Willelmus comes de Douglas, admodum commotus quod comes Northumbrie attemptavit in Scociam<sup>g</sup> exercitum hostiliter ducere, congregavit sibi electorum numerum xx<sup>m</sup> armatorum, et in festo nudinarum ville de Pennyr inprovis<sup>h</sup> villam circumclusit, ipsamque captivis mercimoniis et mobilibus bonis inestimabilibus spoliavit,<sup>i</sup> evacuavit et combussit,<sup>j</sup> ac suos<sup>k</sup> inde magnifice ditavit, quibusdam eciam inibi Scotis sua propria culpa in villa relictis, forte vino debriatis, et ab Anglis captivatis. Sed et factum est ut dum Scoti sitirent lucrum, [per-] venirent<sup>l</sup> ad insolabilem luctum, quia infra sua spolia in regno succrevit epidemia, qua quasi tertia pars regnicolarum eodem anno est extincta, que apud nos tertia mor-[t]-jalitas<sup>m</sup> est dicta. Ob igitur premissas strages per Scotos Anglis illatas, nimium ipsi [An-]glici conturbati, collegerunt de Cumbria xv<sup>m</sup> armatorum, et pertransiunt fluvium<sup>n</sup> de Sulwey hostiliter Scociam intraverunt, cede undique invadentes,<sup>o</sup> villas comburentes, et greges ac animalia colligentes. Quod occidui Scoti et compatriote attendentes, et pro bonis suis animas propriis manibus committentes, prout res et tempus poposcerant, quingenti vel eo circa armatorum in unum convenerunt, et adversus tam immanem exercitum in quodam arcto loco subito de abditis prorumpentes, sibi in facies usque ad conjunccionem lancearum cum valido clamore<sup>p</sup> restiterunt. Ubi multis interfectis, capti sunt de Anglis tricenta quadraginta, quam maxima eciam eorum multitudo fugata, et apu[d]<sup>q</sup> Sulwey extincta et submersa. In hoc possunt bellatores practicam elicere, ut cum acies sint in procinctu belli, tunc clamorosas voces emittere, quia ut scribit Vigecius libro iii capitulo xxxi De re militari: 'Clamor quem barritum vocant, prius non debet attolli, quam acies utraque se junxerit. Imperitorum enim vel ignavorum est vociferare de longe, cum hostes magis terreantur, si cum telorum ictu clamoris horror accesserit. Pars enim victorie est inimicum turbare antequam dimices.' <Hoc eciam anno ex casu incensum est monasterium de Abirbroth, sicut eciam alias ut patet ante libro x capitulo xxx.<sup>q</sup>>

fo.309v

G ii,392

d + Hemsede CA  
e Forde CA; + et alii duo CA  
f blank space of nearly two lines left for further names, at end of which the next sentence has later been inserted C  
g + ut premisimus CA  
h + quo ad incolas eius ipsam CA  
i + ac del.C  
j et combussit interlin.C  
k Scotos CA  
l D; lac.C

m + communiter CA  
n gurgitem CA  
o D; inadentes C.CA  
p + et elata voce CA  
q sed verius, ut quidam volunt, ex igne a desuper volante incensum sicut et alias prescriptum est libro de vehemencia tempestatis monasterium et ecclesiam de Abirbroth et excineratum est for incensum ... xxx CA

This year David duke of Rothesay was born on 24 October.

24 Oct.

In 1380 Sir William earl of Douglas, very much annoyed because the earl of Northumberland tried to lead a hostile force into Scotland [as we have said], gathered under his command some twenty thousand picked armed men, and at the time of a festival fair at the village of Penrith he unexpectedly surrounded the village. He despoiled it of prisoners, merchandise and moveable goods beyond price, emptied it of inhabitants and burned it down. He splendidly enriched his followers from it, though some Scots who had remained there in the village by their own fault (perhaps drunk with wine) were captured by the English. But it turned out that while the Scots were thirsting for gain, they came upon inconsolable sorrow, for among their spoils an epidemic developed. This caused the death of about one-third of the inhabitants of the kingdom: we refer to it as the Third Plague.

1380

As a result of the said slaughter inflicted by the Scots on the English, these English were exceedingly put out. They collected fifteen thousand men from Cumberland, and crossing the Solway Firth invaded Scotland. They slaughtered on all sides as they advanced, burning villages and seizing herds of animals. When the native Scots of the West March observed this, they entrusted their lives to their own hands to save their possessions, as the situation and occasion required. Five hundred armed men or thereabouts met together, and breaking out suddenly from hiding against such a vast army in a certain confined place, they attacked them head on with a mighty shout until their lances met. After many had been killed there, three hundred and forty of the English were taken prisoner, while the greatest possible mass of them fled, and were annihilated and drowned in the Solway. Soldiers can draw a lesson from this story, that when their troops are ready for battle, they should utter noisy shouts, for as Vegetius writes in Book 3, Chapter [18] of his *De re militari*: 'The shout which they call the elephant cry should not be raised until both battle lines engage. For it is the mark of the ignorant and the cowardly to cry out when far off, whereas the enemy are more terrorised if the horror of the battle-cry has reached them along with the impact of spears. For it is part of victory to confuse your enemy before you fight him.'

[1380?]

Also in this year the monastery at Arbroath was accidentally burnt, just as had happened on another occasion (as is mentioned above, Book X, Chapter 30).

1380

*De ambassatoribus misis regi Francie*

Anno domini m° ccc lxxxi rex Robertus solemnem ambassatam, videlicet Walterum Wardelaw cardinalem Glasguensem episcopum c', domino Karolo Francorum regi cum plana commissione misit<sup>a</sup> ad renovandum ligas inter regna ab antiquo initas et confectas. Cum quibus rescripsit rex Francie suas literas in Gallico, huiusmodi 5 translatas sub tenore in Latinis:

<sup>a</sup>Karolus Dei gracia rex Francie universis presentibus et futuris notum facimus quod sicut inter alia opera per que reges regnant et gubernantur regna conveniens est et necessarium quod firme amicie federe principes annectantur, per quod gravamina infestare volencium 10 firmitus refrenentur, pax eciam et tranquillitas eorum subditorum perinde sequatur. Nos considerantes quod amiciciarum confederationes benevole a longo tempore inter predecessores nostros reges et regnum Francie necnon reges regnum et communitates Scocie firmate sunt et connexe, volentes insuper sumopere ipsas renovari teneri 15 servari et firmiter solidari, cum venerabili in Christo patre episcopo Glasguensi amico nostro, Archibaldo de Douglas milite dicti regis Scocie consanguineo, et magistro Adam de Tynnyngham decano Abirden' ecclesie, tamquam procuratoribus et nunciis nostri carissimi et dilecti consanguinei Scotorum regis, habentibus auctoritatem 20 potestatem et mandatum ad hoc faciendum speciale dicti nostri consanguinei, ut in forma sequenti: 'Robertus c'.

<sup>a</sup> <Forma commissionis c':

<sup>a</sup>Robertus Dei gracia rex Scotorum notum facimus universis quod cum quedam confederacio amicie inter illustres reges Francie et avum 25 nostrum ac nos populumque ipsorum et nostrum ab olim facta fuerit et inviolabiliter diucius observata, nos, cupientes eam futuris temporibus firmiter persistere, damus et concedimus per presentes dilectis et fidelibus consiliariis nunciis et ambassatoribus nostris, videlicet venerabili patri Galtero episcopo Glasguensi, Archibaldo de Douglas 30 consanguineo nostro et Jacobo de [Douglas] militibus, necnon magistro Ade de Tynnyngham decano ecclesie Aberdonensis presentium exhibitoribus, et tribus aut du-[obus eorundem, de quorum] circumspeccione et fidelitate plenam habemus fiduciam, potestatem plenam liberam et generalem ac mandatum [speciale dictam confedera- 35

<sup>a</sup> interlin.C

<sup>b</sup> enlarged capital letter K C

<sup>c</sup> D; lac.C

*The ambassadors sent to the king of France*

In 1381 King Robert sent a formal embassy (namely Walter Wardlaw the cardinal bishop of Glasgow etc.) to the Lord Charles king of the French with wide powers to renew the alliance between the kingdoms which had long before been entered into and concluded. The king of 5 France sent his letter back with them written in French, which is here translated into Latin wording:

Charles by the grace of God king of France makes known to all present and future our wish that, just as among other acts whereby kings rule and govern kingdoms it is convenient and necessary that princes be 10 securely bound by a treaty of friendship, by means of which complaints about those wanting to cause disturbances are more effectively checked, peace and calm for their subjects also follow in similar fashion. We have it in mind that congenial treaties of friendship have long ago been confirmed and established between our predecessors the kings and kingdom of France and the kings, kingdom and communi- 15 ties of Scotland, and desire besides that these treaties should be completely renewed, maintained, kept and securely consolidated. [We have therefore met] with our friend the venerable father in Christ the bishop of Glasgow, the knight Archibald de Douglas a kinsman of the said king of Scotland, and Master Adam de Tynnyngham dean of the church of Aberdeen, as proctors and envoys of our dearly beloved kinsman the king of Scots, and bringing special authority, power and 20 commission of our said kinsman to deal with this in the following terms: 'Robert etc.'

25 Text of the commission:

Robert by God's grace king of Scots makes it generally known that since a certain treaty of friendship was long ago concluded between the illustrious kings of France and our grandfather and between us and their people and our people, and has for long been inviolably observed, 30 we, desiring that it continue unshakably in the future, give and grant by this letter to our beloved and faithful councillors, envoys and ambassadors, namely the venerable father Walter bishop of Glasgow, the knights Archibald de Douglas our kinsman and James de Douglas, and also Master Adam de Tynnyngham dean of the church of Aberdeen, bearers of this letter (or three or two of them), in whose careful judgment and fidelity we have the utmost trust, full, free and general 35 power and a special commission to renew and amplify the said treaty on behalf of us, the prelates, magnates and community of our kingdom

G ii,393

fo.310

fo.309v

fo.310

cionem pro] nobis prelatis proceribus et communitate regni nostri Scocie renovandi ampliandi et ad ipsius melioracionem [et observacionem firmiorem<sup>d</sup> punct-]os<sup>e</sup> et articulos | addendi. Nosque dictos prelatos proceres et communitatem regni nostri ad observac-]onem ipsius renovacionis et ampli-]acionis<sup>e</sup> punctorum et articulorum additorum, tam per juramenta in animam nostram prestanda quam aliter, [obligandi eciam, | si<sup>e</sup> mandatum exigat]<sup>f</sup> speciale, ita tamen quod prefatus rex Francie vel aliquis alius vel alii potestatem sufficientem ab eodem [ad hoc habens]<sup>f</sup> vel habentes consimilem renovacionem ampliacionem punctorum et articulorum addicionem-que per omnia et [in omnibus nobis faciat]<sup>f</sup> vel faciant, et ad consimilem ipsorum firmam observanciam se nobis obliget per omnem<sup>f</sup> [modum supradictum, ratum et]<sup>f</sup> gratum habentes et habituri quicquid dicti episcopus, Archibaldus, Jacobus et Adam vel eorum tres aut [duo fecerint in premissis aut quolibet]<sup>f</sup> premissorum. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus literis nostrum fecimus apponi sigillum. Datum [apud Sconam ultimo die mensis maii anno]<sup>f</sup> domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc octuagesimo<sup>g</sup> primo et regni nostri anno primo.<sup>h</sup>)

Nos tractavimus et accordavimus modo qui sequitur, videlicet quod nos heredes et successores nostri reges Francie regnum nostrum et communitates nostre, necnon dictus noster consanguineus rex Scotorum heredes et successores sui regnum et communitates eiusdem, linia unionis et amicie bona fide astricti et obligati sumus adinvicem, quod inantea nos faciemus dabimus et procurabimus auxilium consilium et confortacionem in omnibus quo poterimus, sicut fideliter in alterutrum alligati. Et quia rex Anglie et predecessores eius sepius conati sunt omni suo annisu gravare et dampnificare dicta regna Francie et Scocie, ad refrenandum et impediendum gravamina supradicta nos adinvicem ligati sumus et obligati quod omni tempore quo dictus noster consanguineus rex Scotorum heredes sui aut successores reges Scocie regnum aut communitates ipsius indigeant auxilium vel consilium, in tempore pacis vel guerre, contra regem Anglie heredes suos successores aut subjectos, nos auxiliabimur consilium dabimus in quantum p[otes]timus<sup>f</sup> sicut fideliter confederati dicto nostro consanguineo heredibus et successoribus suis re-]gibus<sup>f</sup> | Scocie, regno quoque consimiliter et communitatibus eius. Item si mota vel movenda fuerit guerra inter nos vel successores nostros reges vel regnum Francie et regem Anglie vel successores eiusdem, dictus noster consanguineus rex Scocie heredes sui et successores tenebuntur obligati omnibus suis viribus ad movendum guerram dictis regi Anglie heredibus suis et sucesoribus in regno suo Anglie quam cito de huiusmodi guerra incepta poterit scripto sufficienti, relacione veridica vel voce communi certificari, treugis tamen presentibus inter Scotorum et Anglie regna captis expletis et finitis, seu alias quomodocumque adnullatis et fractis defectu Anglicorum. Et consimiliter nos et

<sup>d</sup> CA; firmorem D  
<sup>e</sup> marginal addition continues at foot of opposite folio C  
<sup>f</sup> + per omnem del.C

<sup>g</sup> corrected from septuagesimo C; septuagesimo R; octuagesimo D,CA,E  
<sup>h</sup> [sic] C,D,CA,R,E

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of Scotland, and to add clauses and articles to it for its improvement and more reliable observance. They have authority in addition, if the special commission demands it, to bind us, the said prelates, magnates and community of our kingdom to observe the renewal and amplification of the treaty with additional clauses and articles, both by swearing oaths on our soul and otherwise, provided that the said king of France or other person or persons holding sufficient power from the same offers us a similar renewal, amplification and addition of clauses and articles in all respects, and binds himself to us to a similar reliable observance of them by all the above means. We hold and shall hold as valid and acceptable whatever the said bishop, Archibald, James and Adam (or three or two of them) do in these matters as a whole or in any one of them. In witness to this we have had our seal attached to the present letter. Dated at Scone, 31 May 1381 in the first year of our reign.

[1371:  
31 Mar.]

We have negotiated and reached agreement as follows, namely that we, our heirs and successors as king of France, our kingdom and our communities, and also our said kinsman the king of Scots, his heirs and successors, and the kingdom and communities of the same, are in good faith mutually bound and pledged by a cord that joins us. As previously we shall arrange, give and procure assistance, advice and comfort in every way that we can, as loyal allies to each other. And because the king of England and his predecessors have often tried with all their might to distress and harm the said kingdoms of France and Scotland, with an eye to curbing and obstructing the aforesaid injurious acts we are mutually bound and pledged that every time that our said kinsman the king of Scots, his heirs and successors as kings of Scotland, the kingdom and communities of the same are in want of assistance or advice against the king of England, his heirs, successors or subjects, whether in time of peace or of war, we shall provide assistance and give advice so far as we can as loyal allies to our said kinsman and his heirs and successors as kings of Scotland, and in like manner to the kingdom and its communities.

Item, if a war has been, or is to be, started between us or our successors as kings or the kingdom of France and the king of England or his successors, our said kinsman the king of Scotland, his heirs and successors will be bound as pledged to take up the war with all their resources against the said king of England, his heirs and successors within his kingdom of England as soon as he can confirm the outbreak of such a war by a satisfactory letter, a truthful report or word of mouth, once the present truce arranged between the kingdoms of the Scots and England has finished and ended, or has otherwise been annulled in some way and broken by default of the English. And similarly we and our successors as kings of France shall be bound to make war with all our resources against the king of England, his heirs and successors and the kingdom of England as soon as we can confirm (as described above) that a war has already begun between the kings of Scotland and England, once the aforesaid truce has come to an end or has otherwise (as already mentioned) been broken or annulled no matter how.

successores nostri reges Francie tenebimur ad faciendum guerram omnibus viribus nostris contra regem Anglie heredes suos successores et regnum Anglie, quam cito certificari poterimus, ut supradicitur, guerra prius cepta inter reges Scocie et Anglie, finitis tamen treugis supradictis vel alias ut premittitur qualitercumque fractis vel annullatis. Item quod nos heredes nostri aut successores reges Francie non paciemur, nec aliqua via sustinebimus, aliquos de nostris | subjectis facere vel dare quodcumque auxilium consilium vel favorem predictis regi Anglie heredibus suis aut successoribus auxiliatoribus vel confederatis eiusdem, nec secum ire, vel in eis adiutorium stipendiari, vel sine stipendio quacumque via que sibi possit prodesse, vel quibuscumque aliis personis inimicis adversariis vel rebellibus dicto consanguineo nostro Scotorum regi heredibus vel successoribus suis regno suo aut communitatibus eius, vel alias inferentibus gravamen prejudicium vel dampnum eidem consanguineo nostro eius regno vel communitatibus eiusdem. Et si post inhibitionem vel defensionem generaliter super premissis factam aliquis de nostris reus fuerit inventus, ille qui fecit, vel contrarium facit, capietur et tamquam proditor aut rebellis contra principem et patriam suam punietur, numquam de huiusmodi prodicione gratiam favorem aut remissionem habiturus.

## 42

*Ad idem*

Item quod adversarii et notorii rebelles nostri vel successorum nostrorum regum Francie vel dicti consanguinei nostri Scotorum regis aut eiusdem regni nullomodo vel in aperto aut privato recipiantur infra regnum vel dominium alterius, quam cito et abhinc quo unus de reliquo requiratur. Sed servabimus et procurabimus juxta posse nostrum amicos nostros confederatos et omnes nobis adherentes ad dileccionem et adiutorium dicti nostri consanguinei Scotorum regis et suorum successorum ac regni et communitatis eiusdem; necnon ipsorum vituperacionem dedecus obprobrium et jacturam impediemus juxta posse. Item quod non possumus capere treugas cum rege Anglie heredibus vel successoribus suis sine consensu consanguinei nostri regis Scotorum heredum ac successorum suorum, donec ipse rex regnum suum et eiusdem communitates infra ipsas treugas comprehendantur, nisi vel ipsi renuerint infra easdem comprehendendi. Item quod non possumus facere pacem cum rege Anglie heredibus suis aut successoribus sine expresso consensu dicti nostri consanguinei, donec ipse consanguineus noster rex Scocie heredes et successores sui ipsius regnum et eiusdem communitates infra ipsam plenarie comprehendantur. Item in casu quod dictus noster consanguineus rex Scocie decedat sine herede de suo corpore procreato, oriri poterit debata inter

Item, we, our heirs and successors as kings of France shall not allow, nor in any way give support to, any of our subjects to offer or give any assistance, advice or favour to the said king of England, his heirs and successors, his assistants and allies; nor are they to join their company, either by accepting pay for helping them, or in some other way which may profit them without a payment being involved, or to any other persons who are enemies, opponents or rebels against our said kinsman the king of Scots, his heirs and successors, his kingdom and its communities, or who otherwise inflict injury, prejudice and harm on our same kinsman, his kingdom and its communities. And if after a general prohibition and ban on such actions has been issued any of our people is found to be guilty, he who has so acted, or who acts to the contrary, is to be arrested and punished as a traitor or rebel against his prince and native land, never to receive grace, favour or remission for a treason of this kind.

## 42

*The same treaty*

Item, opponents and notorious rebels against us and our successors as kings of France or against our said kinsman the king of Scots or his kingdom are in no way to be allowed either openly or secretly into the kingdom or domain of the other, as soon as and whenever anyone [of this kind] is sought in future. But we shall as best we can watch over arrangements for our friends, allies and everyone connected with us to be friends and helpers of our said kinsman the king of Scots, and his successors, and his kingdom and communities; and we shall also as best we can obstruct their censure, disgrace, dishonour and detriment.

Item, we are not to conclude a truce with the king of England and his heirs and successors without the consent of our kinsman the king of Scots and his heirs and successors, until that king, his kingdom and its communities are included in the terms of that truce, unless they themselves decline to be included in it.

Item, we are not to make peace with the king of England and his heirs and successors without the express consent of our said kinsman, until our kinsman the king of Scotland himself, or his heirs and successors, his kingdom and its communities are fully included in it.

Item, if it happens that our said kinsman the king of Scotland dies without an heir fathered by him, a dispute will possibly arise between



G ii,395  
fo.310v

nonnullos de jure successionis hereditatis regni Scocie. In hoc casu non auxiliabimur uni eorum, neque per nostros eorum aliquem vel aliquos paciemur adjuvari; sed tolerabimus discussionem huiusmodi debate fieri per prelatos et alios majores regni Scocie secundum leges jura et statuta eiusdem regni. Et ipsum quem major et sanior pars approbaverit pro rege, nos consimiliter rege habebimus, eundem pro nostro confederato acceptaturi.<sup>a</sup> Et si aliqui adversariorum suorum potestate regis Anglie heredum aut successorum suorum moverint guerram contra ipsum, nos juxta omnem nostram possibilitatem ipsum sustinebimus et defendemus contra dictos suos adver-[sar]-ios<sup>b</sup> et adherentes, secundum confederacionis formam prenotatam. | Item procurabimus quod | hec confederacio ratificetur et auctoritate spostolica confirmetur. Item quod nec nos aut successores nostri in aperto vel privato per nos sive alios faciemus vel procurabimus nos aut successores nostros regnum nostrum vel subjectos nostros absolvi de juramento facto vel fiendo super observacione conservacione vel continuacione eiusdem. Quod si sanctissimus pater apostolicus, sive propria voluntate vel proprio motu sive induccione aliarum personarum quarumcumque, velit nos vel successores nostros nostrum regnum aut subjectos nostros de juramento premissis absolvere, vel ipsum juramentum adnullare, nos tamen successores vel subjecti nostri non poterimus nec debemus quacumque via uti beneficio huiusmodi absolucionis; sed tenebimus et fideliter observabimus istam confederacionem in omnibus punctis suis sine fraude vel malo ingenio quibuscumque pro perpetuo, numquam facturi vel dicturi aliquid in contrarium eius, ac si talis absolucio vel adnullacio numquam habita vel data fuisset. Et omnia supradicta et quodlibet eorum, in quantum nos vel partem nostram tangere poterunt, bona fide promissimus servare tenere et perimplere. Et eciam in presencia nostra et procuratorum dicti nostri consanguinei Scotorum regis per dilectum liegium militem et consiliarium nostrum Simonem comitem de Brayne<sup>d</sup> in animam nostram ad sacra Dei evangelia pro premissis fideliter perimplendis fieri fecimus juramentum. Et ut hec omnia in futuris firma sint et stabilia, presentibus sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Datum et actum in castro nostro de Boyez Vincen<sup>e</sup> juxta Parisius ultimo die mensis junii anno gracie m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxxxi.<sup>e</sup>

<Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxxxi occisus est dominus Johannes Leonis de Glamez miles camerarius Scocie per [dominum Jaco-]bum<sup>f</sup> de Lyndesey dominum Buchanie et<sup>g</sup> Crawford. Eodem anno obit dominus Alexander Lindesey per-[egrinus]<sup>g</sup> Jerosolomitani in insula de Candey.>

<sup>a</sup> acceptaturus C,D,CA

<sup>b</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>c</sup> interlin.C

<sup>d</sup> Biarn CA

<sup>e</sup> C,D,CA,E

<sup>f</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>g</sup> patrem domini David primi comitis de for  
dominum Buchanie et CA

several persons over the right of hereditary succession to the kingdom of Scotland. In such a situation we shall not help one of them, nor shall we allow one or several of them to be helped by our people; but we shall allow discussion of this dispute to be conducted between the prelates and other magnates of the kingdom of Scotland according to the laws rules and statutes of that kingdom. And the man whom the larger and wiser group endorse as king, we shall similarly treat as king, and go on to accept the same man as our ally. And if any of his rivals engage in warfare against him with assistance from the king of England or his heir or successors, we shall to the very limit of our ability support and defend him against his rivals and their supporters, following the terms of the alliance previously mentioned.

Item, we shall arrange for this alliance to be ratified and confirmed by apostolic authority.

Item, neither we nor our successors shall openly or secretly cause or arrange by ourselves or others for us or our successors, our kingdom or our subjects to be released from the oath taken or to be taken on the observing, protection and keeping of the same [alliance]. But if the holy apostolic father, whether by his own wish, or his own initiative, or at the suggestion of any other persons whatsoever, wishes to release us or our successors, our kingdom or our subjects from the aforesaid oath, or to annul that oath, we nevertheless, our successors and subjects shall not be in a position to (nor ought we) make use of the favour of an absolution of this kind in any way whatsoever; but we shall maintain and loyally observe this alliance in all its clauses without any kind of deceit or evil scheming in perpetuity; we shall never do or say anything against it, as if such an absolution or annulment had never been made or issued.

And all the above, no matter which of these clauses, insofar as they could affect us or our side, we have promised in good faith to keep, uphold and fulfil. And also in the presence of ourselves and the proctors of our said kinsman the king of Scots we have caused an oath on our soul to be sworn on the Holy Gospels of God by our beloved liege, knight and councillor Simon count of Braisne on our soul that the foregoing matters will be faithfully put into effect. And so that all these things may be firmly established for the future, we have had our seal attached to the present document. Dated and transacted at our castle in the Bois de Vincennes near Paris, 30 June 1381.

[1371]:  
30 June

In 1382 Sir John Lyon of Glamis, a knight and chamberlain of Scotland, was killed by Sir James de Lindsay, lord of Buchan and Crawford. In the same year Sir Alexander Lindsay died [at Candia] on the island of [Crete] while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

1382:  
[4 Nov.]

*De dominatu rusticorum in Anglia et fuga ducis  
in Scotia*

Eodem anno, <paulo> tamen ante missionem ambassate regis  
Scotorum ad Franciam, ob diversa infortunia dampna et discrimina  
Anglis per Scotos illata desideraverunt<sup>a</sup> treugas cum Scotis connec-  
tare.<sup>b</sup> Propter quod miserunt nobilem et magnificum principem  
dominum Johannem Gawnt ducem Loncastrie ad Marchias ad 5  
tractandum de trebarum pace. Qui apud oppidum de Berwik cum  
deputatis Scocie tractavit pro trium annorum treugis. Et dum ipse  
australes partes Anglie repeteret,<sup>c</sup> innotuit sibi a dicentibus quomodo  
multitudo rusticorum apud Londonias insurrexit contra novum  
regem Richardum secundum, et eum vi et manu valida arrestaverunt, 10  
et apud se<sup>d</sup> custodie mancipaverunt; quineciam die capcionis eius  
archiepiscopum Cantuarie<sup>e</sup> et diversos inclitos milites ac barones  
crudeliter trucidarunt;<sup>f</sup> ipsiusque ducis inclitissimum<sup>g</sup> palacium sive  
manerium de Savay solotenus destruxerunt, et quod eum pre cunctis  
mortalibus odio habuerunt. Quorum rusticorum | dux et ductor<sup>h</sup> fuit 15  
quidam stolidus, ceteris rusticis animosior sed et moribus rustior,  
Jak' Stro nomine, calliditati<sup>i</sup> acclivus et ad omne malum expeditus.  
Quod audiens dux Loncastrie<sup>k</sup> timuit quia rusticos de eius morte  
conspiratos audivit; habenas ad Scociam quantocius reflexit, et ad  
comitem de Carrik<sup>l</sup> principem et primogenitum regis Scocie pro 20  
assecurancia et recepcione standi pro tempore infra regnum Scocie  
scribendo humiliter supplicavit. Cuius petitioni favorabiliter  
annuens princeps premissus, misit dominum Willelmum comitem de  
Douglas et Archibaldum de Douglas dominum Galwidie cum  
honorabili potencia ad conitinerand-[um]<sup>m</sup> a Marchiis ad Scociam 25  
super principis salvagardia, licencia regis prius petita et obte-[nta].<sup>n</sup>  
Qui prima nocte eum ad villam<sup>o</sup> de Hadyngtona conduxerunt. Et in  
crastino apud monasterium Sancte Cr[u]cis<sup>p</sup> ipsum cum suis militibus  
et clientulis honorifice locaverunt. Ac dum in regno hospes<sup>o</sup> stetit,  
ibidem ipsum cum suis humaniter tractaverunt. Et<sup>p</sup> non solum 30

a + Angli del.C

b pacisci CA

c second-A interlin.C

d interlin.C

e second-a- interlin.C

f + et del.C

g spectabile CA

h primipulus CA

i enlarged capital J C

j corrected from calliditate C; calliditate

CA

k + rusticorum indomabilem feritatem CA

l + regni CA

m D; lac.C

n burgum regium for villam CA

o accola for hospes CA

p + rex CA

*The Peasants' Rule in England, and the duke's flight  
in Scotland*

In the same year, but a little before the embassy of the king of Scots [1381]  
was sent to France, in view of various troubles, losses and dangerous  
situations brought upon the English by the Scots, [the former]  
requested the arrangement of a truce with the Scots. For this purpose  
5 they sent the noble and distinguished prince Sir John of Gaunt duke  
of Lancaster to the Borders to negotiate a truce. He negotiated at the [18 June]  
town of Berwick with representatives from Scotland a truce for three  
years. And while he was returning to the south of England, he learned  
from oral reports of how a mob of peasants had revolted at London [June]  
10 against the new king Richard II, had arrested him forcibly with a  
formidable armed band, and had put him into custody among  
themselves. Furthermore on the day of his arrest they had cruelly  
murdered the archbishop of Canterbury and various renowned [14 June]  
knights and barons; and they had torn the most celebrated palace or [13 June]  
15 manor of Savoy belonging to the duke himself down to the ground,  
and bore hatred for him more than for all human beings. The leader  
and commander of these peasants was a brutish fellow, more spirited  
than the rest of the peasants, but also more crude in his manners,  
called Jack Straw, a man inclined to cunning and ready for all kinds of  
20 evil. On learning this news the duke of Lancaster was fearful when he  
heard that the peasants had plotted his death; he turned his horses  
back towards Scotland as quickly as he could, and humbly asked in a  
letter to the earl of Carrick, the prince [of the kingdom] and eldest son  
of the king of Scotland, for asylum and a welcome for him to remain  
25 in the kingdom of Scotland for the time being. The said prince  
responded favourably to his request, and sent Sir William earl of [22 June]  
Douglas and Archibald de Douglas lord of Galloway with an  
honourable following to accompany him on his journey from the  
Borders to Scotland on a safe-conduct from the prince, after the  
30 king's permission had been requested and granted. They escorted him  
to the town of Haddington for his first night; and in the morning they  
lodged him honourably with his knights and servants at the  
monastery of Holyrood. And while he remained a guest in the  
kingdom, they treated him and his following there in a friendly  
35 manner; and various magnates and prelates, burgesses and others  
from all parts of the country sent to him not only provisions, but also  
royal gifts.

After some time had passed, Richard king of England sent a

expensas sed et r[egalia]<sup>q</sup> xenia<sup>q</sup> ab universis plagis terre hinc inde sibi  
 diversi proceres et prelati, burgenses et al-[ii]<sup>r</sup> trans-]<sup>m</sup> | miserunt.  
 Discurso namque aliquoto tempore, misit rex Anglie Richardus  
 nuncium ipsi duci Loncastrie, precipiens sub festinatione eum  
 repatriare debere, pro eo quod dispersa fuit ac devicta potestas illa 35  
 rustica per<sup>s</sup> industriam cuiusdam valentis militis presidis sive majoris  
 tunc temporis Londoniarum, quem pre ceteris<sup>t</sup> ad partem suam  
 rustici flectere satagebant. Qui statuto certo die ut conventum fuit  
 inter eos quod rustici presencialiter adducerent regem ad certum 40  
 locum infra civitatem, et<sup>u</sup> si rex preciperet ipsi majori quod eis  
 obtemperaret, mandatis suis nullatenus differret obedire; sinautem  
 quid factururus esset, ad ultiores inducias avisaret. Rustici de  
 huiusmodi promisso exhilarati audacter regem conspectui eius  
 presentare diffiniunt, nichil timentes propter ipsorum elatam proter-  
 viam et innumerabilem multitudinem. Ad locum igitur et diem 45  
 prefixos rege villanis degeneribus accincto et majori civitatis per Jak  
 Stro<sup>v</sup> manualiter presentato, de ipsis obediendo prefectus impetitur;  
 et viso suo liegio rege, cor majoris acriori ira turgescens, et seipsum  
 pre<sup>w</sup> tumore cohibere non valens, Jak Stro<sup>v</sup> rapide et in medio sue  
 multitudinis<sup>x</sup> circumseptum aggrediens, unico ictu pugione<sup>y</sup> transfo- 50  
 dit et ad terram<sup>z</sup> prostravit, privatumque<sup>aa</sup> vita feliciter evisceravit.  
 Quo prostrato<sup>bb</sup> preses urbis concives admonet dicens: 'Ambrones  
 occidite, fures suspendite, proditores percutite, et civitatem hanc<sup>cc</sup>  
 regiam de<sup>dd</sup> rusticis eliminate.' Ad cuius clamorem nobiles<sup>ee</sup> et cives<sup>ff</sup>,  
 qui respectu<sup>gg</sup> rusticorum paucissimi erant, spatibus et pugionibus 55  
 evaginatibus rusticos<sup>hh</sup> percuciant, vitam cum cerebro excuciant,<sup>ii</sup> et  
 reliquos<sup>jj</sup> in fugam propellunt. Fugiant itaque milleni et centeni quo  
 spiritus impetus<sup>kk</sup> hac illacque quemque ducebat. Victoriam itaque  
 aulici<sup>ll</sup> de rusticis adepti, de ipsis acerimam cedem faciunt. Nonnullos  
 eciam fugatos infra stricta et arcta loca obsidentes, nequaquam 60  
 illinc<sup>mm</sup> abcessere, priusquam ipsi inclusi vel colla vincienda sabloni-  
 bus restibus vel cathenulis traderent complectenda.<sup>nn</sup>

q + et elogia decencia CA

r hilariter for et alii CA

s confusa erat rabida illa presumptio  
villana et conglobacio agrestis rusticana  
et hoc per sagacem for fuit ... per CA

t + suis del.C

u quo tunc for et CA

v interlin. over Bonum del.C

w + cordis CA

x rustice phalangis for multitudinis CA

y irruptu pugionis for ictu pugione CA

z + impetuose CA

aa + protinus CA

bb + et rege ab eius evulso CA

cc urbem nostram for civitatem hanc CA

dd + inurbanis CA

ee + cordati CA

ff + resumpto spiritu elati CA

gg + multitudine CA

hh + unanimiter CA

ii corrected from excuciant CA

jj + quos apprehendere non poterant CA

kk + aliquorsum CA

ll urbani CA

mm + prius del.C

nn c- interlin.C; amplectenda D; evectenda  
CA

messenger to the duke of Lancaster, enjoining that he ought to return  
 40 home speedily, because the forces of those peasants had been  
 dispersed and overcome through the enterprise of a certain worthy  
 knight who was then alderman or mayor of London, whom more  
 than others the peasants were busy trying to bind to their side. He  
 [agreed that] on a certain agreed day the peasants would bring the  
 45 king face to face at a certain place in the city for a meeting with them,  
 and if the king ordered the mayor himself to obey them, he would by  
 no means hesitate to follow their wishes; but if this was not what the  
 king did, he would advise a further period of truce. The peasants were  
 buoyed up by this promise, and boldly decided to bring the king to  
 50 meet the mayor, having no fears because of their heightened  
 impudence and the vast extent of their numbers. Therefore at the pre-  
 arranged place and time the king, surrounded by base-born villeins,  
 was led by the hand by Jack Straw to the mayor of the city, and that  
 officer was charged to give in to them; but on seeing his liege-lord the  
 55 king, the mayor's heart began to swell with bitter anger, and, unable  
 to contain himself under the pressure of this emotion, he quickly went  
 up to Jack Straw, surrounded as he was in the middle of his many  
 supporters, stabbed him with one blow of a dagger, knocked him to  
 the ground, and once he was dead succeeded in disembowelling him. [15 June]  
 60 Once Straw had been struck down [and the king had been snatched  
 from his followers] the alderman of the city exhorted his fellow-  
 citizens, saying: 'Kill the gluttons, hang the robbers, run the traitors  
 through, and clear this royal city of peasants.' At his call the nobles  
 and citizens (who were very few compared with the peasants)  
 65 unsheath their swords and daggers, and run the peasants through,  
 angrily dashing out life along with their brains, and force the rest  
 [whom they could not arrest] into flight. Thus in their thousands and  
 hundreds they escape to wherever the force of the spirit led each man  
 this way and that. So the courtiers secured victory over the peasants,  
 70 making a most severe slaughter of them. They even surrounded some  
 of those who had fled in narrow confined places, and in no way left  
 from there until those who had been confined offered their necks  
 either to be bound by ropes of [ ], or to be bound by chains.

*De capcione castri de Lowmaban*

G ii,397

Intolerabilis est rusticorum dominatus, quia sicut ait quidam:

Asperius nichil est misero cum surgit in altum.

Et ideo quam cito surrexerint,<sup>a</sup> domandi sunt ne prevaleant, dicente Jeronimo: 'Dum parvus est hostis, interime, ut nequicia elidatur in semine.' Hoc<sup>b</sup> innuit poeta dicens:

Principiis obsta. Sero medicina paratur,  
cum mala per longas convalere moras.

Numquam propterea rustico dederis potestatem tui, quia est de rustico, ut de cane, de quo<sup>c</sup> dicitur: 'Ablue, pecte canem; canis est et permanet idem.' Sed adhuc<sup>d</sup> rusticus degenerior est cane, quia faventi sibi canis favet.<sup>e</sup> Non sic rusticus, quia:

Ungentem pungit, pungentem rusticus ungit.

A rusticis<sup>f</sup> transiamus, et ad inclitorum strenuitatem<sup>g</sup> stilum vertamus. Anno igitur domini m° ccc° lxxxiiii finito termino treugarum pro tempore competent<sup>h</sup> observatarum, Archibaldus de Douglas dominus Galwidie, attendens homines suos Galweienses innumera dampna per castellanos Anglos de Lowmaban perpressos, suorum motus pietate, associavit sibi duos comites, videlicet de Douglas et Dunbar,<sup>i</sup> postquam<sup>j</sup> instructus fuerat ipsum castrum esse omnino defensoribus et victualibus destitutum, et cum armata manu valida castrum obsessit. Cuius facti subitacione, custos eiusdem dominus Willelmus Fathirstan miles attonitus, et ob carenciam tam defendendum quam victualium consternatus, scripsit literas dominis et deputatis Marchie ex parte Anglorum, ut sibi necessitate coacto celerius subvenirent. Qui sibi consuluerunt ut per octo dies castrum teneret, et sive de facto vel alias cum Scotis paciscens si nona die succursum non [re-]portaret,<sup>k</sup> seipsum meliore modo quo poterat

a caput levaverint for surrexerint CA

b +idem CA

c tui consulo potestatem dederis rustico quia ut de cane censeo intelligendum est de rustico quia de cane for rustico dederis ... de quo CA

d +audeo dicere CA

e applaudit. Sed for favet CA

f +nunc CA

g +et cetera animalia CA

h congrue CA

i +cui comiti de Dunbar compeciit proprietates eo tempore eiusdem CA

j +ad plenum CA

k D; lac.C

*The capture of Lochmaben castle*

Rule by peasants is intolerable, because, as someone has said:

Nothing is more cruel than a poor man when he rises high.

And for that reason as soon as they have risen in revolt, they have to be subdued lest they get the upper hand, as Jerome says: 'Kill your enemy while he is young, so that his villainy is crushed as a seed.' The poet hints at this when he says:

Resist beginnings. The medicine is prepared too late when the disease has gained strength by long delay.

For this reason you should never give your power to a peasant, since it is of a peasant, as of a dog, that it is said: 'Wash and comb your dog; he is a dog and remains the same.' But still [I dare say] a peasant is inferior to a dog, because in showing partiality for himself a dog is showing partiality. This is not the case with a peasant, for:

A peasant stabs a man who anoints [him], and anoints the man who stabs him.

Let us move on from peasants and turn our composition to the activity of the famous. In 1384 therefore on the ending of a period of truce that had been properly and suitably kept, Archibald de Douglas lord of Galloway, having regard for his Galwegian men who had suffered countless losses at the hands of the English guards in the castle of Lochmaben, was moved [to take action] in their interest. He associated two earls with himself, namely the earls of Douglas and Dunbar, after he had learned that this castle was entirely lacking in defenders and supplies, and besieged it with a strong armed force. Taken by surprise by this action, the castle's keeper the knight Sir [Alexander] Featherstonehaugh was dazed and alarmed by the shortage of defences and supplies. He therefore wrote letters to the lords and deputies of the March on the English side, asking them to come speedily to his assistance in view of his compelling need. They advised him to hold the castle for eight days, and if while negotiating with the Scots (whether by a formal document or otherwise), he did not secure help by the ninth day, he should defend himself as best he could. On this he made it known to the Scots that he would receive help within eight days, or he would surrender the castle to them saving for himself life and limb and his moveable goods. In response to this

fo.311v

G ii,398

defensaret. Super quo Scotis insinuavit [in-]fra<sup>k</sup> octo dies se succursum accepturum, vel eisdem castrum salvis sibi vita et membris ac mobilibus rebus redditurum. De cuius responso Scoti contenti obsidionem inter- | miserunt quoad assultum. Nichilominus in maxima tempestate<sup>l</sup> pluvie et grandinis usque nonam diem circa castrum, ne quid eis inferetur, observantes sese continuerunt. Quo die <[scilicet iiii<sup>o</sup> die februarii]<sup>k</sup>> ut conductum erat ob defectum succursus castrum ipsum receperunt, et ad terram continuo prostraverunt. Audientes vero Angli dedicionem castri de Lowmaban Scotis assignatam, pro conservacione reliquorum castrorum et municionum Marchie precavescentes, inter cetera ad custodiam castri de Roxburgh deputaverunt valentem virum armis strenuum et potencia preeminentem baronem videlicet de Graystokk'. Qui cum carris et bigis ac diversorum generum eveccionibus, utensilia, arma<sup>m</sup> et domicilia sua plurima | satis ac preciosa cum brachio forti ad castrum premisit. Ac ipse pedetentim cum electa milicia ad conservandum et defendendum premissa subsequens incidit in manus domini Georgii de Dunbar comitis Marchie, de suo<sup>n</sup> adventu premuniti, et<sup>o</sup> non sine grandi conflictu multis Anglorum interfectis apud Benrig captus fuit et arrestatus. Premissis igitur utensilibus ad castrum de Dunbar, ubi aula et majori camera tapetis et ornamentis ipsius baronis decenter ornatis, et ipse hospes cum comite<sup>p</sup> commensalis ad cenam hac nocte deputatus, de vasis suis<sup>q</sup> aureis et argenteis satis laute sibi serviebat. Multis ac multimodis huiusmodi infaustis contrarietatibus<sup>r</sup> circa idem tempus Anglis contingentibus, rex Anglie Richardus ii<sup>us</sup> adhuc juvenis et omnis terra eius cum eo conturbati,<sup>s</sup> apud se dixerunt: 'Si dimittimus sic Scotos apud nos debachari, tollent nobis locum et gentem; et ideo viriliter obviandum est eis ex adverso.' Et quia pre ceteris viribus et potencia tunc temporis precellebat, dictus dux Loncastrie patruus regis, ipsum ad hoc electum cum potestate fulsita<sup>t</sup> compulsi rex ad invadendum Scociam, et ad universam terram usque ad mare Scoticum ferro et igne castigandam. Qui iussui regis sui obtemperans, Scociam cum grandi exercitu in ebdomada penosa<sup>u</sup> <anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxxxv<sup>o</sup>> intravit. Sed propter Scotorum<sup>u</sup> curialitatem sibi<sup>u</sup> per prius exhibitam, quanto minus potuit, malum eis ingessit.

l +imbrium CA

m +artilia CA

n baronis CA

o Qui CA

p corrected from comitate C

q cum animalibus et quadragis ad manus

r Scotorum saisitis, premisit comes

s ornamenta ad ornandum aulam et

t cameram majores apud Dunbar. Ubi

baro non tanquam hospes, sed quasi dominus ad propria veniens et ad cenam

comiti commensalis eadem nocte

deputatus est. Cui de propriis suis vasis

for ad castrum ... vasis suis CA

C,D; contrarietatibus CA

s con- interlin.C

t magnam CA

u +a Scotis CA

the Scots were content to hold off the siege temporarily as regards the actual assault. Nevertheless in a violent storm of rain and hail they remained around the castle until the ninth day, watching lest anything be taken in to those inside. On that day (that is 4 February), following the failure of help to arrive, they took possession of the castle itself as had been arranged, and immediately cast it to the ground. 4 Feb.

When the English heard of the surrender of Lochmaben castle to the keeping of the Scots, they took precautions for saving their other castles and fortresses on the Border. Among others they appointed as keeper of Roxburgh castle a distinguished man, the baron of Greystoke, who was an energetic soldier of outstanding ability. He sent in advance to that castle in waggons and carts and conveyances of different kinds many valuable furnishings, arms and his household goods under a strong guard. And he himself, as he followed cautiously with a chosen band of knights to protect and defend these goods, fell into the hands of Sir George de Dunbar earl of March, who had been given advance warning of the baron's arrival; he was captured and arrested at [Horse Rigg] after quite a large-scale battle in which many Englishmen were killed. Once therefore the aforesaid furnishings [were brought] to Dunbar castle, where the hall and great chamber were tastefully adorned with tapestries and ornaments belonging to the baron, it was arranged that he himself should as a guest have supper in the company of the earl that evening, when he was served quite elegantly from his own gold and silver vessels. [1380]

With many and various unfortunate reverses of this kind affecting the English about the same time, the young Richard II king of England and all of his land were dismayed along with him, and they said among themselves: 'If we allow the Scots to rage amongst us in this way, they will remove from us our place and race; therefore we must resist and oppose them.' And because the said duke of Lancaster the king's uncle surpassed everyone else at that time in resources and capacity, the king called upon him with the support of his following as his choice for this task to invade Scotland, and to punish all of that land up to the Firth of Forth with fire and sword. In obedience to the king's order he entered Scotland with a large army in Holy Week 1385. But on account of the courtesy previously shown to him by the Scots, he imposed as little harm on them as he could. [25 June] [1384: Apr.]



*De vindicta Anglis illata per beatum Columbam*

Eo etiam in tempore classis eius piratica applicans in Forth apud Leth  
 victualia exercitui afferebat, duce tunc apud Edenburgh existente, et  
 suos villam comburere volentes, nequaquam<sup>a</sup> fieri paciente, quam-  
 quam propterea burgenses favorabili summa pecunie promissa et  
 postea soluta villam<sup>b</sup> redemerunt. De premissa classe una notabilis 5  
 bargia centum et xl, ut dicitur, armatorum applicuit ad insulam  
 monasterialem Sancti Columbe de Emonia, et omnibus ornamentis  
 ecclesie et loci utensilibus inibi ab eisdem depredatis, quidam filii  
 Belial de premissis predis minime contenti apposuerunt manus  
 sacrilegas, sicut et de facto fecerunt, ad comburendum ecclesiam 10  
 monasterii; cui ex parte aquilonali assedebat quedam longa domus  
 obliqua, que lacunar sive testudo, vulgariter autem *tofall* a plerisque  
 nuncupatur, arido contexta bruerio,<sup>c</sup> que ad odorem ignis cito redacta  
 est in favillam. Cuius quidem testudinis summitati tectura lignea  
 ecclesie parumper imminebat. Inter enim ipsius chori tectum et 15  
 parietem, ob expulsionem Boree et eius ventorum collateralium  
 Aquilonalis videlicet et Cori, interposita fuit materies transparens, et  
 parietem transiliens compaginata satis et compacta bruerii arifacti.  
 Que per violenciam ignis de testudine assilientis, tamquam cibus eius  
 paracior, ustillata et ignita [ap-]paruit<sup>d</sup> manifeste illis qui ad Portum, 20  
 et ultra fretum apud Bunhil,<sup>e</sup> quasi innumerabil-[es]<sup>d</sup> utriusque sexus  
 tam spectabilium quam mediocrum personarum, eventum rei de  
 longe spectan-[tes],<sup>d</sup> et quasi circumauspicantes ecclesiam funditus  
 deperire; <[quorum quidam]<sup>d</sup>> potencie Sancti Columbe | ceperunt  
 [dero-]igare.<sup>d</sup> Quidam tamen eorum quorum mens sanior erat, 25  
 sencientes cum illo Ovidii [Tristium].<sup>d</sup>

Nil ita sublime supraque pericula tendit  
 non sit ut inferius suppositumque [Deo].<sup>d</sup>

fo.312

Solo tenus | prostrati sanctum intente precebantur quod ecclesiam  
 suam sicut potens erat a combustionem servaret illibatam, ut perinde 30  
 celebrius nomen suum celebraretur. Mira res! Dicta cicius hac prece  
 ventus aquilonaris, fomentum prius prebens igni, in momento se  
 retorsit, quo scintillas ignivomas lanceis inimicorum et sudibus per

<sup>a</sup> + id del.C  
<sup>b</sup> + sunt del.C  
<sup>c</sup> brueario CA

<sup>d</sup> D; lac.C  
<sup>e</sup> Bernhill CA  
<sup>f</sup> attolatur CA

*The vengeance inflicted by blessed Columba on the English*

Also at that time the duke's piratical fleet put in at Leith on the Forth [1384: Apr.]  
 bringing supplies for the army while he was staying at Edinburgh.  
 When his men wanted to burn the town, he was firm in not allowing  
 this to be done. Admittedly the burgesses promised to pay a sum of  
 5 money on this account to obtain favourable treatment, and once this  
 had been paid they redeemed their town.

One special barge in the aforesaid fleet containing (it is said) one  
 hundred and forty armed men landed at the island on which stands  
 the monastery of St Columba of Emonia. All the ornaments of the  
 10 church there and the furnishings of the place were looted by these  
 men, and some sons of Belial, not content with that booty, turned  
 their hands (which had already committed sacrilege) to burning the  
 church of the monastery. A certain long lean-to outhouse was  
 attached to it on the north side, whose ceiling or vaulted roof is  
 15 generally called a tofall in the vernacular. It was roofed with dry  
 heather, which with a whiff of fire was speedily reduced to ashes. The  
 wooden roof of the church projected for a little over the top of this  
 vaulted roof, for between the roof and wall of the choir some  
 transparent material had been inserted to keep out the north wind and  
 20 the winds from the north-east and north-west on either side, and  
 spanning the wall was some well-packed and compressed dried  
 heather. Due to the fierceness of the fire leaping up from the vaulted  
 roof, and like food ready for it, [the church] clearly appeared to be  
 scorched and blazing to those who were watching the outcome of the  
 25 affair at some distance at [North Queens-] ferry and beyond the strait  
 at Barnhill (who were all-but countless of both sexes, some being  
 persons of noble birth and some of middle social standing), and as  
 witnesses saw the church being utterly destroyed. Some of these began  
 to decry the power of St Columba. But the more sensible of them held  
 30 the same opinion as the man in Ovid's *Tristia*:

Nothing is so lofty or reaches so far above perils  
 that it is not beneath God and subject to him.

Prostrating themselves to the ground they earnestly prayed to the  
 saint to save his church intact from the fire since this was within his  
 35 power, so that his name might accordingly be honoured even more.  
 The outcome was wonderful! No sooner had this prayer been uttered  
 than the north wind, which had up till then helped to kindle the fire,

fasciculos et fagotas incensas, quasi vim passas et repressas, trans  
fretum populus ad oculum deprehendit. Unde voces ac manus ad  
celum tendentes, Deum in sanctum suum glorificaverunt, qui tam  
potenter vim ignium repressit, ut ecclesia sua tam imminenti periculo  
supposita dispendium in nullo pateretur. Sed vide quid sequitur: illi  
iidem vispilonēs, sarcinulis predalibus onerati, navem reperiunt, et  
ad Portum Regine in Laudonia statim applicuerunt; necnon ad  
predandum maritima de bestiis esilibus ibidem depascentibus sese  
mox dederunt;<sup>g</sup> alii<sup>h</sup> villam<sup>i</sup> Portus<sup>j</sup> igni supposuerunt. Et ad navem  
cum spoliis et predis festinantibus, subito eis improvisis apparuerunt  
tres nobiles milites Scotigene, duo fratres uterini videlicet Thomas et  
Nicholaus Erskin, et Alexander de Lyndesey, habentes secum quasi  
quinquaginta equites ab oriente, et dominus Willelmus Conyngham  
de Kilmawis,<sup>k</sup> ut dicitur, cum xxx equitibus ab occidente venientes,  
qui conflictum cum abigeis<sup>l</sup> inierunt. Quorum ilico nonnulli occisi, alii  
captivitati et deditioni recepti, alii insuper ad bargiam effugati,  
rapacitatis et incendii penas mox luerunt. Nam quadraginta et ultra  
de eis, principaliter qui Sancto Columbe infesti fuerunt, ad navem  
fugientes, et pro succursu restem navalem anchore affixam amplec-  
tentes, et in eadem sic circumplexi pendulo reptantes, isto modo<sup>m</sup>  
perierunt. Nauclerus namque, cum duobus vel tribus ecubias navis  
observans, ferocitatem Scotorum socios eius insequencium ultra  
modum formidans, arrepta in manibus securi, funem ad proram  
connexam acriter precipit. Et sic suis sociis omnibus funi affixis  
immersiois et mortis occasionem dedit et occasum. Et ad augmen-  
tum miraculi ibi contigit ut precipuus operarius et incentor ecclesie,  
intentator incendii et sacrilegii in sanctuarium Sancti Columbe, ut  
premittitur, commissorum, in comitiva dicti domini Willelmi de  
Conyngham captivus ducebatur. Qui dum itinerando secum proficis-  
ceretur, statim in furiam versus, et arrepticus effectus, Scotos cepit  
pugnis cedere, et ipsos de equis ad solum furibundus prosternere,  
dentibus stridens et vociferans: 'O Sancte Columba, incendis, et te  
nimis vindicem erga me ostendis.' Quo sic nimium seivente,<sup>n</sup> vix ab  
omnibus potuit arrestari. Sed et cur sic rapide<sup>o</sup> operaretur allocutus,  
respondit: 'Merito hec pacior, quia peccavi in Sanctum Columbam.  
Ego sum qui feci, ego qui inique egi, qui testitudinem ecclesie eius  
incineravi; et etiam ecclesiam eius<sup>p</sup> combussissem, si michi facultas  
affuisset. Nam cum incendium brueris<sup>q</sup> inter tectum et domicilium  
obstructo applicarem, irascibiliter sanctus apparens<sup>r</sup> infula abba-  
ciali

g + ubi etiam CA

h + eorum CA

i + Australis CA

j + Regine CA

k + miles CA

l ambigeis CA

m modo qui sequitur omnino for isto modo

CA

n + et CA

o debachante CA

p severiter CA

q totam CA

r corrected probably from bruerio C

s abbas CA

now in an instant changed direction, so that people across the strait  
saw that the sparks that were vomiting fire, which had been ignited by  
means of bundles and faggots on the spears of the enemy, had, as it  
were, submitted to force and been hurled back. Thereupon voices and  
hands reached up to Heaven, glorifying God in his saint who had  
checked the strength of the fires so effectively that their church which  
had been put in urgent peril suffered no loss at all.

But note what follows: those same robbers made for their ship,  
loaded with bundles of loot, and right away landed at Queensferry in  
Lothian. And they soon took to raiding the coastline for beasts that  
were grazing there for food; others set fire to the town of [South  
Queens-]ferry. And as they were hurrying back to their ship with their  
spoils and loot, three noble Scottish knights suddenly came upon  
them unexpectedly. These were the two brothers Thomas and  
Nicholas Erskine and Alexander de Lindsay, who came up from the  
east with about fifty mounted troops, and Sir William Cunningham  
of Kilmaurs (as it is said), who came from the west with thirty  
mounted troops. They began to fight with the cattle-raiders. Some of  
those were killed then, others surrendered and were taken prisoner,  
others as well fled to their ship. Soon they paid the penalty for their  
greed and fire-raising; for more than forty of them (mainly those who  
had shown themselves hostile to St Columba) on fleeing to their ship  
sought help by seizing hold of the ship's rope attached to the anchor.  
As they crept along holding on to it for balance, they perished in the  
following manner. For the ship's captain, who was keeping watch on  
the ship with two or three others, and was exceedingly afraid of the  
savagery of the Scots who were pursuing his companions, grabbed an  
axe in his hands and violently cut the hawser attached to the prow.  
And so he was the means of the drowning and death of all his  
companions who were clinging to the hawser, and brought on their  
destruction.

And to add to that miracle it happened that the chief instigator of  
the attack of the church, the man who had raised sacrilegious fire in St  
Columba's shrine (as mentioned above), was taken prisoner in the  
following of the said Sir William de Cunningham. While Sir William  
was starting out with him, after building up a rage and becoming  
delirious, he at once began to strike some Scots with his fists, and to  
knock them from their horses to the ground in a frenzy, hissing  
through his teeth and crying out: 'St Columba! You are setting [me]  
on fire, and are imposing too severe a punishment on me.' As he raged  
excessively in this way, it was all that everyone could do to control  
him. But also when he was asked why he was behaving violently in this  
way, he replied: 'I deserve this suffering, for I have sinned against St  
Columba. It is I who have done it, who have acted wickedly, who have  
set the vaulted roof of his church on fire; and I would even have  
reduced his [whole] church to ashes if I had had the chance. For when

G ii,400

redimitus, flammam et focum dispersit et | extinxit; quineciam  
barbam et palpebras meas semiustas quadam volatili scintillula, ut  
cernitis, consignavit.' Et hec dicens, rugitum immanem emisit, ita ut 80  
audientes et videntes tabescere faceret ac horrere; quineciam iii'  
equites discursu devio in tantum deseuit, ut nunc hunc nunc illum  
prosternens, a furia de facili non quibat ab omnibus cohiberi, donec  
violenter manibus impeteretur, et transfossus gladiis in quodam bivio  
prope villam de Donypas subterraretur. Remansit tunc dux hostilis in 85  
Scocia per x dies.

<sup>t</sup> et cum hoc in for quineciam iii CA

## 46

<De ammiraldo Francie et exercitu eius in Scocia>

Eodem anno castrum [de]<sup>a</sup> Berwik denuo captum est nocte mense  
septembri per Scotos. Et circa idem tempus papa G[regorius] xi  
s[cripsit]<sup>a</sup> bullam suam Scocie continentem in se sententiam excom-  
municacionis rapiencium vel usurpantium bona episcoporum de-  
dencium pretextu cuiuscumque consuetudinis vel corruptele, quam 5  
vide post titulos huius libri. Eodem eciam anno dominus Walterus de  
Wardlaw episcopus Glasguensis factus est cardinalis, capillo rubeo  
[sibi]<sup>a</sup> a domino papa misso, cum bullis papalibus ac eciam sedis  
apostolici legatus a latere [pape]<sup>b</sup> ordinatus, ad regna Scocie et  
[Hibern-]ie<sup>a</sup> cum plena potestate specialiter deputatus. Quo in 10  
tempore Willelmus comes de Douglas potencialiter et [partim]<sup>a</sup>  
tractatu suscepit totam Tevidaliam ad fidelitatem et pacem regis  
Scotorum, que invariabiliter [Ang-]lis<sup>a</sup> adherebat a bello de Duram  
usque tunc. Et paulo post eodem anno idem comes infirmitate  
[subita]<sup>a</sup> tactus moritur apud castrum de Douglas, et in Melros 15  
honorifice sepultus. Cui ad comi- | tatum et hereditatem successit  
filius eius dominus Jacobus de Douglas, miles acerimus<sup>c</sup> et<sup>d</sup> Anglis  
semper infestus. Qui iteratos exercitus duxit in Angliam comburens et  
depopulans et omnia usque [ad]<sup>a</sup> Novum Castrum devastans. Quo in  
anno, scilicet domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc lxxxv<sup>10</sup>, rex Francie ultra creditum 20  
exhilaratus de felicibus fortuitis casibus Scotis contra Anglos  
contingentibus, ad subsidium et recreacionem ipsorum misit strenuis-  
simum suum militem in armis<sup>c</sup> expertem dominum Johannem<sup>f</sup> Vien

fo.312v

<sup>a</sup> D; lac.C  
<sup>b</sup> D  
<sup>c</sup> + preceps CA

<sup>d</sup> + impavidus CA  
<sup>e</sup> + providum CA  
<sup>f</sup> + de CA

I set fire to the heather blocking the space between the roof and the  
85 outhouse, the saint appeared in angry mood, enveloped in his abbot's  
chasuble, and sprinkled water and put out the blazing fire. And  
furthermore he has put his mark on my scorched beard and eye-lashes  
with a flying spark, as you can see.' With these words he let out a  
horrible roar, so that he caused those listening to and watching him to  
90 flinch and shudder; and furthermore he raged at three of the mounted  
troops with such confused speech that as he knocked one man down  
and then another he could not easily be restrained from his fury by all  
of them [together] until he was violently manhandled; and once he  
had been run through with swords, he was buried at a junction of two  
95 roads near the village of Dunipace.

The duke remained in Scotland as an enemy for ten days.

## 46

The admiral of France and his army in Scotland

The same year Berwick castle was captured by the Scots once again by [1384: Dec.]  
night in the month of September. And about the same time Pope  
Gregory XI composed his bull for Scotland containing a sentence of [1375:  
excommunication against those who seized or appropriated the 20 Mar.]  
5 goods of deceased bishops on the excuse of some custom or corrupt  
practice (which you may see after the list of rubrics for this Book).

Also in the same year sir Walter de Wardlaw bishop of Glasgow [1383:  
was made a cardinal. His red hat was sent to him by the lord pope, 23 Dec.]  
with papal bulls by which he was also ordained as legate *a latere* of the [1384:  
10 apostolic see, and appointed in particular to the kingdoms of 24 Nov.]  
Scotland and Ireland with full powers.

At this time William earl of Douglas brought the whole of [1384:  
Teviotdale into the fealty and peace of the king of Scots, partly by Apr.?  
force and partly by negotiation. This area had unwaveringly adhered  
15 to the English from the battle of Durham until then. And a little later  
in the same year the same earl was struck by a sudden illness and died [ca May]  
at Douglas castle. He was buried honourably at Melrose, and was  
succeeded in the earldom and inheritance by his son Sir James de  
Douglas, a relentless knight who was always hostile to the English. He  
20 led armies again and again into England, burning and pillaging and  
laying everything waste as far as Newcastle.

In that year, 1385, the king of France was delighted by the 1385: May  
favourable fortunes which happened to be accruing to the Scots  
against the English, and to help and refresh them sent his most  
energetic knight who was an experienced military man, the Burgun-  
25 dian Sir John de Vienne count of 'Volentinosa', admiral of France,

comitem de Volentinosa<sup>g</sup> ammiraldum Francie <[Burgundum nacio-  
 25 ne] cum duobus milibus armatorum proborum, de quibus octo-  
 ingenti milites, quorum<sup>h</sup> banrati erant et vexilla levantes centum  
 octoginta, de quibus viginti sex barones, et preter eos ducenti  
 albalastrarii cum aliis valentibus armigeris et bellatoribus, ducentis et  
 30 quadraginta advecti navibus. Quibus in mense maio apud Dunbar et  
 Leth applicantibus, terram Laudonie peciere, ubi magnatibus et  
 defensoribus regni propter hoc de consensu regis apud Edinburgh  
 congregatis optulit ex parte et donativis regis Francie quadringenta<sup>i</sup>  
 paria armorum sive armaturas cum totidem lanceis et aliis apparatur-  
 is diversis placentibus et preciosis, una cum quinquaginta milibus  
 35 francorum aureorum ultra stipendia et victualia soluta et data  
 stipendiariis et nautis. Is igitur ammiraldus in comitiva comitis | de  
 Douglas quasi continue cum suis residens et laborans, exercitus  
 diversis vicibus ducebant in Angliam. Qui tria municipia arte et  
 ingenio Francorum videlicet Werk, Forde et Cornal super marchiam  
 40 Anglie consistencia interim manu forti ceperunt et ad terram  
 prostraverunt. Dehinc ammiraldus cum suis Francis Archibaldum de  
 Douglas dominum Galwidie et gardianum Westmarchie adiit, et cum  
 eodem Angliam hostiliter cum magna potencia intraverunt, ubique  
 quo approximabant vastantes et sine resistencia Anglorum<sup>j</sup> depopu-  
 lantes.<sup>k</sup> Tandem in redeundo ad oppidum de Karlele divertentes, ad  
 45 ipsum expugnandum machinas exposuerunt. Sed in se reversi et  
 propositum mutati, ne videlicet videretur ammiraldus liegios regis  
 Francie periculo supponere, habenas retorserunt et abhinc rever-  
 tentes; et totam juventutem ac florem milicie regni ad lx milia  
 50 congregantes, ad obsidendum castrum de Roxburgh unanimiter  
 confluerunt. Quorum capitaneus fuit dominus Robertus Stewart  
 filius regis ac comes de Fiffe, habens secum commilitones comites de  
 Douglas et Marchie, Archibaldus de Douglas et alios prudentes  
 55 proceres et satrapas animosos. Inter quos questio exoritur solvenda  
 de difficili, videlicet si castrum industria Francorum acquiratur, an  
 perpetue debeat regi Francorum et usibus suis converti. Sed propter  
 huiusmodi questionem infecto negotio ab invicem recesserunt, quia  
 magnates Scocie huiusmodi petitioni nullatenus consentire nec  
 Franci aliter laborare decreverunt.

<sup>g</sup> CA; Volentinosa<sup>g</sup> C,D

<sup>h</sup> om. CA

<sup>i</sup> corrected from quadringenta C

<sup>j</sup> + terram CA

<sup>k</sup> depredantes CA

with two thousand sturdy armed men, of whom eight hundred were  
 knights, and one hundred and eighty were bannerets and standard-  
 30 bearers, twenty-six were barons; and besides these there were two  
 hundred crossbowmen with other stout men-at-arms and fighting  
 men who had sailed in two hundred and forty ships. As these men  
 landed at Dunbar and Leith in the month of May, they moved into the  
 territory of Lothian, where, once the magnates and defenders of the  
 kingdom had gathered at Edinburgh to meet them with the king's  
 35 consent, [the admiral] offered as gifts from the king of France four  
 hundred suits of arms or armour, with as many lances and various  
 other attractive and valuable pieces of equipment, along with fifty  
 thousand gold francs in addition to the wages and food supplies paid  
 for and given to the paid soldiers and sailors. This admiral therefore  
 40 took up position to act with his troops alongside the earl of Douglas  
 on a regular basis, and the two of them led forces into England on  
 various occasions. During this time they took three fortresses by  
 storm which lay on the English border (namely Wark, Ford and  
 Cornhill) with the skill and planning of the French, and razed them to  
 45 the ground. Then the admiral with his Frenchmen went to meet  
 Archibald de Douglas lord of Galloway, the warden of the West  
 March, and together they entered England in hostile fashion with a  
 large force. Everywhere that they approached, they ravaged and laid  
 waste without any English resistance. Then on their way back they  
 50 diverted to the town of Carlisle, and set up siege-engines so as to  
 assault it. [Aug.?] [7 Sept.]

But turning round and changing their plans lest the admiral appear  
 to expose subjects of the French king to danger, they reined their  
 horses around and turned back from there; and assembling all the  
 55 youth and flower of the chivalry of the kingdom up to 60,000 in  
 numbers, they flocked together to besiege Roxburgh castle. Their  
 leader was Sir Robert Stewart the king's son and earl of Fife, who had  
 as his comrades the earls of Douglas and March, Archibald de  
 Douglas, and other discreet magnates and spirited officers. A dispute  
 60 arose among these men which was hard to resolve, namely whether if  
 the castle was captured through the exertions of the French, it ought  
 to be made over to the king of the French to hold in perpetuity. But  
 arising from this dispute the expedition was blighted, and both parties  
 withdrew, for the magnates of Scotland maintained that they could in  
 65 no way agree to this suggestion, and the French maintained that they  
 would not participate on other terms.

*Quando rex Richardus ii<sup>us</sup> intravit hostiliter Scociam et  
combussit monasteria*

Franci sic per tres menses egregie cum principibus et proceribus  
Scocie circa guerricam expeditionem laborantibus, eorum exhaustis  
marsupiis circa festum Omnium Sanctorum [ascensis]<sup>a</sup> navibus  
Gallias pecierunt. Eodem anno et paulo ante circa festum Sancti  
Laurentii rex Anglie Richardus ii<sup>us</sup>, egre ferens Scotos et Francos 5  
terram suam tam atrociter depredari, et municipia sua assilire et ad  
terram prosternere, exercitum collegit grandem et intra-[vit]<sup>a</sup> Sco-  
ciam, etate tunc xix annorum, in multitudine superba progrediens,  
omnia circumquaque perdens, et nichil salvans; templa Dei et  
sanctuariorum, monasteria videlicet Drib-[urgh],<sup>a</sup> Melros et  
Newbotil, ac nobilem villam regiam de Edinburgh cum [ecclesia]<sup>a</sup> |  
Sancti Egidii eiusdem voraci flamma incineravit. Et destructione per  
maxima facta per eum in Laudonia, ad propria sine dampno  
repatriavit. Eodem anno ego ipse qui hec compegi,<sup>b</sup> qui in primis  
quinque libris intitulatus sum scriptor, de utero matris natus sum in 15  
mundo. | Mirandum in modum est qualemcumque regem Christia-  
num velle de facili consentire ad succendendum quecumque Christia-  
norum hospicia, multo minus hospicia et sanctuariorum ipsius Dei,<sup>c</sup> et  
hoc propter diversa. Primo quia hoc est peccatum diabolicum.  
Diabolus enim in inferno igne impugnat animas; sic faciunt incendiarii 20  
in mundo. Et ideo multum verendum est ut cum tales  
assimilentur Diabolo in facto, quod associantur eidem in tormento.  
Multum degenerat regem talia pati fieri vel precipere, quia quanto  
excellencior persona, tanto vilior censetur si suscitetur incendia. Quia  
cum sufflatores ignis in servicio hominum sint elixe et scutellari, 25  
sufflatores ignis in servicio demonum quomodo non erunt viles  
persone? Unde ad id eventum est ut ipse idem rex Richardus qui olim  
in florenti maiestate sua, stipatus turmis militum et multitudine  
clientum, Salomoni Magno in expensis<sup>d</sup> equeparabatur, tandem  
carceres<sup>e</sup> evadens insulas Scocie petens cognitus est<sup>f</sup> a quodam fatuo 30  
qui in sua curia ante hoc educatus fuerat, et inventus in culina  
tamquam vilis elixa<sup>g</sup> Donaldi domini Insularum.

<sup>a</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>b</sup> has cronicas recollegi for hec compegi CA

<sup>c</sup> forcius ipsius Dei sanctuariorum for minus ...  
Dei CA

<sup>d</sup> + gloriosus CA

<sup>e</sup> + invasoris sui CA

<sup>f</sup> deprehensus est pro rege tamen perfecte  
cognitus for cognitus est CA

<sup>g</sup> + domini del.C

*The time when King Richard II entered Scotland in hostile  
fashion and burned monasteries*

So for three months the French served admirably alongside the  
princes and magnates of Scotland who were active on warlike  
expeditions; but when their money ran out, they took ship and set out  
for France about the feast of All Saints. 1385:  
1 Nov.

5 A little earlier in the same year about the feast of St Laurence  
Richard II king of England, sick at heart that the Scots and French  
were plundering his land so cruelly, and were attacking his fortresses  
and razing them to the ground, assembled a large army and entered 6 Aug.  
Scotland at the age of 19. He advanced in the midst of an arrogant  
host, destroying everything on all sides and saving nothing. He burnt  
to ashes with consuming flames churches devoted to God and  
monastic sanctuaries (namely the monasteries at Dryburgh, Melrose  
and Newbattle), and the noble royal town of Edinburgh with its  
church of St Giles. And once he had carried through the maximum of  
15 destruction in Lothian, he returned home unharmed. [x 19 Aug.]

This same year I myself who have put these [chronicles] together,  
who have in the first five books described myself as the writer, was  
brought forth from my mother's womb into the world.

20 It is in a way surprising that such a Christian king had no difficulty  
in agreeing to the firing of any kind of lodgings used by Christians,  
much less the lodgings and sanctuaries of God himself, and this on  
various counts:

First, because it is a diabolical sin. For the Devil assaults souls in  
Hell with fire; so do fire-raisers in the World. And for that reason it is  
25 much to be feared that when such men are in practice likened to the  
Devil, they may be united with him in torment. It is a great decline in  
standards for a king to allow, or give orders for, such things to be  
done, because the more eminent a man, the more he is regarded as  
contemptible if he starts up fires. This is because since those who tend  
30 fires in the service of men are dishwashers and scullions, how can  
those who tend fires in the service of demons be other than  
contemptible persons? It was for this reason that it turned out that  
this same King Richard who previously in the prime of his majesty  
was surrounded by a crowd of knights and a host of retainers and was  
35 on a level with Solomon the Great in his expenditure, in the end  
escaped from the prisons [of his supplanter] to the Isles of Scotland,  
where he was recognized by a certain jester who had earlier been



Secundo illud peccatum<sup>h</sup> multum impedit a salute autorem suum propter restitutionem rei<sup>i</sup> incense quam oportet facere, et propter maledicciones que fiunt ei quando pauper homo incensus habet aliquem defectum occasione incendii, utpote videt parvulos suos lugentes in alieno hospicio, ipse maledicit ei qui domum suam combussit. Que malediccio defert incendiarium in ignem eternam, nisi condigna penitencia et restitutione premissa relevetur, quia Sacre Scripture credendum est ubi dicitur: 'Maledicentis tibi in amaritudine anime exaudietur deprecacio; exaudiet autem eum qui fecit illum.' Ad idem xxxv eiusdem: 'Deprecacionem lesi exaudiet Dominus. Non despiciet preces pupilli, nec viduam si effundat gemitus loquelam. Nonne lacrimae vidue ad maxillam descendunt, et exclamacio earum super ducentem eas? A maxilla enim ascendunt usque ad celum, et Dominus exauditor non delectabitur in illis.' Combussisset preterea rex Richardus honorabile monasterium Sancte Crucis<sup>j</sup> si non fuisset sibi dissuasum per suum patrum dominum ducem Lancastrie, qui in eo ante refugium necessitatus adinvenit dum rusticorum ut predicatur ferocitatem declinavit.

<Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxxxvii obiit dominus Walterus de Wardlaw episcopus Glasguensis cardin-<sup>l</sup>alis et legatus; quo eciam<sup>k</sup> anno obiit domina Eufemia regina Scocie.><sup>i</sup>

<sup>h</sup> peccatum incendiarii for illud peccatum  
CA

<sup>i</sup> interlin.C

<sup>j</sup> interlin.C

<sup>k</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>l</sup> this addition in margin at foot of fo.312v in

C has no caret to indicate where it was to be inserted in the text; it was not copied into R; in D, B and E it was placed at the end of the chapter as here; in CA and H it was inserted in c.49, at l.15

*De quadam antiqua carta et probitate domini Willelmi  
Douglas de Nyddisdall'*

Post reditum itaque regis Richardi ad Angliam, dominus Robertus Stewart regis secundogenitus ac comes de Fyffe congregavit sibi de electis in universo regno xxx<sup>m</sup> armatorum, cum quo erant domini Jacobus de Douglas comes et Archibaldus de Galweia. Qui Sulweysandis prospere pertranseuntes, inter montana et maritima exercitum caute et quasi inperceptibiliter ducebat usque ad Cokymouth, per terram fertilem et habitatam, per terram fructiferam et locupletam, | per terram a diebus domini Roberti Brois regis a Scotis [non]<sup>a</sup>

trained at his court, and found as a contemptible dish-washer in the kitchen of Donald lord of the Isles.

- 40 Second, that the sin [of fire-raising] is a great hindrance to the salvation of its perpetrator on account of the restoration of what has been burnt, which he ought to arrange, and on account of the curses which fall on him when a poor man who has suffered from a fire suffers some loss from the effect of the fire; naturally when he sees his
- 45 children lamenting in some strange lodging, he curses the man who has burned his house. This curse brings the fire-raiser into the eternal fire, unless he is relieved by appropriate penitence and restoration as already stated, because we ought to believe Holy Scripture where it is said: 'The prayer of a man who curses you in bitterness of spirit will be heard; for his Creator will hear him.' And again in the thirty-fifth
- 50 chapter: 'The Lord will hear the prayer of a man who has been wronged. He will not despise the prayers of an orphan, nor the widow when she pours out the words of her complaint. Do not a widow's tears run down her cheek, and do not they accuse him who causes them? For from the cheek they go right up to heaven, and the Lord who hears will not be pleased with them.'

King Richard would have burned the respected monastery of Holyrood as well, if he had not been dissuaded by his uncle the lord duke of Lancaster, who had previously found refuge there at his time of need when, as stated above, he was avoiding the savagery of the peasants.

In 1387 sir Walter de Wardlaw bishop of Glasgow the cardinal and legate died. Also in that year the lady Euphemia queen of Scotland died. 1387: [May × Sept.]

*A certain ancient charter and the prowess of Sir William  
Douglas of Nithsdale*

- Accordingly after the return of King Richard to England, Sir Robert Stewart, the king's second son and earl of Fife, assembled under him 30,000 armed men chosen from all over the kingdom, including Sir James de Douglas the earl and Archibald of Galloway. Once they had
- 5 safely crossed the Solway Sands, he led his army cautiously and almost unnoticed between the mountains and the coast to Cocker-  
mouth, through land that was fertile and populous, land that was fruitful and wealthy, land that had not been invaded and sought out by Scots since the days of the king Sir Robert Bruce. The Scots indeed
- 10 collected prisoners, booty and spoils from this land for three days on

invasam et inexpectitam. In quam quidem terram captivos predas et spolia per tres dies continuos Scoti colligentes, non fuit inter eos tam invalidus quin, nisi noluisset, manus bonis opimis replere potuisset. Ubi<sup>b</sup> inter alia depredata, ad manus dicti domini Roberti capitanei exercitus oblata est quedam carta antiquissima magno sigillo cereo consignata continens tenorem subsequentem: 'I King Adelstan giffis here<sup>c</sup> to Paulan<sup>d</sup> Oddam and Roddam als gude and als fair as evir yai myne war; and yerto witnes Mald my wiffe.' Unde et ipse postmodum, quando dux erat Albanie et gubernator Scocie, dum coram eo a contentendentibus in iudicio prolixiores obligationes vel carte legerentur,<sup>e</sup> dicere solitus erat: 'Credo quod major fides vel fidelitas illis diebus servabatur quando tam compendiosa scripta fiebant (allegata per eundem litera regis Adelstani premissa), quam nunc,<sup>f</sup> quando tam longa scripta, frivolis et excepcionibus ac protelatis ambagibus per novos nostros cau-[sidicos],<sup>g</sup> litere cancellate sunt.' Eodem tempore erat dicto domino Archibaldo de Douglas filius quidam naturalis,<sup>h</sup> juvenis<sup>i</sup> etate sed ceteros precellens probitate, Willelmus nomine, qui indefesse tam per terram quam mare [Anglos]<sup>j</sup> infestabat. Hic homo niger erat colore, non multum carnosus sed ossosus, forma giganteus, erectus et procerus, strenuus et affabilis, dulcis et amabilis, liberalis et letus, fidus et facetus. Hic Anglos undequam tam potenter depressit et timorosos reddidit, ut contra eum sepius terram eorum vastantem et infestantem non auderent duo milia congregi<sup>k</sup> quingentos vix habentem, quia tam vigorosus dicebatur ut quemcumque percussione<sup>l</sup> clave vel gladii, aut pulsu lancee, attigerat ad terram mortuus, vel qualicumque armatura suffultus vix semivivus caderet supinatus. Nam cum ipse semel nisi cum pauca<sup>m</sup> familia de Karlele incendisset suburbia, apud antemurale stans solus super pontem elevabilem et tornatilem de asseribus fabrifactum vix duos pedes in latitudine continentem, fortissimum pugilem oppidi interfecit, et duos sibi non impares peroptime armatos sub pedibus suis clava, quam manu gestabat, contrivit et dejecit. Et ad suos abhinc procul cum oppidanis rixantes illesus accurrit, et<sup>n</sup> ipsis qui pauci erant respectu Anglorum, eos acriter impugnantium succursum celerem contulit et solamen. Alio tempore cum octingentis plano<sup>o</sup> bello devicit Anglorum tria milia, quorum ducentis<sup>p</sup> in campo occisis, secum ad Scociam captivos duxit quingentos.

fo.313v

b Unde CA  
c interlin. over Wn del. C  
d Paularn CA  
e + sic CA  
f + habens diebus del. C  
g D; lac. C  
h interlin. C

i congregi CA  
j percussione D  
k moderata CA  
l + alios CA  
m interlin. C  
n D; prelano C; suis plano CA  
o + vel eo circa CA

end, and there was no one among them so weak that he could not fill his hands with splendid goods, unless he did not wish it.

Among other things pillaged there a certain very old charter came into the hands of the said Sir Robert the leader of the force. It was sealed with a great seal, and its contents were as follows: 'I King Athelstan hereby give Odam and Roddam to Paulan in as good and fair condition as they ever were when they were mine. And Maud my wife is witness thereto.' Following on this afterwards when Robert was duke of Albany and governor of Scotland and lengthy agreements and charters were read out before him by litigants as he sat in judgment, he used to say: 'I maintain that good faith and trust were served better at that time when such succinct documents were drawn up (alluding to the aforesaid letter of King Athelstan) than now, when documents are so long, and the words are cancelled out by the trifling objections and protracted circumlocutions offered by our modern advocates.'

At the same time the said Sir Archibald de Douglas had a natural son called William, who was young in years but surpassing others in prowess, and who was indefatigable in harrying the English by land and sea. He was a dark-skinned man, not very heavy but spare, gigantic in appearance, erect and tall, energetic and approachable, charming and amiable, generous and cheerful, reliable and clever. He checked the English so powerfully on all sides and made them so fearful that two thousand [of them] did not dare to fight with him as he frequently ravaged and destroyed their land, though he had scarcely five hundred men. This was because he was said to be so strong that whomsoever he had struck with a blow of his mace or sword or a thrust of his lance fell dead to the ground, or if protected by some kind of armour, [fell] on his back scarcely half alive. For on one occasion when he had set fire to the suburbs of Carlisle with only a small force, and he was standing alone before the walls on a revolving drawbridge made of boards that was scarcely two feet wide, he killed a very strong champion from the town, and two splendidly armed men who were not inferior to himself he pounded and knocked down under his feet with a mace which he was carrying in his hand. And he ran unharmed to his men who were skirmishing with the townsmen some distance away, and brought speedy assistance and comfort to them, few as they were compared with the English who were violently attacking them. On another occasion with eight hundred men he defeated three thousand English in open battle, of whom two hundred were killed on the field, and he brought five hundred as prisoners with him to Scotland.

*De eodem*

Igitur propter ipsius ubique predicabilem probitatem dominus rex  
 Scocie sibi tradidit in matrimonium dominam Egidiam filiam suam<sup>a</sup>  
 juvenularum speciosissimam, et cum eadem sibi et heredibus inter se  
 procreandis dominium de Nythisdall' perpetue possidendum. Tam  
 elegantis forme et prestantissime facecie fuit hec domina, et pro tali in  
 remotis regionibus habita et callaudata, quod Christianissimus rex  
 Francie audita ipsius fama misit secreto modo pictorem subtilem ad  
 protrahendum effigiem virginei sui vultus, proponens eam sibi  
 assumere in uxorem; sed antequam pictor ad Scociam pervenit, ab  
 alio suo amatore dicto (videlicet domino Willelmo Douglas) preventa  
 fuit et eidem matrimonialiter copulata. De qua genuit unicam filiam,  
 que nunc superest, olim domino Henrico ii<sup>o</sup> de Sanctoclaro<sup>b</sup> comiti  
 Orchardie desponsatam, de qua ipse genuit <Willelmum><sup>c</sup> comitem  
 eiusdem adhuc superstitem et filios ac filias. Eodem tempore et anno  
 scilicet domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxxxviii dominus Robertus comes de Fyffe una  
 cum dicto domino Archibaldo de Douglas patre istius domini  
 Willelmi congregaverunt exercitum copiosum, et Angliam hostiliter  
 intraverunt. Paululum ante hoc dictus dominus Willelmus navigio  
 cum quingentis bellatoribus Hiberniam adiit, ut ibidem Anglos  
 debellaret. Et ad Kerlynford oppidum firmissimum et muratum  
 anchoras fixit et ad terram descendit. Ubi intrepide ad unam portam  
 urbis assultum fecit. At illi qui deintus erant<sup>d</sup> sub dolo secum  
 tractaverunt ut oppidum assecuraret et eis pacem concederet, et  
 propterea certam summam pecunie sibi dare polliciti sunt. Qui, ut  
 erat graciosus, de pace composuit, et ab extra juxta maritima circa  
 pecora et victualia ad navigium fulcienda intentus, vix decipulam  
 opidanorum evasus est. Nam ipsi clanculo miser-[unt]<sup>e</sup> nuncium ad  
 oppidum de Dundalk, non procul ab eis, petentes celerius auxilium  
 sibi exhiber[i],<sup>e</sup> promittentes perinde<sup>f</sup> Scotos funditus deperiri.  
 Propter quod octingenti equestres armati vener-[unt]<sup>e</sup> in crastino<sup>g</sup> ad  
 Kerlinford, quibus occurrunt Kerlinfordenses populoze. Quibus  
 adjunctis, [perdere]<sup>e</sup> proponunt Scotos qui numero<sup>h</sup> vix erant ad

<sup>a</sup> filiam suam om. CA<sup>b</sup> + panitario regis CA<sup>c</sup> marginal correction for Henricum tercium  
del. C<sup>d</sup> + audita fama probitatis eius timuerunt

CA

<sup>e</sup> D; lac. C<sup>f</sup> proinde D, CA<sup>g</sup> + de nocte CA<sup>h</sup> + electorum CA*The same topic*

Therefore on account of this man's prowess which was everywhere  
 renowned, the lord king of Scotland gave him as his wife his daughter [1387?]  
 the Lady Egidia, a very beautiful young girl, and with her he gave  
 permanent possession of the lordship of Nithsdale to him and his  
 heirs of the marriage. This lady was so attractive in her appearance  
 and quite outstanding in her courtesy, and was so regarded and  
 praised in distant countries that the most Christian king of France,  
 hearing of her fame, secretly sent a painter capable of delicate work to  
 draw a portrait of her maidenly countenance with a view to taking her  
 to be his own wife; but before the painter arrived in Scotland, she was  
 secured by her other lover (namely Sir William Douglas) and joined  
 to him in marriage. By her he fathered one daughter, who is still alive,  
 and who was formerly married to Sir Henry de Sinclair II earl of  
 Orkney [the king's pantler]. By her he fathered the William earl of  
 Orkney who is still alive, and other sons and daughters.

At the same time in 1388 Sir Robert earl of Fife with the said Sir [1388:  
 Archibald de Douglas the father of this Sir William collected an [29 June]  
 extensive force and entered England in a hostile manner. A little  
 before this the said Sir William sailed to Ireland with five hundred  
 fighting men to subdue the English there. He anchored at a very  
 secure walled town at Carlingford and disembarked. There he  
 fearlessly made an assault on one of the gates of the city. But those  
 inside [had heard of his prowess and fearfully] negotiated with him  
 deceitfully for him to give an assurance of safety to the town and grant  
 them peace; and for this they promised to pay him an agreed sum of  
 money. William, gracious man that he was, arranged this peace  
 agreement, and as he concentrated near the shore outside [the walls]  
 on securing cattle and food supplies to support his voyage, he nearly  
 fell into the townsmen's trap. For they secretly sent a messenger to the  
 town of Dundalk which was not far from them, asking for speedy  
 assistance to be given to them, and promising likewise that the Scots  
 would be utterly destroyed. Accordingly eight hundred armed  
 horsemen came the next day to Carlingford, and met up with the men  
 of Carlingford in large numbers. Once they had come together, they  
 proposed to destroy the Scots, who on land numbered barely two  
 hundred, because they were short of small skiffs and boats for  
 transporting the rest from their ships, and, what turned out worse for  
 them, these two hundred were divided in two parts. For a little earlier

terram ducenti, quia defectum habuerunt de minutis cimbis et batellis ad transponendum reliquos a navibus, et, quod deterius eis contigerat, et hii ducenti<sup>i</sup> in duabus parcellis<sup>i</sup> divisi erant. Nam paulo ante misit ammirallus<sup>k</sup> d[ominum]<sup>e</sup> Robertum Stewart de Durisdeer inclitum militem cum nonnullis secum ad vicinia dep-[redanda].<sup>e</sup> De quorum divisione Anglici cum suis Hibernicis Anglicatis informati, diviserunt se [in duo].<sup>e</sup> Quorum maxima pars invasit Douglas, quia plures secum erant, reliqui vero Hiberniensium dictum [dominum Ro-]bertum.<sup>e</sup> Sed, ut breviter concludamus, hinc inde taliter<sup>i</sup> decertatum est, ut victoria Scotis cederet, unde [villam acci-]piunt,<sup>e</sup> spolia diripiunt et domos concremant, castrum spoliando, quindecim naves Hibernie-[nses in portu]<sup>e</sup> | anchoratas universis bonis ville onerant. Quibus mirabiliter ditati, cum magna classe partes proprias petunt. Et in redeundo Insulam de Man exspoliando; et in portum de Lochryane in Galwidia<sup>m</sup> terram Scocie repetentes ad votum applicant. Ascensis ilico equis, dictus dominus Wilhelmus cum valencioribus de suis dominos comitem de Fife et patrem suum Archibaldum, eo tunc cum grandi exercitu in Angliam debacantes et<sup>n</sup> perhendinantes, accersivit. Ubi accole et novi hospites Scoti in unum convenientes, et de felicibus alterutrorum successibus jocabundi confabulantes, sic se unanimes continuunt, donec eadem nocte vel in crastino nociviora nova eisdem patefiunt.

i G; ducentis C, CA, D

j + ab invicem CA

k + dictus videlicet dominus Wilhelmus CA

l interlin. C

m + nativam suam CA

n + apud Riddisdal del. C

50<sup>a</sup>*De bello de Ottirburn*

G ii, 405

Dominus enim Jacobus de Douglas promissum, ut quidam volunt, fecerat ut<sup>b</sup> in illo exercitu comitis de Fiffe apud Westmarchiam personaliter interesset. Sed nescio quo consilio retractus, collectis suis amicis et hominibus ac ipsis recensitis, inventus est habere vii<sup>m</sup> validorum bellatorum, quorum assistencia confusus, quia alticordis pre ceteris tunc erat, videbatur sibi de facili posse subigere<sup>c</sup> totas boriales oras Anglie; et expeditionem versus austrum faciens, exercitum suum duxit inflammando et vastando usque Novum Castrum. Ibi enim sui<sup>d</sup> assultum facientes, et cum oppidanis

a corrected from xlix C

b interlin. C

c + sibi del. C

d Scoti CA; suum D

the admiral [that is the said Sir William] sent the celebrated knight Sir Robert Stewart of Durisdeer with not a few men to ravage the neighbourhood. When the English with the Irish who were on their side learned of this split, they divided their force into two. The larger part attacked Douglas, for there were more with him; the rest of the Irish attacked the said Sir Robert. But, to end the story briefly, the fighting in both cases was such that the Scots were victorious, and as a result occupied the town, seized their spoils, burned down the houses, plundered the castle, and loaded fifteen Irish ships which lay at anchor in the harbour with all the goods taken from the town. Marvellously enriched with these, they set out for home with a large fleet. On their way back they plundered the Isle of Man; and after making their way back to the land of Scotland at the port of Loch Ryan in Galloway, they landed well satisfied.

Once they had mounted their horses there, the said Sir William invited the earl of Fife and his father Archibald with some of his own sturdy men to go then on the rampage on a visit to England with a large force. There as neighbours meeting afresh the Scots gathered together to talk over the happy successes of both parties in jocular fashion; and so they continued together in harmony without a break, until on the same night or in the morning bad news was revealed to them.

[early Aug. ?]

6 Aug.

50

*The battle of Otterburn*

Sir James de Douglas had promised (as some have it) to take part in person in the West March in that army of the earl of Fife. But he went back on this (by whose advice I do not know), and once he had assembled and counted up his friends and his own men, he was found to have seven thousand fighting men in good condition of whose assistance he was confident; and because he was then more than ordinarily in high spirits, it seemed to him that he could easily subdue all the northern regions of England; and setting out on an expedition to the south, he led his army in burning and ravaging as far as Newcastle. Then as his followers made an assault and fought with the townsmen hand-to-hand, they bore themselves in a praiseworthy manner as men should.

But inside Newcastle all the armed levies of Northumbria from the

manualiter decertantes, laudabiliter ac viriliter se habuerunt. Infra 10  
 enim Novum Castrum tota milicia Northumbrie ab urbe Eboracensi  
 prestolabantur<sup>f</sup> cum domino Henrico Percy juniore, filio Henrici  
 comitis Northumbrie (*Henri Hatespur* vulgariter nuncupato), acerimo  
 milite et ad prelia experto, exploraturi de Scotis evantagium aucupari.  
 Dum vero comes de Douglas cum suis patriam propriam repeteret, 15  
 dictus Henricus Percy explorari fecit exercitum comitis de Douglas  
 quia multus erat, convertit se ad exercitum dicti comitis de Douglas  
 tunc apud Otterburn in Riddisdall<sup>g</sup> castrametatum. Qui<sup>h</sup> nichil mali  
 inimicis suspicatus, ipse comes de Douglas cum comitibus Marchie et  
 Moravie duobus fratribus et aliis quampluribus militibus et nobilibus 20  
 disarmati, induerunt se stolis et talaribus robis in die videlicet Sancti  
 Oswaldi cenatum se disponentes. Discumbentibus igitur illis, super-  
 venit quidam Scotus infalerato insedens equo attonite satis clamitans  
 omnes ad arma confugere, quia 'super vos', inquit,<sup>h</sup> 'accelerant  
 inimici'. Ad cuius vocem omnes a cena resurgentes, et ad tuicionem 25  
 armorum convolantes, vix se simpliciter poterant armis communire.  
 Tam concito igitur ad ordinationem belli dominus comes de Douglas  
 se contulit, ut oblitus sua propria arma sibi colligare. Propter quod de  
 nocte letaliter vulneratus in facie et cervice, nescitur a quibus, unde de  
 mane, proth dolor, mortuus est repertus, non relinquens post se 30  
 heredem de corpore procreatum. Cui successit dominus Archibaldus  
 dominus Galwidie ad comitatum de D[ouglas]. Dominus eciam  
 Johannes de Dunbar comes de Moravia propter subitacionem belli  
 oblitus est cassidis sue.<sup>i</sup> Dominus itaque Henricus Percy, decem 35  
 milibus armatorum constipatus, exercitum suum in duo partitus est.  
 Uni parti prefuit ipse, et dominus Radulphus frater eius; alteram  
 partem commisit dominis Mauricio de Redmane et Roberto Ogyl  
 militibus ad subvertendum pavilleones et tentoria; ipse vero ad  
 campum festinavit. Clamore igitur adventus Anglicorum inter Scotos 40  
 adaucto, Scotigenarum communitas<sup>j</sup> fugam arripuit, quam acrius  
 insecuti sunt Redmane et Ogil. At ubi pars Percy attendit Scotos<sup>k</sup>  
 fugientes,<sup>l</sup> et in visibus fuge quamplurimum delectaretur, putans se  
 sine resistencia victoriam<sup>m</sup> optinere, comes de Douglas cum suis  
 equos ascensi, inter fructea et dumeta<sup>n</sup> | con-[tecti],<sup>o</sup> et ad campum 45  
 properantes per aliquod tempus ab Anglis invisit, tandem subito juxta  
 aciem Anglorum<sup>p</sup> [prorump-]entes<sup>o</sup> cum xii vexillis oppansis et ad  
 solis reverberacionem fulgentibus paulo ante eiusdem [occas-]um.<sup>o</sup>

G ii,406

e + inibi del.C  
 f D,CA; prestolabantur C  
 g + pro tunc CA  
 h + hic ad manum CA  
 i + ita ut capite quasi nudo pugnavit in campo CA  
 j communitas C,D

k interlin.C; + qui ad sarcinas erant CA  
 l + super quos subito venit Redmane cum suis CA  
 m + posse CA  
 n + ad tempus CA  
 o D; lac.C  
 p + ad tempus CA

city of York [northwards] were waiting under Sir Henry Percy the 15  
 younger, the son of Henry earl of Northumberland (who was called  
 Henry Hotspur in the vernacular), a very brave knight who was tested  
 in battle. They were wanting to find ways of gaining advantage over  
 the Scots. While therefore the earl of Douglas and his men were  
 returning to their own country, the said Henry Percy reconnoitred the 20  
 earl of Fife's force; but since it was large, he turned his attention to the  
 said earl of Douglas's force, which was then encamped at Otterburn  
 in Redesdale. Suspecting no harm from his enemies, the earl of  
 Douglas himself, together with the two brothers the earls of March  
 and Moray and a great many other knights and nobles, had disarmed, 25  
 and on St Oswald's Day had dressed themselves in gowns and ankle-  
 length robes, and were sitting down to supper. Then as they reclined  
 at table, a certain Scot arrived riding a horse without any harness and  
 frantically shouting for everyone to fly to arms, for, he said, 'the  
 enemy are hurrying upon you'. On hearing his call everyone got up 30  
 from supper, and as they rushed for the protection of their armour  
 they were scarcely able to protect themselves with armour of a basic  
 kind. The lord earl of Douglas indeed took himself off so hastily to  
 arranging the battle-order that he omitted to fasten his own armour.  
 On this account he was mortally wounded in the face and neck during 35  
 the night by unknown hands, and in the morning, alas!, he was found  
 dead. He left no legitimate heir behind him, and was succeeded in the  
 earldom of Douglas by Sir Archibald lord of Galloway. Sir John de  
 Dunbar earl of Moray also forgot his helmet because the fight had  
 begun so suddenly [so that he fought in the field bareheaded.]  
 40 Sir Henry Percy accordingly, surrounded by ten thousand armed  
 men, divided his army into two sections. He commanded one section  
 along with his brother Sir Ralph; the other section he entrusted to the  
 knights Sir [Matthew] de Redman and Sir Robert Ogle to destroy the  
 pavillions and tents. For his part he hurried to the field of battle.  
 45 When therefore as the din accompanying the arrival of the English  
 increased, and most of the Scots took to flight, they were very eagerly  
 pursued by Redman and Ogle. But as Percy with his section observed  
 the Scots who were fleeing [to the baggage under a sudden attack by  
 Redman and his men], and was exceedingly delighted at the sight of  
 50 this rout, thinking that he was securing victory without opposition,  
 the earl of Douglas and his men mounted their horses, and after  
 hiding among shrubs and thorns as they hurried to the field of battle  
 unseen for some time by the English, they finally burst out suddenly  
 near the English line with twelve banners flying and glowing in the  
 55 reflection of the sun's rays a little before it set. Dismounting from their  
 horses they fearlessly sought out the English. But they on the other  
 side, numbering three times more than the Scots, attacked them in  
 return with lances, and strove to strike the other side.

1388:  
5 Aug.



Ab equis descendentes,<sup>q</sup> Anglos imperterriti pecierunt. At illi viriliter ex adverso [ter pl-jures<sup>o</sup> Scotis numero, lanceis se mutuo impetunt, et alterutro<sup>r</sup> compungere<sup>s</sup> [nituntur.]<sup>o</sup>

50

q emissariis prosilientes for equis descendentes CA

r + confodere confundere et CA  
s C,CA; expungere D

51

*De victoria Scotorum habita super Anglos*

fo.314v

Dum igitur conflare inceperant, subito quidam probatissimus miles validus et robustus Johannes Swinton Scotus ab ala aciei exiliens, et cum alterutra pars sese lanceis impeterent, ipse lataliter ab utraque parte modicum secedens, diram lanceam<sup>b</sup> et oblongam cum vigore elevans, capita ferrata multarum lancearum Anglorum ex transverso concuciens,<sup>c</sup> ad unumquemque ictum terre prostravit. Propter quod Scoti primo Anglos suis lanceis penetrantes, vi valida coactos retrocedere compulerunt. Cum itaque aliquantisper decertatum fuisset, Angli mox terga dederunt, ubi per totam illam noctem Scoti cedentes et inimicos persequentes ac captivos capientes, captus est Anglorum armidoctor Henricus Hatespur cum dicto fratre suo. Ita quod quotquot sine presidio fuge non occisi, a Scotis vinciuntur, et captivi Scocie abducuntur in tanta copia ut captivi captivantes numero excedent. Occisi autem ex parte Anglorum mille et quingenti ab Anglis numerantur; plures etiam ex parte Scotorum occubuerunt, inter quos nobilis comes de Douglas et duo milites videlicet Robertus Hert et Johannes de Turribus occisi sunt <et dominus Willelmus de Londy eiusdem letaliter vulneratus in facie<sup>d</sup> querella in festo sequenti Animarum fatis cessit.> In crastino Sancti Oswaldi ista nova aures comitis de Fife et exercitus sui aggravaverunt, potissime de morte comitis de Douglas. Sed de victoria Scotis concessa<sup>e</sup> alacres effecti, gloriose ad propria reversi sunt. Sed quia venerabilis vir magister Thomas de Barry Scotus canonicus Glasguensis <primus prepositus de Bothvile> de hoc bello satis diserte et metrice carmina compegit, ne tam excellens opus evanescat, dignum duxi ipsum presentibus scriptis commendare. Cuius prologus sequitur:

a interlin.C

b + rubeam CA

c corrected from concussiens C

d in facie om.CA

e triumpho ceteris concessio for victoria Scotis concessa CA

51

*The victory won by the Scots over the English*

When therefore they had begun to do battle, suddenly a certain especially doughty, vigorous and powerful knight, the Scot John Swinton, leapt out from the flank of the battle line, and as both sides were assailing each other with lances, he withdrew sideways a little from both sides, raised his terrible long lance energetically, struck the iron tips of many English lances from the side, and knocked them to the ground with each blow. As a result the Scots were the first to strike home on the English with their lances, and with powerful force compelled them willy-nilly to withdraw. So when the fighting had gone on for some time, the English soon turned to flee, whereupon through the whole of that night the Scots killed and pursued their enemies, and took prisoners. The English commander Henry Hotspur was captured along with his brother. As a result however many of those who did not take to flight were not killed, but were overcome by the Scots and led off as prisoners to Scotland in such quantity that there were more captives than captors.

The dead on the English side were counted by the English as one thousand five hundred; many also fell on the Scottish side, among whom the noble earl of Douglas and two knights, namely Robert Hert and John Towers, were killed. Sir William de Lundie of that ilk was mortally wounded in the face by a bolt from a crossbow, and gave up the ghost on the following feast of All Souls. On the morning after St Oswald's Day when this news reached the ears of the earl of Fife and his force, they were greatly distressed, especially over the death of the earl of Douglas. But this victory won by the Scots raised their spirits, and they returned home in glory. Since that venerable Scot Master Thomas de Barry, canon of Glasgow and the first provost of Bothwell, has composed some verses in flowing metre about this battle, I have thought it worthwhile to include his composition in this book lest such an excellent work disappear. Its prologue follows:

2 Nov.  
6 Aug.

52

[No rubric]

"Musa, refer fatum prescriptum carmine vatum,  
 principians gratum frangere sorte statum.  
 Temporibus primis probiorum<sup>b</sup> corpora limis  
 condebant imis prelia dura nimis.  
 Sed lacrimor ludens nova bellica carmina cudens  
 mixtim concludens, metrificare studens,  
 scismata regnorum lacrimalia belligerorum  
 deflens binorum, cano carmina mixta dolorum.  
 Insula iam Britonum duo continet optima regna,  
 pacis quodque bonum quibus exulat arte maligna.  
 Ex omni parte sunt corpora diruta marte.  
 Hic pax vi carte non fit nec qualibet arte.  
 | Hic pereunt gentes; hic succubuere potentes;  
 hic cives flentes plangunt et rure manentes;  
 hic sunt argentes brumali tempore dentes.  
 Concuciant mentes, trepidant sine fine dolentes.  
 Hic pater et natus simul occidit, ense necatus.  
 Iste cruentatus ruit, hic perit incineratus.  
 Isteque predatus, hic exulat, hic spoliatus.  
 Alterque ditatus, luget alter pulvere stratus.  
 Anglos Scotigene gladiatorum cuspide frangunt;  
 Scotos Angligene flammaram caumate tangunt.  
 Quid facio? Taceo; multa tot per regna diescunt.  
 Me quacio, racio perit. Heu! guerre juvenescunt.  
 Gentes gaudentes victrices glorificantur,  
 flentes plangentes devicti subpeditantur.  
 Quos angit, frangit illos nova guerra patenter;  
 hos tangit, plangit bellum campestre recenter.  
 Otterburnense bellum novitate recense;  
 augusti mense gens plurima corrui ense.  
 Vates linguosi trutinantes carmine fata  
 que cano bella data dant esse sabulosi [sic].  
 Quinta dies mensis, fuerat qua mercurialis,  
 agminibus densis mors imperat exicialis.  
 Annis millenis centum quater hinc duodenis  
 exceptis plenis miscentur gaudia trenis.

G ii,407

a this chapter is exceptionally written in two columns per page C  
 b -i- interlin.C  
 c parentes CA

52

[No rubric]

Muse, relate the destiny ordained by the song of the seers,  
 beginning to shatter by Fate's decree the pleasing state [of  
 peace].  
 In the earliest time hard battles used to sink the bodies  
 of all the braver men in the deepest mires.  
 But I weep as I make my new song, fashioning warlike lays,  
 eager to write poetry, shaping it in various styles,  
 mourning the lamentable quarrels of two warlike kingdoms,  
 I sing songs mingled with grief.  
 The island home of the British contains two most excellent  
 kingdoms,  
 from which is banished every benefit of peace by the craft of  
 the Devil.  
 Their bodies are riven by war on every side.  
 Here no peace is created by the force of any parchment, or  
 through any skill.  
 Here the people perish; here the magnates succumb.  
 Here citizens and country-dwellers alike weep and lament;  
 here their teeth are chattering with cold in the wintertime.  
 They torment their minds, they are fearful, endlessly grieving.  
 Here father and son fall together, victim of the sword.  
 One dies covered in blood, the other burned to death.  
 One is plundered, another exiled, a third despoiled.  
 One is enriched, while the other groans, laid low in the dust.  
 The Scots crush the English with the point of their swords;  
 the English sear the Scots with the heat of flames.  
 What am I to do? I am silent. So many things are dawning  
 throughout the kingdoms.  
 I quiver, reason fails me. Alas, wars grow with youthful  
 vigour.  
 The victors rejoice and exult,  
 while the conquered, weeping and lamenting are trampled  
 underfoot.  
 The new war clearly crushes those it torments;  
 the pitched battle lately fought touches these and causes them  
 to grieve.  
 Recount the battle of Otterburn in all its novelty;  
 in the month of August a great multitude perished by the  
 sword.  
 Eloquent seers, weighing out the Fates in song,  
 assert that the battles of which I sing were fought over sandy  
 ground.

*Explicit prologus. Incipit bellum.<sup>d</sup>*

Cum sol retrogradus, radiante calore, Leonem  
 induit, hincque gradus sub Virgine dans stacion-[em],  
 atque gigas lux que fuerat Cancro dominante  
 diminuens pigmeus adest, hoc tempore stante, 40  
 magna proborum tunc dominorum belligerorum  
 per patrias horum superant nocumenta priorum.  
 Integer exercitus Scotorum heu! separatur;  
 dum sunt dispersi, sua virtus debilitatur.  
 Maxima pars occidentem vastando peragr-[at],  
 sed minor intrat orientem; sic undique fl[agrat],  
 Unanimus ferit hic cuneus quos le-[dere temptat],  
 caumate quos vastat hic fa-[cit exiguos],  
 fo.315 | Hic Jacobus fuit, ac Georgius, inde Johannes  
 de Douglas, Dunbar comites et Moraviensis. 50

*[Descriptio armorum]*

Hunc cor exhilerat, et fulgida stella decorat;  
 hunc leo fortificat, rosa circumstans et honorat;  
 Lilia translata, tria pulvinaria lata,  
 primitus arma data Moraviensia grata. 55  
 Scotica turba recedit, consona semper obedit  
 hiis tribus. Haud redit ibi<sup>e</sup> quin multos male ledit.  
 | Usque Novum macerant Castrum patrias peragrando.  
 Tecta domos lacerant patriotas dampnificando.  
 Hic patet in portis, geminando pericula mortis,  
 in fortem fortis feriens utriusque cohortis. 60

<sup>d</sup> + c li del. C  
<sup>e</sup> enlarged initial C C

<sup>f</sup> D; lac. C  
<sup>g</sup> ibi redit C, D, CA

It was the fifth day of the month, a Wednesday,  
 when death and destruction commanded the tightly-packed  
 columns.

35 In the year one thousand four hundred, less twelve,  
 expressions of joy were mingled with full-throated cries of  
 lamentation.

*Here ends the prologue. Here begins the battle*

When the sun on his homeward course, radiating heat, put on  
 the garb of Leo,  
 and going on from there halted under the sign of Venus,  
 and his light (which had been a giant when Cancer was  
 dominant)

40 had now diminished and become a mere pygmy, this being the  
 season,  
 then the great deeds of courageous warlike lords  
 throughout their native regions surpassed the destruction  
 done by men of former times.

Alas, the whole army of the Scots is split up.

45 While they are thus scattered, their strength is impaired;  
 the larger part ranges, plundering, over the West [March];  
 but the smaller part enters the East [March]; thus [the army]  
 blazes out in anger from every quarter.

The one formation, united in its purpose, strikes those whom  
 it seeks to damage;  
 the other reduces to a handful those whom it devastates with  
 the aid of fire.

On the one side were James and George, on the other side  
 John,

50 the earls of Douglas, Dunbar and Moray.

*[Their coats of arms]*

The first is cheered by a heart and adorned by a blazing star;  
 a lion gives the next his strength, and the rose surrounding it  
 lends him honour;  
 transferred lilies and three broad cushions  
 are the pleasing arms of Moray, long since granted.

55 The troop of Scots retreats; with one accord it always obeys  
 these three.

It doesn't return there without savagely injuring many.

They vex the various districts as far as Newcastle, ranging  
 over them.

They tear apart buildings and houses, wreaking havoc on the  
 local people.

Here can be seen before the gates brave warrior raining down  
 blows

60 on brave warrior on either side, redoubling the risk of death.

[*De insultu Novi Castrî*]

Iam fragor armorum Scotorum menia sternit,  
cernit et hic pugiles agiles, dum buccina clangit.  
Frangit turma fores, modo res arctissima crescit.  
Fervescit parvus [sic] armis gens improba Scota;  
mota sed Anglorum lorum plebs laxat habunde.  
Unde fit insultus stultus, probitate rependens;  
defendens muros duos gladius ferit ictus.  
Conflictus fortis portis fit; et hii jaculantur,  
rixantur, feriunt, pereunt hastilia fracta,<sup>h</sup>  
nacta per armatos elatos. Undique turbe  
urbe petras jaciunt. Faciunt quod machina tensa  
intensata tenet, donec cum murmure mortem  
fortem prosternat (cernat quecumque loquatur).  
Grassatur rixa, confixa sagitta recedit;  
cedit pugnantes lassantes intus et extra.  
Dextra tedet Martis partis cuiusque, sed illa  
de villa revocat, vocat, et Scoti retrocedunt,  
cedunt, decedunt, ledunt et ab urbe recedunt.

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[*Quomodo redierunt Scoti ad propria*]

Villam linquentes, vexilla per arva ferentes,  
splendida pandentes redeunt patriam repetentes.  
Ad fluvium Rede redeunt hii requiescunt;  
prorsus ab hac ede velle non posse pavescunt.  
Hinc figunt varia tentoria per canopea,  
sed multifaria sunt per campos pharisea.  
Hii cenam preparant, hii papilione quiescunt;  
hii spoliari parant, hii dormire calescunt.  
Exploratores majores sive minores,  
[nu-]llos ante fores mittunt, sunt deteriores.  
[Hiis] gestis, pestis nova fulminat ecce proborum.  
[Conven-]iunt, veniunt gens bellica Saxoniorum.  
[Duxit et] instruxit Percy multos probitate  
[notos,] ignotos, preclaros nobilitate.  
[Dixit et] indixit cordatis prelia dura;

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<sup>h</sup> stracta C,D,CA  
<sup>i</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>j</sup> + cordatis del.C

[*The attack on Newcastle*]

Now the thunderous clash of Scots arms lays low the walls  
and separates out the nimble fighters, while the trumpet  
blares.  
The cavalry troop breaks down the gates; now the situation  
becomes very critical.  
The Scots, few in numbers but fearless in arms, are fired with  
ardour;  
but the English rabble, once aroused, loosen their reins in full  
measure.  
Hence a foolish attack takes place, paying the Scots back with  
courage;  
their sword defending the walls strikes hard blows.  
A brave fight takes place at the gates; they hurl weapons,  
clash with their opponents, wound; spears fail, broken,  
seized by exultant soldiers. From every side crowds  
hurl stones from the city. They ensure that the engine,  
stretched tight,  
holds its projectiles aimed until with a murmur it lays low  
the brave man in death (let him watch what he says).  
The struggle rages; the fixed arrow rebounds;  
it cuts down those who are fighting and tiring inside and  
outside [the city].  
The right hand of each side tires of the fighting, but the  
struggle  
calls them back from the town; it calls and the Scots retreat.  
They give ground, leave and, as they depart from the city,  
wreak havoc.

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[*How the Scots returned homewards*]

As they leave the town, carrying their banners across the  
fields.  
they unfurl their resplendent banners and return, making for  
their own country.  
On their return journey they rest by the river Rede;  
they begin to be very fearful that they will not be able to  
move from this resting place.  
Here they set up their tents of varied colours over  
groundheets,  
but these, in varied forms, are scattered through the fields.  
Some prepare a meal, while others rest in their tent;  
some prepare to divest themselves [of weapons], others are  
eager for sleep.  
They send out no patrols whatever, of higher or lower rank,  
outside the gates; they are found wanting [as strategists].  
After these events, suddenly a new scourge of the brave  
thunders out its threats.  
The warlike race of the English come together and advance.

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[scivit et] ascivit Scotorum bella futura.  
 'Armetis detis pugnam Scotis. Fugitivi  
 sunt timidi pavidī; capientur carcere vivi,  
 et tuti scuti sub tegmine sunt spaciando,  
 cedunt, decedunt, propriam patriam peragrandō;  
 lassati strati sub papilione quiescunt;  
 vitant, dormitant nichil sub nube timescunt.  
 Invigilet, strigilet mannos quisque, sine lora!  
 Imponat, ponat, sua quilibet arma decora,  
 | et leviter breviter predones corde<sup>k</sup> sequamur;  
 per dictos victos fugientes nos animamur.'  
 Ridens, deridens Scotos, sic corda suorum  
 flammāt et inflammat convivas belligerorum,  
 dicens, indicens: 'Nunc nī sitis animosi,  
 Scoti commoti stabunt sine fine jocosī,  
 flebit, languebit succumbens Anglia tristis.'  
 Fatur et hortatur Anglos sermonibus istis.

G ii,409

## [Quomodo Anglici procedunt ad campum]

Arma petunt acies, disponunt bella, minantur,  
 ad Scotos facies vertentes confederantur.  
 Terror non modicus fuit, abfuit omnis amicus;  
 presbyter et laicus fuit Scotigenis inimicus.  
 Architenens arcus tendens, non vult fore parvus,  
 tela sagittarum limans ad vulnus amarum.  
 Iam reputant Scotis, ab eis non longe remotis,  
 victos, captivos redimendos carcere vivos.  
 Hic armatorum glomeratur turba virorum,  
 illic conventum disponunt architenentum.  
 Sunt pugnaturi cultris, gladiisque securi;  
 hastas protelant, vexillaque plura revelant.  
 Et clamans mille Percy et Georgius ille  
 Anglia sic pangit, quam magna superbia tangit.  
 Sed fallit fatum qui se putat esse probatum,  
 quod fortuna levis sic docet hora brevis.

Percy led and marshalled many well-known for their valour,  
 men unknown, men outstanding in their noble ancestry.  
 He spoke, and proclaimed to these brave-hearted men that  
 there would be harsh battles;  
 he knew and accepted that there would be fighting against the  
 Scots:  
 'To arms,' [he said], 'join battle with the Scots. They are on  
 the run.  
 They are timid and fearful; they will be captured alive.  
 They are on foot, safe under the protection of their shields.  
 They are retreating, falling back, traversing their own  
 territory.  
 They are tired out, resting prostrate in their tents.  
 They are avoiding [battle,] asleep with not a care in the world.  
 Let each of you go on the alert; let each comb down his pony;  
 let the reins go!  
 Let each of you place on it its fine tackle.  
 Let us quickly, and lightly armed, pursue these robbers  
 enthusiastically.  
 Let us use these aforesaid vanquished fugitives to raise our  
 own spirits.'  
 Thus laughing and mocking the Scots, he fired the hearts of  
 his men  
 and inflamed his fellow-revellers among the warriors,  
 saying to them: 'Now, unless you are courageous,  
 the Scots, aroused, will continue forever mocking us,  
 while England vanquished will weep and languish dejected.'  
 So he spoke, and with these words encouraged the English.

## [How the English advanced to the battlefield]

The battle-lines take up arms; they make their dispositions for  
 battle, they are menacing;  
 turning their faces towards the Scots they come together.  
 There was no small degree of fear, all friends were far distant;  
 priest and layman alike were hostile to the Scots.  
 The archer stretching his bow was in no mood to be sparing,  
 sharpening the pointed darts of his arrows to cause a bitter  
 wound.  
 Already they imagine that they have been conquered by the  
 Scots,  
 who are not far from them, and are to be kept alive as  
 prisoners for ransom.  
 On one side [of their battle-line] a crowd of men in armour  
 bunches together;  
 on the other side they place a company of archers.  
 They are prepared to fight with daggers, swords and the axe.  
 They bring forward spears; they unfurl several banners.  
 Thus – a thousand men shouting 'Percy and St George' –  
 the English ranks pledge their loyalty, touched by great  
 arrogance.



[*Quomodo Scoti disponunt se ad campum*]

Sic venientibus atque scientibus agmine Scotis  
 sunt vehementia corda pavencia, cognita notis;  
 nullaque pausa non sine causa clamor habundat.  
 Buccina plangit, quos timor angit virtus inundat, 130  
 arma petentes, cor retinentes, heccine clangor.  
 Tam subitus fuit hic aditus, pluit undique langor.  
 Angor adest, quia tempus erat breve vel quasi nullum;  
 nec fatur socio quis, nec dux instruit ullum.  
 Spiritibus tamen inde suis cum corde refertis 135  
 ensibus instant, hostibus obstant rure repertis.

[*Comes de Douglas alloquitur suos*]

Alloquitur Douglas letus inermes,  
 sincopat<sup>m</sup> in brevibus voce gigantis  
 consolidans animos commilitonum  
 ut dux intrepidus intulit ista: 140  
 'Hostes confluere nonne videtis?  
 Precipites veniunt ordine nullo."  
 | Quamvis sunt multi, nil timeatis;  
 non tenet in multis gloria belli.  
 Fortiter obstetis hostibus istis, 145  
 et sitis memores iam probitatis.  
 | Fronte prioristas sternite, namque  
 si primo titubent, non relevabunt.  
 Hii veteres nostri sunt inimici,  
 tollere qui nostra fraude conantur. 150  
 Et cupiunt servi nos juga ferre,  
 et nos cum nostris adnichilare.  
 Insuper ecclesie injuriantur.  
 Scismaticant, papam cognoscere verum  
 nolunt, errorem parturientes, 155

<sup>l</sup> inermis D  
<sup>m</sup> C,CA; sincepat D,R,E

<sup>n</sup> this line written alongside previous one C

125 But Fate tricks [the one] who thinks he is a proven warrior,  
 so a brief hour teaches that fortune is fickle.

[*How the Scots arrayed themselves on the battlefield*]

So when the Scots column came up, and became aware of all  
 this,  
 their hearts were greatly disturbed and fearful, which was  
 recognized by clear signs.  
 Without a pause, and not without good reason, there was a  
 great amount of shouting.  
 130 The trumpet wails, courage flows over those whom fear  
 torments  
 as they seek their arms, and retain their courage, here there  
 was uproar.  
 So sudden was this attack that faint-heartedness rained down  
 upon them from every side.  
 Torment was at hand, for time was short; indeed there was no  
 time at all.  
 No one speaks to his comrade; no leader gives anyone orders.  
 135 Nevertheless, with their spirits and hearts subsequently filled  
 with courage,  
 they looked to their swords and opposed any of the enemy  
 they found in the countryside.

[*The earl of Douglas addresses his men*]

Douglas cheerfully addressed his men while they were  
 unarmed.  
 He upbraided them in a few short words with the voice of a  
 giant,  
 strengthening the resolve of his comrades  
 140 and, fearless leader that he was, spoke as follows:  
 'Don't you see that the enemy is coming together in vast  
 numbers?  
 They are advancing hastily and in no order.  
 Though they are many, have no fear;  
 martial glory does not find a place among the many.  
 145 Resist the enemy boldly,  
 and be mindful of your own worth here and now.  
 Strike down those in the front rank, for  
 if they falter at the start, they won't raise their heads again.  
 These are our age-old enemies,  
 150 who are trying to steal our possessions by deceit.  
 Those serfs want us to bear the yoke,  
 and to wipe us out with all that is ours.  
 Besides, they do the church wrong.  
 They are schismatics, refusing to recognize the true pope,  
 155 they bring forth error,  
 and with their trickery they oppose God's justice.

justicieque Deo fraudibus obstant.  
 His causis igitur consideratis,  
 belletis acriter pro patriotis.  
 Victores eritis, non dubitetis.  
 Et vobis eveniet vespera felix,  
 vosque coronabit gloria belli,  
 laus sine fine manens fama perennnis.  
 Scribentur cronicis nomina vestra.  
 Dulci victorum scemate compta  
 hec ait, et mandat arma parare,  
 pandere vexillum corde choruscum.  
 Ad campum properat, quo videt hostes,  
 gaudia pretendens vultibus altis.  
 Qua, nisi sit letus, hos animasset,  
 plures retrogradi forte fuissent.  
 Idcirco studuit bella movere,  
 et properat cicius ni respiscant.  
 Hortatur, proprii quisquis honoris  
 sit memor, et pugnet cum pede fixo.  
 Iam peditant procures, sed primus ipse,  
 ad loca conflictus progrediuntur.

[Hucusque ammonicio]

Nec tamen aggreditur nisi quos audacia tangit,  
 aut honor armorum, vel quos verecundia frangit.  
 Maxima disparitas fuit hic per prelia facta;  
 nulla fuit paritas nec concordancia pacta.  
 Angli millenis armatis congregiuntur;  
 Scoti centenis et inermibus inficiuntur.  
 Angli concordēs capiunt proposita fixa;  
 Scoti discordēs variant sed non sine rixa.  
 Componunt ludos Scoti varios spaciātes;  
 ut perimant nudos, Angli sunt insidiantes.  
 Angli descensum montis consulte lucrantur;  
 dum petit ascensum gens Scotica, debilitantur.  
 Hic pede firmato pedetentim progrediuntur;  
 gurgite lutato per aquosa, sed hii gradiuntur.  
 Anglicus iste capit spacium socios animandi;  
 rarus in arte sapit Scotus pugiles recreandi.  
 In propriis fuit Anglica gens sic corde levata;

So, having considered all these reasons [for fighting],  
 fight boldly on behalf of your fellow-countrymen.  
 You will be the victors, have no doubt of that.  
 And the evening will turn out a successful one for you,  
 and martial glory will crown you,  
 praise remaining without end, endless fame.  
 Your names will be written in the chronicles.  
 Thus he spoke, having painted a sweet picture of the victors,  
 and ordered them make ready their arms,  
 and with courage unfurl their gleaming standard.  
 He hastened to the field, where he saw the enemy,  
 simulating joy on his noble features.  
 For at this point, if he were not cheerful, if he had not  
 encouraged them,  
 perhaps many would have retreated.  
 For that reason he was keen to get the battle under way,  
 and hastened to begin it, lest they should have second  
 thoughts.  
 He exhorted each to be mindful of his own honour,  
 and fight with their feet rooted to the spot.  
 Now the leaders advanced – but he was the first of all –  
 and came to where the conflict was to take place.

[Thus far a warning]

No one joined the attack, save those who were moved by  
 courage,  
 or a sense of military honour, or whom a sense of shame  
 overcame.  
 There was very great inequality here across the battle lines;  
 there was no equality nor any agreement in numbers.  
 The English assembled with thousands of armed men;  
 the Scots, with just hundreds, had unarmed men amongst  
 their number.  
 The English, united, carried out their agreed strategy;  
 the Scots, at odds with each other, adopted differing tactics,  
 not without argument.  
 The Scots contrive various feints, ranging about;  
 the English lie in wait to destroy those who are unprotected.  
 The English deliberately gain possession of a route down  
 from a hill;  
 while the Scots seek to ascend it, they suffer losses.  
 Here with resolute pace they gradually advance;  
 these men make their way over marshy ground in a quagmire.  
 The English leader takes a few moments to encourage his  
 comrades;  
 rare is the Scot who is versed in the art of restoring the spirits  
 of his warriors.  
 The English were thus fighting on their own ground with  
 lightened hearts;

G ii,411

magnanimos reputant minimos per tecta locata.  
 | Iam prope tendunt, aera findunt, prelia pugnant.  
 Hic gladiantes, hic jugulantes, undique regnant. 195

Sol, radorum lumina condens, Antipodes petit, Hesperus  
 instat;  
 et moritur pereunte die lux. Tunc acies hee congregiuntur.  
 Iam furit ensis, lancea rumpitur, et cadit aggere fracta securis.  
 Miles et armiger hic cadit, heccine turma moritur multa 200  
 proborum.

Moraviensis miles inermis fronte preambula hostibus obstat;  
 poplite fixo, vertice nudo certat Achilli vincere campum.  
 Armipotentes, architenentes, morte ruentes hic perierunt;  
 hic meliores et probiores arte priores succubuerunt.  
 Wlnera grandia sunt data; saucia corpora, florida 205  
 contenebrantur.

Interimit, jacit et ferit, hic rapit occiput arctus brachia crura;  
 colla tumencia, corda valencia, sic paciencia conquaciuntur.  
 Miles honorum sic memor horum, quos solet omnis victor,  
 habetur.

Pellitur illac, sternitur istac quisque retrogradus, ordine verso.  
 Hic feritur, feriens ferit et perit; iste moritur sanguine fuso. 210  
 Hic rapitur, rapiens rapit; hic capitur capiens; sic sors  
 variatur.

Hic capit armiger, ense retruditur miles, et omnis surgit  
 utroque;  
 surgit et occidit; est variabilis ars tenebrescens sorte  
 Sororum;  
 nam levat istum, sternit et illum; ridet et angit pungit et ungit.  
 Presbyteri cum cordigeris veniunt patuli licet, ordine spreto;  
 ut fatui fatuando ruunt, similes laicis miseri perimuntur. 215  
 Fortuito, sed agente Deo, cessit subito victoria Scotis;  
 Anglicolarum cor fit amarum, terga dederunt et retrocedunt.

o serorum C,D,CA

they consider the brave Scots among the tents that stood  
 there to be worthless.  
 Now they quickly come up to close quarters; they cleave the  
 air [with weapons]; they engage in battle.  
 Here they use their swords, there they cut throats, on all sides  
 they are in control.

The sun, laying his bright rays to rest, makes for the  
 Antipodes; the evening star is at hand;  
 the light dies with the dying day. Then it was that these  
 battle-lines come together.  
 Now the sword rages, the lance is broken, the shattered axe  
 falls on the rampart.  
 Here knight and man-at-arms fall; here many a troop of  
 brave men die.  
 A knight from Moray, without armour, blocks the path of the  
 enemy with rash boldness  
 with unbended knee, with head uncovered, he strives to outdo  
 Achilles' battle exploits.  
 Men valiant in arms, archers, perished here, falling down in  
 death;  
 here fine and brave men well versed in the art of war  
 succumbed. 205

Severe wounds were dealt out; bodies were wounded, in their  
 full flower they were covered in darkness.  
 One man kills; another hurls his weapon and inflicts a wound;  
 another grabs the scruff of the neck, limbs, arms and legs;  
 proud swelling necks and brave hearts suffering in this way  
 are shaken violently.  
 Thus a knight is kept mindful of these honours which  
 everyone who conquers is wont to have.  
 On this side men are driven back, on the other each man as  
 he retreats is laid low, with all in disorder.  
 This man is wounded, and in the act of striking he perishes.  
 Another dies, his blood pouring out.  
 He who is seizing [booty] is himself seized in the very act of  
 seizing it; another is captured in the very act of capturing;  
 so Fortune rings her changes.  
 Here a man-at-arms takes a prisoner, a knight is repulsed by  
 a sword, and everyone on either side rises up to fight;  
 he rises and falls; his skill is variable as by the lot of the  
 Sisters he sees less;  
 for she [Fortune] exalts one, lays another low, smiles and  
 torments, wounds and anoints [the wounds].  
 The priests along with the friars come, although straggling  
 and scorning all order.  
 They rush on like fools in their folly; the poor wretches are  
 killed just like laymen.  
 Just by chance, but by the intervention of God, victory  
 suddenly went to the Scots.

*[De fuga post bellum]*

Iam furor ignescit; gladiis feriunt ferientem;  
 et fuga fervescit vinculis<sup>p</sup> capiunt capientem.  
 Lumina nox nescit, per quam rapiunt rapientem;  
 maxima nam crescit strages; perimit perimentem.  
 Gloria splendet Scotis, reprimunt reprimentem.  
 Clamor inardescit docti, sapiens sapientem  
 lancea mordescit, jaculis jaciunt jacientem;  
 plagaque turgescit, hastis quaciunt quacientem.  
 Scotia ditescit, captum redimunt, redimentem  
 wlnera compescit, dum sic fugiunt fugientem.

*[Scoti redeunt ad tentoria]*

Hostibus afflictis, victis, peditando fugatis,  
 unanimes redeunt, repetunt sua, vi prohibitatis,  
 vexillis densis extensis tecta petendo.  
 Anglos discernunt, cernunt suos perimendo.  
 Iam nova guerra movet, foveat hos; re-[deunt trucidando]<sup>q</sup>  
 tectaque per lustra, frustra<sup>r</sup> quos inde vaga-[ndo]<sup>q</sup>  
 comperit, interimit, reprimet, multos fu-[gientes];<sup>q</sup>  
 | quosque captivos vivos tenet usque dolentes,  
 vincere se credens, ledens quos ledere possit,  
 | nec Anglos victos strictos succumbere nescit.  
 Hiis tamen auditis: 'Scitis quod improba Scota  
 gens fuerat victrix', dietrix sic concio tota  
 aufugit, et Scoti moti gladiando sequuntur.  
 Per noctis tenebras latebras simul ingrediuntur;  
 querunt obscuris ruris per stricta latere.  
 Anglos in clivis declivis<sup>s</sup> nocte jacere.  
 Anglicus et fatus notus cadit ex propriorum  
 ictibus, et frutices latices petit omnis; et horum  
 quidam sternuntur, salvantur, et hii capiuntur;  
 quidam predantur, spoliantur, et hii perimuntur.

p D; vinculis C  
 q D; lac.C

r lustra C,D,CA  
 s declivit C,D,CA

The heart of the English grows bitter. They retreated and  
 retraced their steps.

*[The flight after the battle]*

Now the war frenzy ignites; they strike with their swords  
 whoever is striking them;  
 220 panic boils up, they take and put in chains he who is [in the  
 act of] taking them.  
 The night provides no light, but through the darkness they  
 seize the one who is seizing them.  
 For the slaughter now reaches its height; [each] kills the man  
 who is [intent on] killing him.  
 The glorious triumph of the Scots shines forth, they crush the  
 one who was crushing them.  
 The shouting of the skilled warrior grows ever stronger, the  
 skilled lance wounds the skilled warrior.  
 225 They overthrow with their spears the man who is hurling [a  
 spear] at them.  
 Disaster wells up, with spears they shake the enemy who is in  
 the act of shaking them.  
 Scotland is enriched, they redeem the captive. He curbs with a  
 wound the person who is redeeming,  
 while thus they flee the one who is fleeing them.

*[The Scots return to their camp]*

With the enemy afflicted, vanquished and routed as they  
 retreat on foot,  
 230 they all with one accord return and seek their own country  
 again by the sheer force of their courage,  
 seeking their dwellings with close-bunched standards  
 unfurled.  
 As they slaughter they separate out the English and  
 distinguish their own people.  
 Now a new fight stirs them, revives them; [the others] return  
 slaughtering through hidden thickets.  
 These, when it [the fight] finds them wandering aimlessly back  
 from there,  
 235 many of them fugitives, it kills and restrains.  
 It keeps many alive as captives, continually pining,  
 believing that it is victorious, wounding those it can wound,  
 and knows full well that the English are succumbing,  
 vanquished and hard-pressed.  
 Once they heard the words: 'You must know that the rascally  
 Scots  
 240 have won the day', thus saying, the whole crowd fled,  
 and the Scots were stirred to follow using their swords.  
 Going through the darkness of the night they enter the hidden  
 places together.

Nocte carent claritatis radiisque; quilibet  
 ferit ense paritatis socium sed aniliter;  
 fuerant caritatis pugiles juveniliter,  
 sunt austeritatis sed stemate vili  
 quisque<sup>i</sup> se letum simulans putat affore letum.  
 Sed moriens fretum solvit discrimine fretum.  
 Anglica gens demens ruit hic, verum quia demens,  
 papa cui Clemens non curavit fore clemens.  
 Completur fatum per maxima tempora fatum;  
 quamvis sit latum tempus, tamen est modo latum.  
 Anglicus se victum scit, querens carcere victum,  
 ac videt ut Pictum Scotum fore corpore pictum.

[Scoti de mane scrutantur campum]

Sole sequestrante noctem, tenebrasque fugante,  
 et radios dante lucis, clarescit ut ante,  
 campum scrutantur, defuncti connumerantur,  
 noti rimantur, quo quique suos lacrimantur.  
 Inveniunt stratos multos et subpeditatos,  
 multos mactatos, omnes ut oves spoliatos.  
 Nobilis ille comes de Douglas ecce moritur,  
 stirps generosa, fomes clarissimus, heu! reperitur  
 mortuus. Ille fuit Scotorum vera laterna.  
 Hic superando ruit probus ex probitate paterna  
 miles magnanimus                      patrie pugil hic preciosus.  
 omnibus unanims  
 Hic victor moritur; res ardua resque stupenda;  
 martyrium patitur pro libertate tuenda.  
 Strenuus atque pius Hert miles in arte Robertus,  
 fortis et egregius est mortuus inde repertus.  
 Ecce Johannes hic de Turribus est jaculatus  
 miles, et est illic de vulnere mortificatus.  
 [Willelmus]<sup>u</sup> gratus de Fixo Monte per arva

<sup>i</sup> quisquis C,D; ambiguus CA  
<sup>u</sup> lucerna D

<sup>v</sup> D; lac.C

They seek to lie hidden [scattered] over narrowly confined  
 places in obscure parts of the countryside.  
 The English are lying hidden by night in sloping gullies.  
 An Englishman, a known and cherished friend, falls from  
 blows inflicted by his own people,  
 and everyone makes for the bushes and the water. Of those  
 some are slain, others are saved and captured;  
 some become a prey and are despoiled; some are killed.  
 By night they lack the rays of light; each one  
 strikes with his sword his companion and peer, but in old age.  
 They had been warriors of love in their youth,  
 but now they are [warriors of] hardship, of lowly rank.  
 Each one, pretending that he is merry, thinks that death is at  
 hand.  
 But dying he pays the charge of passage [over the straits] that  
 rests on danger.  
 The English race rushes here, crazed, because they remove the  
 truth,  
 a race to whom [Pope] Clement did not trouble to be clement.  
 Then was fulfilled the fate decreed over a period of very many  
 years;  
 though that is a great expanse of time, yet it is now fulfilled.  
 The Englishman knows he has been beaten, seeking his  
 sustenance in prison,  
 and he sees how the Pictish Scot is painted on his body.

[In the morning the Scots survey the battlefield]

When the sun was removing the night and putting the  
 darkness to flight,  
 and giving back his rays of light, and it grew clear again as it  
 was before,  
 they examine the battlefield and the dead are counted,  
 those who are known are sought out, so each side mourns  
 their own dead.  
 They find many laid on the ground and trampled underfoot,  
 many slaughtered, all shorn like sheep.  
 See! That noble earl of Douglas is dead,  
 that noble scion, that most noble [source of] comfort, alas, is  
 found dead here.  
 He was the true lantern of the Scots.  
 This brave man fell in the act of overcoming the enemy; he  
 inherited his father's courage.  
 This precious champion of his country,  
 was a brave knight,  
 and lived in accord with all men.  
 This man dies a victor, a circumstance hard to bear and to be  
 wondered at;  
 he suffers martyrdom to protect freedom.  
 That brave and loyal knight, Robert Hert, courageous and  
 outstanding



[hic]<sup>r</sup> moritur stratus; vis non fuerat sua parva.  
 [Symon]<sup>r</sup> et occubuit de Glendonwin vir honestus;  
 [armiger]<sup>r</sup> erubuit, fuerat recedere mestus.  
 [Ut mater n]atum,<sup>r</sup> sic Gledstan ploro pusillum.  
 [Heu! juvenem]<sup>r</sup> gratum mors aspera destruit illum.  
 | Wedderburnensis mortem fleo, nam velut ensis  
 asper erat; densis ruit ictibus undique tensis.  
 Vexillum comitis Balram relevare conatur;  
 post finem litis mortem sibi plaga minatur.  
 Multi sunt cesi, multi sunt carcere capti;  
 multi sunt lesi de perstando minus apti.  
 Prenduntur Percy cum fratre suo juniore;  
 primevo flore bellant, sed carcere versi.  
 Belligeri multi, probitatis stemate culti,  
 stragibus indulti moriuntur et inde sepulti.  
 Scribere nescivi quot morte cadunt, sive vivi  
 quot sunt captivi, bellantes gurgite rivi.  
 Precones referunt pauci quod agone steterunt,  
 miraque fecerunt, tam pauci prevaluerunt.  
 In veterum gestis numquam reperitur honestis  
 quod transit pestis; contingere forte potest hiis.  
 Qui permanserunt fortes, stabiles in agone,  
 pignus honoris erunt retinentes hac ratione.  
 Gloria solemnis sit eis, nam fama perennis  
 hic volitat pennis. Sua lux, sua laus ciliennis  
 numquam nigretur. Cronicis victoria detur;  
 publica scribetur, quia scribi digna meretur.  
 Hic honor accrescit, armis laus digna diescit.  
 Finem laus nescit, victoria tanta patescit.  
 Qui campo cessit, vel qui fugiendo recessit,  
 laus huic sordescit, titubans et honor vilescit.  
 Certat legitime nisi quis pugnans in agone,  
 indignus proprie reputabitur esse corone.  
 Indecoresque fuga pudeat caput ultra levare,  
 maxima namque ruga sine principe sit patriare.  
 Maximus esse solet pudor intactis fugiendi;  
 nobile cor redolet, licet occidit, hic remanendi.

G ii,413

285

290

295

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315

in the profession of arms was found dead there.

See! The knight John Towers was struck by a spear here,  
 and died there of his wound.

280

The popular William de Montfichet died there, laid low  
 in the fields; his strength was not small.

That honourable man Simon de Glendinning succumbed;  
 a man-at-arms he was ashamed to retreat – he would have  
 been sad to be retreating.

285

I mourn little Gladstone as a mother does her son.

Alas, savage Death destroyed that attractive youth.

I lament the death of Wedderburn. For he was like a sharp  
 sword;

he fell when blows had been aimed at him from every side.

Balram tried to raise again the earl's standard;

after the end of the fight a blow threatened to cause his death.

290

Many were slain, many were taken prisoner;

many, being less able to endure, were wounded.

Percy, along with his younger brother, was captured;

they fought in the first flower of their youth, but were taken  
 prisoner.

295

Many warriors, adorned by noble pedigree,

offered up to the slaughter, died and were buried there.

I could not recount how many died, how many were taken  
 alive

and are captives, as they fought in the raging waters of the  
 river.

Those who relate this story say that the few stood firm in that  
 struggle,

and did marvellous things and, though they were so few,  
 prevailed.

300

Among the deeds of the men of old it is never found that the  
 pestilence passed

from those who win glory; these men may have had that good  
 fortune.

Those who remained brave and steadfast in the hour of trial  
 will for this reason continue in possession of the symbol of  
 honour.

May they enjoy a glory that is ever renewed, for perpetual  
 Fame

305

flies winged here. Let their light, their honour, lasting a  
 thousand years,

be never dimmed. May this victory be entrusted to the  
 chronicles.

It will be written about and made known because it deserves  
 to be written about.

This glory grows for ever greater, praise worthy of their [feat  
 of] arms gleams forth.

Their glory knows no limit, such a great victory becomes  
 known far and wide.

310

As for the man who quit the field, or retreated in flight,

[*De recessu Scotorum ad partes proprias*]

Inde Jovis veniente die pars magna cohortis<sup>w</sup>  
 lesa dolet, iam tecta levat per prata, retortis  
 cordis cum palis, tuba personat, inde recedunt.  
 Combustis balis se victores simul edunt.  
 Signifer expandit vexillula splendida ventis,  
 passibus et pandit letum cor nobile lentis.  
 Ducunt captivos plures victoribus arte,  
 per vada, per clivos, hac<sup>x</sup> dantes vincula parte.  
 De paucis faciunt aciem, sic progrediuntur;  
 nec lesos quaciunt dum partes ingrediuntur.  
 Ad proprias partes redeunt per gaudia flentes,  
 et comitis recolendo ruinam, tristeque gementes.  
 Hec ideo metra mixta fleo. Victoria gaudet,  
 mors comitis flentum dare tristia cordibus audet.

[*Conclusio*]

G ii,414

| O Deus! istarum miserere potens animarum,  
 hic defunctorum recolens certamen amarum.  
 Passio mortalis pro libertate realis.  
 Sempiternalis sit plena remissio talis.  
 O rex! cunctorum qui premia dans meritorum,  
 prelia regnorum fac pacificare duorum,  
 et mala comprime, bellaque destrue, jurgia dirime, pax  
 dominetur.

<sup>w</sup> D; choortis C<sup>x</sup> hic C,D,CA

his reputation is defiled, his faltering honour is cheapened.  
 Unless a man fights as he ought in the conflict,  
 he will be considered unworthy to win his own crown.  
 Let those who were disgraced by reason of their flight be  
 ashamed ever to raise their heads again,  
 for it should be considered the greatest possible blemish to  
 return home without one's prince.  
 Those who have escaped unscathed are wont to be most  
 ashamed of their flight.  
 [The fact of his] remaining here, even if he has fallen, is  
 redolent of a noble heart.

[*The departure of the Scots homewards*]

Then, when Thursday dawned, a great part of the army  
 grieved, wounded; now it takes up its tents across the  
 meadows,  
 once the ropes have been coiled up along with the stakes. The  
 trumpet calls out, and they withdraw from there.  
 Burning bales of straw, at the same time they declare  
 themselves the victors.  
 The standard-bearer opens up the resplendent banners to the  
 breezes,  
 and with his sluggish steps that noble heart reveals the death  
 [of their leader].  
 By dint of their [martial] skill they lead away more captives  
 than there are victors,  
 over fords, across slopes, giving chains on this side.  
 From a few they create a line, thus they advance;  
 nor do they shake the wounded when they enter their own  
 territory.  
 They return home with tears mixed in with their rejoicing,  
 as they recall the earl's tragic end, mourning sadly.  
 Therefore I pour out these mixed metres weeping. Victory  
 rejoices,  
 while the earl's death dares to impart sad thoughts to the  
 hearts of those who weep.

[*Conclusion*]

God in your almighty power have mercy on those souls,  
 recalling here the bitter struggle of the souls of the dead.  
 Deadly suffering, undergone for the sake of liberty, is a  
 reality.  
 Let such suffering constitute a full everlasting remission [of  
 sins].  
 Great king, who assigns the rewards of all good deeds,  
 cause the wars between the two kingdoms to die down,  
 put down all evil, put an end to wars, end all quarrels, let  
 peace reign.

Diva potencia regna per omnia tempora singula sanctificetur.  
 | »Climatis ast actor sit pacis climatis autor;  
 nam pacis factor colitur, pacis quia fautor.  
 Rex eternorum bellum pessundato seuum;  
 gloria victorum nullum moritura per evum. Amen.

y scribe resumes single-column format at top  
 of a page, with final four lines of the poem

written in just two lines right across the  
 page C

53

*Quomodo Robertus comes de Fiffe effectus est  
 gubernator Scocie<sup>a</sup>*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> lxxxix quia rex etate grandevus impotens erat ad  
 gubernandum, et filius suus primogenitus Johannes comes de Carrik  
 ex percussione equi domini Jacobi Douglas de Dalketh quasi claudus  
 effectus, consilium trium statuum regni apud Edinburgh convocavit,  
 ubi de eorum consensu secundumgenitum suum dominum Robertum 5  
 comitem de Fife custodem regni deputavit, et abhinc mutato nomine  
 custodis gubernatorem eum voluit appellari. Ad exequendum igitur  
 officium suum gubernatori jurato, prelati et proceres ad sibi in officio  
 assistendum et fidele consilium perhibendum jurati sunt. Igitur post  
 capcionem domini Henrici Hatespur Anglici, pro gardiano sive 10  
 custode marchiarum suarum<sup>b</sup> volentes providere, altisonum pro-  
 cerem videlicet *Earle Marschale* ad hoc officium reddiderunt aptissi-  
 mum, ut putabant. Qui statim ut nactus est officium, arroganter satis  
 et despicabiliter allocutus est marchianos Anglos, exprobrando in  
 hoc quod passi sunt Scotos semihomines, ut dicebat, super eos apud 15  
 Otirburn victoriam optinere, cum et ipsi Scotis multo plures fuerant  
 et eciam super eos improvisos irruerant, et adjecit loqui sic sepius  
 quod: 'Si possem habere copiam congregiendi cum Scotis, eciam si  
 sint duo pro uno, experiri aggrediar eosdem.'<sup>c</sup> Quod audiens Scocie  
 novus gubernator huiusmodi minas<sup>d</sup> revocavit ad animum; et sub 20  
 festinatione congregans exercitum, habens secum dominum Archi-  
 baldum comitem de Douglas et ceteros regni valenciores, partes peciit  
 Anglicanas, illas precipue quo audivit Erle Marschel presencialiter  
 existere. Qui de adventu Scotorum predoctus, pergrandem collegit  
 exercitum et quasi gubernatori obviaturus ad planum se contulit; sed 25  
 approximante Scotorum universitate, Erle Marschal statim in

a + et de merite sui patris [?] del.C

b -rum interlin.C

c eos attemptatabo for aggrediar eosdem

CA

d + novi custodis marchie Anglie CA

340

340

Let your divine power be sanctified throughout all kingdoms  
 for all time.  
 May he who created this clime be the creator of peace in this  
 clime;  
 for he is worshipped as the begetter of peace because he  
 nurtures peace.  
 King of all eternity, put an end to savage war;  
 the glory of the conquerors will never die through all eternity.  
 Amen.

53

*How Robert earl of Fife was made  
 governor of Scotland*

In 1389 in view of the fact that the king was unfit to govern because of [1388:  
 his great age, and that his eldest son John earl of Carrick had become 1 Dec.]  
 lame following a kick from a horse belonging to Sir James Douglas of  
 Dalkeith, [the king] summoned a council of the three estates to  
 5 Edinburgh. There with their consent he appointed his second son Sir  
 Robert earl of Fife as guardian of the kingdom. From then on the  
 name 'guardian' was changed, and he desired Robert to be called  
 'governor'. Therefore to establish his office once the governor had  
 taken the oath, the prelates and magnates were sworn to support him  
 10 in office and to give him faithful counsel.  
 After the capture of Sir Henry Hotspur the English, wanting to  
 make provision for a warden or guardian for their Marches,  
 appointed a magnate with a high-sounding name, the Earl Marshal, [1389:  
 to this post, thinking him very suitable. As soon as he took up office, 1 June]  
 15 this man addressed the English living in the Borders arrogantly and  
 contemptibly, reproaching them for allowing the Scots – who were  
 only half-men, he said – to win a victory over them at Otterburn, when  
 they had been much more numerous than the Scots, and also had  
 attacked them when not expected. And he often added to his remarks  
 20 that: 'If I could have the resources to engage the Scots, even if it is two  
 against one, I would set about putting them to the test.' When the new  
 governor of Scotland heard this, he bore these threats in mind; and  
 quickly collecting an army which included Sir Archibald earl of  
 Douglas and other vigorous men of the kingdom, he set out for  
 25 English territory, in particular to the district where he heard that the  
 Earl Marshal was staying in person. When the latter learned of the  
 arrival of the Scots, he collected a very large force, and set out for the [Aug.?  
 field as if to meet the governor. But as the body of Scots approached,  
 the Earl Marshal at once stationed himself and his men safely in a  
 30 certain confined space. When the governor heard about this, he

quodam arcto loco se tute cum suis collocavit.<sup>e</sup> Quod audiens gubernator illuc cum suis intrepide accessit, mittens sibi nuncium ut quod alias voce promiserat, opere tunc compleret. Ad quem sic responsum misit, dicens se nequaquam audere homines liegios regis sui, sicut et habuit in mandatis, periculis supponere. Ad huiusmodi responsum moti sunt Scoti ad risum, recolentes illud Esopi trufantis de quodam jactitante magniloquo, et dicentis:

Parturient<sup>g</sup> montes, exivit ridiculus mus.

Gubernator nichilominus cum suis<sup>h</sup> per medietatem diei expectabant cum vexillis displicatis exitum exercitus Anglicorum. Cui quia ulterius neque vox erat, neque sensus, ad votum suum exequendum, Scoti depredatis undique locis ad que venerant, et pulcherima maneria flamma devastantes, ad propria incolumes properarunt.

<sup>e</sup> -oc- interlin.C  
<sup>f</sup> -ti- interlin.C

<sup>g</sup> Parturiens C,D,CA  
<sup>h</sup> cum suis interlin.C

## 54

*De nunciis regum Francie et Anglie regi Scocie pro treugis capiendis missis*

Eodem anno apud Boloniam super Mare inter Francos et Anglos capte sunt treuge trium annorum, in quibus regnum Scocie comprehensum est, si collibeat. Ad illud concludendum missi sunt in nuncio duo milites Francigene ad audiendum regem Anglie Richardum facere jurare pro observ[atione]<sup>a</sup> treugarum. Quo facto, rex Anglie cum eis misit suam ambassatam, dominum videlicet Nichola[um]<sup>a</sup> Dogwart cum alio milite, ad inquirendum voluntatem regis Scocie super premissis. Q[ui]<sup>a</sup> rex cum magnatibus suis repertus est apud Dunfermelin, ubi utrique nuncii adie[erunt]<sup>a</sup> primo dominum Archibaldum comitem de Douglas, requirentes eum ut induceret r[egem]<sup>a</sup> ad consociendum<sup>b</sup> treugis et apprehendendum fore in eisdem. Quos curialiter misit ad gubern[atorem]<sup>a</sup>, qui dixit quod totum negocium pendebat in manu regis. Ad presenciam igitur regis cum ve[nissent]<sup>a</sup>, et de bono pacis cum diu et eleganter perorassent, rex avisatus respondit se v[elle] consentire<sup>a</sup> | huiusmodi treugis ob reverenciam dumtaxat et ad requestum confederati sui regis Francie. Nuncii igitur quamplurimum letificati de bono responso regis et consensu ad treugas observandas, liberaliter ab eo dimissi, sub

<sup>a</sup> D; lac.C

<sup>b</sup> +et del.C

fearlessly approached that place with his men, sending a message to the Earl Marshal that he should now perform in action what he had promised in words. He sent a response to the governor, saying that he did not by any means dare to expose the lieges of his king to dangers, and that this was in accordance with his instructions. This kind of response reduced the Scots to laughter as they recalled Aesop's story of a trickster and a certain pompous boaster who said:

When the mountains were in labour, out came a silly little mouse.

- 40 Nonetheless the governor waited with his men past midday with his banners unfurled for the English army to come out. Because it made no further sound or appearance of carrying out the Earl Marshal's pledge, the Scots plundered all around the district to which they had come, and after laying waste and burning the fairest manors, they
- 45 hurried home unharmed.

## 54

*The envoys of the kings of France and England sent to the king of Scotland to obtain a truce*

- In the same year a truce for three years between the French and English was arranged at Boulogne-sur-Mer, which embraced the kingdom of Scotland if it was wanted. To have this formally settled two French knights were sent on an embassy to hear Richard king of England have an oath sworn for keeping the truce. Once this had been done, the king of England sent his own embassy with them, namely Sir Nicholas Dagworth with another knight, to discover the king of Scotland's wishes on this matter. They found the king and his magnates at Dunfermline. There both pairs of envoys first of all went to Sir Archibald earl of Douglas, asking him to persuade the king to agree to the truce and to be willing to adopt the same. He courteously sent them to the governor, who said that the whole business rested in the king's hands. When therefore they came into the king's presence, and they argued the case for the good that would come from peace at length and with skilful choice of words, the king took advice and replied that he was willing to agree to this truce just out of regard for his ally the king of France and at his request. The envoys therefore were highly delighted with the king's satisfactory reply and his agreement to observe the truce. He was generous in bidding them farewell, and they made haste to return home.

And so the kingdom of Scotland was at peace and great tranquility

1389:  
[18 June]

[6 July]

festinancia ad propria redierunt. Et sic regno Scocie pacato et in magna tranquillitate constituto, rex pacificus filius pacis Robertus secundus subita infirmitate preventus, apud castrum suum de Dundonald finem vite sortitus est, et in Scona regaliter tumulatus.<sup>c</sup> Obiit autem xiii kal' maii anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc xc<sup>o</sup>, et regnavit annis xix et xxiii diebus, cuius anima requiescat cum eterno rege. Reliquit enim Scociam in maxima libertate et pace opulenta, ita quod nichil in manibus Anglorum proprietatis Scocie ab aqua Twede remansit, tribus castris exceptis videlicet Berwik, Jedwod et Roxburgh. Vixit autem annis lxxiiii, senior<sup>d</sup> fuit rege David avunculo suo septem annis. <De quo metra:

Anno milleno tricenteno nonageno  
obiit Robertus secundus robore fertus.  
Annis vicens regnavit hic minus uno;  
I bis x quartos etatis fecerat annos.  
Ceteris prelatus in Scona fit tumulatus.  
Apud Dundonald mortem subiit naturalem.  
Tridecimo maii kalendas occubuit rex.>

G ii, 416

Isto eodem anno dominus Alexander Stewart comes Buchanie filius regis combussit cathedralem ecclesiam Moravie de Elgine, decus tunc totius patrie. Et notandum est quod predictus rex Robertus de domina Elizabeth filia<sup>e</sup> <domini Adam> Mure genuit tres filios, scilicet Johannem qui postea fuit rex, et Robertum ducem Albanie, ac premissum Alexandrum comitem Buchanie qui vulgariter dicebatur 'Lupus de Badynach'. Dehinc desponsavit dominam Eufemiam filiam Hugonis comitis Ross', de qua genuit Walterum comitem Adolie<sup>f</sup> dominum de Brechyne,<sup>g</sup> et David comitem de Stratherne. Sed mortua regina Eufemia, desponsavit premissam dominam Elizabeth, et sic virtute supervenientis matrimonii<sup>h</sup> secundarum nupciarum legettimati sunt dicti fratres Johannes scilicet Robertus et Alexander, quia secundum canones matrimonium sequens legettimat filios natos ante matrimonium, ut capitulo primo et capitulo 'Tanta est qui filii ante legitimi'. Isto anno prodicionaliter interfectus est ab Anglicis nobilis Willelmus de Douglas miles de Nythdisdale super pontem de Daunskin in Sprusa, qui tunc ammiraldus electus fuit ducentarum et xli<sup>a</sup> navium ad oppugnandum paganos, qui eo tunc pre ceteris ad mensam honoris magistri de Spruza<sup>i</sup> ab herellis<sup>j</sup> preconizatus est. Dominus de Clyfford, invidens probitatibus eius, mercede conduxit Anglicos ad delendum memoriam eius de terra.<sup>k</sup> Ob hoc quod propter

c + pridie ann del.C

d junior C,D; om.CA

e + Rankin del.C

f + et del.C

g + qui postea fuit tractus suspensus et sectus ut infra dicitur CA

h -mo- interlin.C

i + et preconibus del.C

j ob precellentem probitatem for ab herellis CA

k Fomitem prestitit occasionis huius inventata invidia dominum de Clifford Anglici ipsius probitati invidentis qui propterea, ut dicitur, mercede conduxit Angligenas ad delendum de terra memoriam eius for Dominus ... terra CA

had been established when King Robert II the peacemaker, the son of peace, was struck by sudden illness, and ended his life at his castle of Dundonald. He was buried in royal fashion at Scone. He died on 19 April 1390, after a reign of nineteen years and twenty-three days. May his soul rest with the Eternal King! For he left Scotland enjoying a very high degree of liberty, peace and prosperity, so much so that no Scottish property north of the river Tweed remained in English hands except three castles, namely Berwick, Jedburgh and Roxburgh. He lived to the age of seventy-four, and was older than his uncle King David by seven years. This verse concerns him:

In 1390  
Robert II died after losing his strength.  
He reigned for twenty years less one;  
and lived to the age of seventy-four.  
Exalted over others he was buried at Scone.  
He paid his debt to nature at Dundonald.  
The king died on 19 April.

In that same year Sir Alexander Stewart, earl of Buchan and a son of the said king, burned the cathedral church of Moray at Elgin, which was then an ornament to the whole country. It is noteworthy that the said King Robert fathered three sons by the Lady Elizabeth daughter of Sir Adam More, namely John who was later king, and Robert duke of Albany, and the said Alexander earl of Buchan, who was commonly called 'The Wolf of Badenoch'. Later he married the Lady Euphemia daughter of Hugh earl of Ross, by whom he fathered Walter earl of Athol and lord of Brechin, and David earl of Strathearn. But on the death of Queen Euphemia he married the said Lady Elizabeth, and so by virtue of subsequent marriage, a second marriage ceremony, the said brothers John, Robert and Alexander were legitimated, for according to canon law a subsequent marriage legitimates sons born before the marriage (see chapter [6], the paragraph 'Tanta est', [in] 'Qui filii [sint] legitimi').

In that year the noble William de Douglas knight of Nithsdale was treacherously killed by Englishmen on the bridge at Danzig in Prussia. He had been chosen as admiral in charge of 240 ships to fight the pagans, and at that time had been advanced to the table of honour of the Master of Prussia by proclamation of the heralds as superior to all others. The lord of Clifford envied his prowess, and hired some Englishmen at a price to expunge his memory from the earth. On this account, because as a result of animosity which had arisen between them on some occasion or other, Clifford challenged Sir William to a duel, and once the day for defending himself had been fixed, the said Sir William in the interval crossed over to France to arrange for more reliable arms for himself. When he heard this, Clifford thought that the said Sir William was stealing away as he did not dare appear at the

1390:  
19 Apr.

[17 June]

[1391:  
summer]



similitudines inter eos nescio qua occasione exortas,<sup>l</sup> Clifford appellavit ipsum dominum Willelmum de duello, et die de se defendendo constituto, interim dictus dominus Willelmus transtulit se ad Franciam<sup>m</sup> ad securiora arma sibi componenda. Quo audito, Clifford<sup>n</sup> credidit dictum dominum Willelmum subterfugere ut ad terminum belli constitutum in loco non auderet comparere, et propterea<sup>o</sup> Clifford ipsum scandalizavit. Quod comperiens Douglas, conductum peciit et optinuit et ad locum et terminum statutos comparuit. Sed et<sup>p</sup> Clifford excusacionibus clamidatus, ob ingentem fortitudinem Douglas<sup>r</sup> comparere recusavit. Et abhinc recessit in Spruza <dictus dominus Willelmus>, et ibidem ab Anglis circumventus<sup>s</sup> in multitudine<sup>t</sup> extinctus est. Ob cuius mortem illud sanctum passagium interceptum est.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><i>l</i> ab ante conceptas for nescio ... exortas<br/>CA<br/><i>m</i> Parisius for ad Franciam CA<br/><i>n</i> satis CA; + se del.C<br/><i>o</i> + scandalose del.C; improbe in margin as substitute C; not in D; in text CA.R</p> | <p><i>p</i> Sed et interlin. over quibus del.C<br/><i>q</i> + timorosos CA<br/><i>r</i> a satellitibus Clifford Anglicis circumseptus for ab Anglis circumventus CA<br/><i>s</i> + prodicionaliter CA</p> |
|---|---|

55

*Epistola comminatoria Turcorum missa pape*

Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>mo</sup> lxi epistola extitit Turcorum missa domino pape, insinuans devastacionem Alexandrie civitatis et aliarum multarum insularum per Venetos ipsorum dominio subditarum, quarum caput fuit Petrus rex Cipri. Cuius tenor sequitur:

Morbassanus Hyelem Hyessem Confrabus Colabius Juzevahy<sup>5</sup>th imperatores collaterales pugiles in partibus Achaye domino magno sacerdati Romanorum iuxta merita dileccionem. Nuper auribus nostris innotuit quod vos, ad preces et postulaciones populi Venetorum, in basilicis [vestr-]is<sup>a</sup> publice facitis divulgari<sup>b</sup> quod quicumque arma sumpserit contra nos et nostros suorum in [hoc]<sup>c</sup> seculo<sup>10</sup> peccatorum remissionem | accipiet. Quod oculata fide concepimus per adventum quorundam [pedi-]tum<sup>d</sup> crucifixorum qui nuper in Venetorum navigiis transfretarunt. Propter quod | vehementer cogimur admirari, quia, dato quod a Summo Tonante vobis esset data potestas absolvendi vel ligandi, tamen ad hoc nullatenus procedere deberetis, maxime Italicos crucis caractere insignitos super nos inducere, cum latens amor nos incitet ad dileccionem ipsorum, quia ipsi et ipsorum magnates a Trojanorum sanguine processerunt, quorum autores

*a* D; lac.C

*b* CA; dimulgari corrected from demulgari C; dimulgari D

[agreed] place at the time arranged for the fight, and for this reason Clifford [wrongly] slandered him. When Douglas found out about this, he sought and obtained a safe-conduct, and appeared at the place and time arranged. But Clifford was cloaked with excuses, and [cravenly] refused to appear on account of Douglas's immense strength. The said Sir William then returned to Prussia, where he was surrounded by a crowd of Englishmen and [treacherously] killed. Because of his death that crusade was halted.

55

*A threatening letter sent by the Turks to the pope*

In 1366 a letter sent by the Turks to the lord pope appeared, announcing the sack of Alexandria and of many other islands which had been subjected by the Venetians to their rule, whose principal head was Peter king of Cyprus. This is its text: [1365]

Morbassanus, Hyelem, Hyessem, Confrabus, Colabius and Juzevahy<sup>5</sup>th joint rulers and commanders in the region of Achaea [send] their regards to the lord high priest of the Romans according as he has deserved it. It has recently been brought to our attention that in response to requests and demands from the Venetians, you are having it publicised in your major churches that whoever takes up arms against us and ours will receive remission of their sins in this world. We have learned about this from what we have seen on the arrival of some crusading foot-soldiers who have recently made the passage in Venetian ships. On this account we have no choice but to wonder, for, given that you have been given the power of binding and loosing by the Supreme Thunderer, nevertheless you ought not to have proceeded to this point, especially by coaxing Italians marked with the sign of the cross against us, when we are moved by secret love to have regard for them. This is because they and their leaders are descended from the blood of the Trojans, whose forefathers Antenor and Aeneas we well know to have been born of the blood of great Priam. And according to [1344]

veraciter scimus Anthenorem et Eneam de magni Priami sanguine  
 fuisse progenitos. Et secundum promissiones quas a diis nostris nostri  
 habuisse noscuntur, Troiam magnam in partibus Asiae intendimus  
 restaurare, ulciscique sanguinem Hectoris et Ilionis ruinam nobis  
 omnia Graecorum imperia subjugando, et deae nostrae Fortune furtum  
 punire in transgressorum heredes. Idcirco prudentiam vestram attente  
 requirimus et rogamus quatenus epigramatibus vestris per terras Italiae  
 missis ad instantiam supradicti populi Venetorum imponatis silen-  
 cium, non provocantes amplius contra nos sub pietatis specie populum  
 Christianum, cum nullam guerram preter credulitatis differentiam  
 habeamus; et, prout audivimus, neminem potestatis invite ad creduli-  
 tatem compellere. Cum enim nichil nobis referat si Christum vestrum  
 colatis, quia et nos ipsum fuisse verum reputamus prophetam, loca  
 vestra, ubi sanctuaria vestra sunt, per nos minime possidentur, ymmo  
 per populos Iudeorum quos semper exosos habuimus et habemus.  
 Quia prout inronicis et antiquis historiis audivimus, ipsi proditorie  
 per invidiam eundem Christum vestrum et prophetam tradiderunt  
 Jerosolimis presidi Romanorum, quem in crucis patibulo mori fecit; et  
 populus noster Turcorum innocens fuit mortis et injuriae Christi vestri.  
 Si autem lis vel discordia aliqua orta est inter nos et populum  
 Venetorum, hoc accidit quia ipsi nullo iustitiae muniti colore, neque sub  
 Caesaris nomine vel alicuius monarche cui ex lege antiqua temporalia  
 sunt concessa, sed sua temeritate et superbia quasdam marinas insulas  
 et alia, quae sunt (ut supradiximus) nostro repromissa imperio, a nobis  
 tyrannice subjugarunt. Quod tollerare non possumus, cum factorum  
 tempus nostrae repromissionis instet. Idcirco admirari compellimur,  
 cum predictus Venetorum populus sit alienus a vita et moribus  
 Romanorum, quia nec se suis vivunt legibus nec iuribus contuntur,<sup>d</sup> sed  
 se solos existimant omnibus circa se jacentibus populis meliores;  
 quorum vesanam superbiam cum dei Summi Jovis auxilio deducemus  
 ad terram. Propter quod et alia potestis et debetis merito desistere ab  
 inceptis. Alioquin si ab inceptis vestra prudentia non desistat,  
 curabimus, sumpto domini Argani auxilio et aliorum orientalium  
 regum et principum, qui simulant hodie se dormire, quorum muniti  
 praesidio trahemus a finibus acies copiosas. Per quas non solum contra  
 vos et vestros predictos cruciferos resistemus, sed etiam contra  
 Romanorum agmina et Gallicanam miliciam ambitione circumflatam  
 volumus pertransire. Sed et septemtrionalem plagam, praesertim  
 Tohorchiam et Dalma-[ciam],<sup>e</sup> proponimus visitare. Datum anno  
 Magni Machometi septingentesimo cum mirabili modo Calden juxta leges  
 Ermoricas.<sup>f g</sup>

c corrected from injurii C  
 d C,D,R,E - from contueor?; continentur  
 Hearne,G  
 e D; lac.C

f Emoricas CA  
 g about one-quarter page now blank, with no  
 indication of end of Book XIV C

the promises which our people are known to have received from our  
 gods, we plan to restore great Troy in the region of Asia, and to avenge  
 the blood of Hector and the downfall of Ilione by subjecting all of the  
 states of the Greeks to us, and to punish the theft of our goddess  
 Fortuna in the persons of the heirs of those who did wrong. Therefore  
 we carefully ask and request your worship to cancel the effect of the  
 writings which you have sent throughout the lands of Italy at the  
 instance of the said people of Venice, and not summon Christian  
 people against us any more under the guise of piety, since there is no  
 quarrel between us except the difference of belief; and, as we  
 understand it, you cannot force belief on anyone against his will. For  
 since it is of no consequence to us if you worship your Christ (because  
 we also consider him to have been a true prophet), we lay no claim to  
 the places which you regard as your shrines; nor do the Jewish people,  
 whom we have always regarded as hateful and shall so regard in future,  
 because (as we have learned from chronicles and old histories) they  
 treacherously out of spite handed over your same Christ the prophet to  
 the Roman governor at Jerusalem, who had him executed on a cross  
 for a gibbet; and our Turkish people were innocent of injury to your  
 Christ and his death. But if some kind of dispute or disagreement has  
 arisen between us and the people of Venice, this comes about because,  
 without the defence of any pretext of legal right, neither in the name of  
 Caesar nor of any other monarch to whom ancient temporal rights had  
 been legally conveyed, but out of bold pride they in the manner of  
 tyrants have held in subjection away from us certain islands in the sea  
 and other places which (as we have said above) had been promised for  
 us to rule. This we cannot tolerate, since the fated time promised to us is  
 at hand. Therefore we are forced to wonder, since the said Venetian  
 people are alien to the life and manners of the Romans, because they  
 neither live under their laws nor observe their legal rights, but think  
 that they alone are better than all the peoples who live around them.  
 Their unreasonable pride we shall topple to the ground with the help of  
 the god Supreme Jupiter. For these and other reasons you can and  
 should have good cause to leave off what you have been doing.  
 Otherwise if your worship does not do this, we shall see to it, after  
 obtaining the help of the lord Orhan and other kings and princes in the  
 East, who today pretend to be asleep. Furnished with their help, we  
 shall attract ample fighting troops from their territories, by means of  
 which we shall not only resist you and your aforesaid crusaders, but  
 also we aim to move on against the army of the Romans and the  
 Frankish force, assailed as it is by ambition. Also we intend to visit the  
 region to the North, especially Thrace [?] and Dalmatia. Dated in the  
 seven hundredth year of Mohammed the Great in the wonderful  
 Chaldean fashion, according to the 'Ermorican laws'.

[Copia bulle Gregorii xi]<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei ad futuram rei memoriam. Pastoralis officii debitum, cui disponente Domino presidemus, exposcit ut ad ea per que ecclesiarum ac personarum ecclesiasticarum statui salubriter consulatur, sollicitis studiis quantum possumus intendamus. Nuper siquidem relacione fidedigna percepimus quod olim nonnulli reges Scocie pretextu cuiusdam, ut asserebant, consuetudinis (que dicenda erat potius corruptela) omnia res ac bona mobilia que episcopi dicti regni<sup>c</sup> existentes tempore sui obitus optinebant seu possidebant, eisdem episcopis decedentibus de facto recipientes ac usurpantes sibimetipsis ac appropriare temere presumebant. Et quod licet olim clare memorie David rex Scocie, dum ageret in humanis, pie considerans quod huiusmodi consuetudo abusiva et detestabilis existeret, eam aboleri decrevisset, ac illam penitus revocasset et substulisset, ac mandasset illam decetero nullatenus observari. Ac postmodum karissimus filius noster Robertus rex Scocie illustris predicti David successor huiusmodi revocationem et mandatum approbasset et confirmasset, tamen nonnulli eiusdem regis officiales et alii, quandoque pretextu dicte consuetudinis et nomine dicti Roberti regis, quorundam ipsorum et prelatorum in dicto regno decedencium bona rapere et camere dicti regis vel aliis usibus appropriare presumpserunt actenus et presumunt. Nos igitur attendentes quod nostra interest super hiis de remedio oportuno providere, ac volentes huiusmodi presumptuos ausibus, quantum cum Deo possumus, salubriter obviare, presencium tenore districcius inhibemus omnibus et singulis personis in dicto regno consistentibus, ne pretextu predictae detestande consuetudinis ymmo verius corruptele aliqua bona cuiuscumque episcopi vel prelati in predicto regno decedentis recipere vel quoquomodo usurpare presumant. Nos omnes et singulos qui de cetero contra huiusmodi inhibitionem nostram bona aliquorum episcoporum vel prelatorum dicti regni deinceps decedencium rapere vel usurpare presumpserint, eciam si huiusmodi presumptores regali vel quavis alia prefulgeant dignitate, sententiam excommunicationis incurrere decernimus eo ipso. A qua nullatenus preterquam in mortis articulo possunt absolvi, nisi prius bona per eos sic recepta vel usurpata contra inhibitionem<sup>d</sup> huiusmodi illis quibus de iure debentur integre restituerint cum effectu. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre inhibitionis et constitutionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem c<sup>e</sup>. Datum Avinione xiiii kal<sup>a</sup> aprilis pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

<sup>a</sup> D; no rubric in C  
<sup>b</sup> initial G om.C

<sup>c</sup> + tempore del.C  
<sup>d</sup> corrected from prohibicionem C

## Gregory XI's letter

Gregory, bishop and servant of the servants of God, [writes] in confirmation for the future. The obligations of the pastoral office over which at God's command we preside demand that we direct our efforts as best we can with careful zeal to the means whereby attention is advantageously given to the condition of churches and the clergy. We have recently become aware from a trustworthy report that in former times some of the kings of Scotland, on the pretext (so they say) of a certain custom (which ought rather be called a corrupt practice) have been rashly presuming *de facto* on the death of bishops to seize, acquire and appropriate to themselves all the possessions and moveable goods which the same bishops of the said kingdom in office held or possessed when they died. And although at one time David king of Scotland of famous memory while he was alive dutifully took the view that a custom of this kind was a detestable abuse, and ordered it to be abolished, entirely revoked and withdrawn, and ordered that it was to be in no way observed in future, and although afterwards our dearest son the illustrious Robert king of Scotland, the said David's successor, has approved and confirmed this revocation and order, nevertheless some officials of the same king and others, at some time or other on the pretext of the said custom and in the name of the said King Robert, have presumed up to now and still presume to seize the goods of some of these prelates in the said kingdom at their deaths and to appropriate them for the said king's treasury or other uses.

We therefore regard it as expedient for us to provide a suitable remedy for this situation, and desire to move with good effect against presumptuous initiatives of this kind as far as we can with God's help. Therefore the message of this letter is that we strictly inhibit all and sundry persons living in the said kingdom from presuming on the strength of the said detestable custom (or rather corrupt practice) to seize or in any way acquire any goods belonging to any bishop or prelate who dies in the said kingdom. We decree that all and sundry who in future in defiance of this inhibition of ours dare to seize or acquire the goods of any bishops or prelates of the said kingdom who die from now on, even if those who presume to do so are illustrious with the status of a royal or other dignity, such persons incur by this act a sentence of excommunication. There can be no absolution from this sentence (except at the approach of death) unless they first make complete actual restoration of the goods thus seized or acquired by them in defiance of this inhibition to those to whom they lawfully belong. Therefore let no man anywhere dare to infringe or oppose this written inhibition and decree of ours. If anyone does, etc. Dated at Avignon, 20 March in the fifth year of our pontificate.

1375:  
20 Mar.

56a

*[Copia lit-]ere<sup>a</sup> regis David*

G ii,390

[David]<sup>b</sup> Dei gracia [rex]<sup>b</sup> Scotorum. Notum [facimus]<sup>b</sup> universis quod  
 li-[cet]<sup>b</sup> ex consuetudine [ab]<sup>b</sup> antiquis introducta [tem-]poribus<sup>b</sup> et  
 continuata usque ad presens, per nos et predecessores nostros extiterit  
 tamquam pro privilegio speciali servatum, quod bona quecumque  
 mobilia episcoporum regni nostri tempore mortis ipsorum regiis sic  
 applicata sint usibus, quod ab ipsis episcopis in suis testamentis [con-  
 ]dendis<sup>b</sup> super bonis [dis-]ponendis<sup>b</sup> huiusmodi [omnino]<sup>b</sup> fuerit acte-  
 nus adempta facultas. Quia tamen tam per cleri nostri quam aliorum de  
 nostro consilio prudentiam sumus veris et lucidis rationibus informati  
 quod consuetudo huiusmodi cessit actenus et in posterum cedere  
 manifeste dinoscitur in indecenciam honestatis ecclesie et in obpro-  
 brium status cleri, nos ob reverenciam Divine Nominis et ad  
 instanciam prelatorum super hoc nobis instanter supplicancium, et de  
 consensu et assensu Roberti Senescalli Scocie nepotis nostri et  
 liberorum suorum, necnon aliorum baronum et procerum ac trium  
 communitatum regni nostri in pleno nostro parlamento tento apud  
 Perth, per nobis nostrisque heredibus et successoribus de gracia nostra  
 speciali concedimus et presencium literarum serie confirmamus, quod  
 omnes et singuli episcopi regni nostri tam posterius quam presentes de  
 quibuscumque mobilibus tempore mortis sue sua testamenta condere  
 valeant et pro sua voluntate disponere sine aliquo objectu contradic-  
 tione vel impedimento, dicta consuetudine sive usu longevi temporis in  
 contrarium non obstantibus, terris tamen redditibus dominiis et  
 serviciis quibuscumque ipsorum episcopatum cum pertinentiis nec-  
 non iuribus patronatum ecclesiarum que ad regaliā nostram  
 pertinere consueverant et adhuc pertinent sede vacante, et omnibus et  
 singulis aliis preter expressa superius, juri regio voluntatique et  
 disposicioni nostre heredum ac successorum nostrorum in omnibus et  
 per omnia reservatis. Et si contingat aliquem episcoporum regni nostri  
 aliquo umquam tempore, quod absit, ab intestato decedere, volumus et  
 tenore presencium concedimus pro nobis et nostris heredibus et  
 succesoribus in perpetuum quod amici propinquiore dictorum  
 episcoporum de universis bonis mobilibus absque quocumque impedi-  
 mento per nos aut ministros nostros faciendo disponant pro suo libito  
 voluntatis, prout pro salute animarum ipsorum episcoporum melius  
 viderint expedire. Et propter prefatum gratiam ipsis episcopis presenti-  
 bus et futuris concessam, ipsi et eorum singuli ac successores eorundem  
 pro nobis in vita nostra et post mortem pro anima nostra et anima  
 recolende memorie domini patris nostri necnon pro salubri statu

<sup>a</sup> D; lac.C<sup>b</sup> D; lac.C

56a

*Copy of King David's letter*

David by the grace of God king of Scots. We make it known to all that  
 whereas by a custom introduced a long time ago and continued until  
 now, whereby we and our predecessors have enjoyed by a special  
 privilege the observance of a practice whereby any moveable goods  
 belonging to bishops of our kingdom when they died have been made  
 over for royal use in such a way that permission for these bishops to  
 dispose of their goods by drawing up their testaments has up till now  
 been entirely withheld, nevertheless because through the good sense of  
 both our clergy and others of our council we have been informed with  
 true and clear explanations that a custom of this kind has hitherto  
 resulted, and it is recognized that in future it evidently will result, in an  
 unseemly reputation for the church and scandal for the standing of the  
 clergy, we have made a grant with reverence for the Divine Name and  
 following the earnest requests of the prelates on this matter, and with  
 the consent and assent of our nephew Robert the Steward of Scotland  
 and his children, and also of other barons and magnates and the three  
 communities of our kingdom in our full parliament held at Perth. [We  
 have so acted] for ourselves and our heirs and successors as a special act  
 of our grace, and we confirm by the contents of the present letter that  
 all and sundry bishops of our kingdom, both in the future and at  
 present, may draw up their testaments regarding whatever moveable  
 property they hold when they die, and dispose of it as they wish without  
 any opposition, objection or hindrance, notwithstanding the said  
 custom or age-long usage to the contrary. We reserve, however,  
 whatever lands, rents, demesnes and services of these bishoprics with  
 their appurtenances and rights of church patronage which have  
 customarily belonged to our regalian right (as they still belong) when a  
 see is vacant, and all and sundry other matters besides those specified  
 above which belong to the royal right and are at the will and disposition  
 of us, our heirs and successors in and by everything.

If it comes about (God forbid!) that any of the bishops of our  
 kingdom ever dies intestate at any time, we desire and in the contents of  
 this letter grant for ourselves and our heirs and successors in perpetuity  
 that the close friends of the said bishops may dispose of all their  
 moveable goods as they please without any kind of hindrance created  
 by us or our officials, in so far as they consider it expedient for the  
 salvation of the souls of these bishops. And in recognition of the said  
 act of grace granted to these bishops present and future, they (each of  
 them and their successors) will arrange for the appointment on a  
 regular basis of one perpetual chaplain in each cathedral church to  
 celebrate a special mass in perpetuity for us during our lifetime and for  
 our soul after death, and for the soul of the well-remembered lord our

[July 1368  
× Jan. 1369]

cuiuslibet heredum et successorum nostrorum dum vixerint et animabus 40  
 eorundem cum ab hac luce migraverint, in cathedralibus ecclesiis  
 continue unum capellatum perpetuum in qualibet cathedrali ecclesia  
 constituendum unam missam facient in perpetuum specialiter cele-  
 brari, preter missas et alia oracionum suffragia ad quas et que nobis 45  
 antecessoribus | et successoribus nostris ex debito iam tenentur. In  
 cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras ad perpetuam rei memoriam  
 duraturas sigilli nostri autentici fecimus appensione muniri. Testibus  
 Roberto Senescallo comite de Stratherne nepote nostro supradicto,  
 Johanne Senescallo comite de Carr-[ik filio]<sup>b</sup> suo primogenito et  
 herede, Thoma comite de Mar, Georgio de Dunbar comite de Marche, 50  
 Willelmo comite de Dowglas [c']<sup>b</sup>

G ii, 391

father, and also for the healthy state of each of our heirs and successors  
 when alive and for their souls when they have departed from this life.  
 45 This mass is to be in addition to the masses and other offerings of  
 prayers in respect of which they already have a bounden duty to us, our  
 predecessors and successors. In witness of this matter we have had this  
 letter of ours strengthened by the attachment of our authentic seal so  
 that it will last for a perpetual memorial of the matter. Witnesses:  
 50 Robert Steward earl of Strathearn and our nephew as aforesaid; John  
 Steward earl of Carrick his eldest son and heir; Thomas earl of Fife;  
 George de Dunbar earl of March; William earl of Douglas.



## Notes

### Chapter 1 pp.253-5

In cc. 1-3 of this Book Bower deals with the campaign leading to and including the battle of Durham or Neville's Cross of 17 October 1346, following for the most part the same source used in *Wyntoun*, dealing with the same details in the same order, though with substantial variants; in this chapter ll.1-33 are paralleled in *Wyntoun*, vi, 168-77; source of ll.33-59 is unknown, but clearly Bower did not make use of the similar material in MSS FB and FD (*Fordun*, 367-8, n.15). See *Pluscarden* (292-3) for a similar account, and *Extracta* (178) for a shortened account.

1. *king of France*: Philip VI (1328-50).

1-2. *wrote to King David*: this was in June 1346 and again in July (J.Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War in the fourteenth century', in J.Hale and others, *Europe in the Late Middle Ages* [London, 1965], 184-216, especially 195) i.e. before the siege of Calais, dép. Pas-de-Calais, France was begun by King Edward III on 4 September 1346 (McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 135); cf. comment in *Wyntoun*, i, 123, l.6053 n.

3-4. *he would lay siege*: i.e. besiege the besiegers (cf. *Wyntoun*, vi, 168-9).

6. *agreeing to this request*: Bower has no parallel to the lengthy reflections on David's motivation at this time which are found in *Wyntoun* (vi, 170-3).

8. *came together*: the date of this muster is given as 6 October 1346 in *Lanercost* (344); for different full accounts of the campaign and battle that followed compiled soon after the event see *ibid.*, 344-52, and two letters – one was drafted for sending by the prior and convent of Durham to their bishop, who was currently with King Edward III in France (*Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, ed. J.Raine [RS, 61], 387-9), and another was sent to some friends by Thomas Samson, a canon of York who died in 1349 (printed in *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Chroniques*, v [Brussels, 1868], 489-92; for Samson see A.B.Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D.1500*, iii [Oxford, 1959], 1636). The fullest modern account is by R.White, 'The battle of Neville's Cross', in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, new series, i (1857), 271-303; for a shorter account with a map of the whole expedition see J.Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, vol.i, *Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), 550-4. Thanks are due to Professor M.C.Prestwich and Dr D.J.Butler for help with the bibliography of this campaign and with identifying its progress on the ground. See also below c.2, ll.38-39 note.

10. *earl of Ross*: for Earl William see above XIII c.44, ll.2, 35; by omitting 'et' (text l.10) *Pluscarden* (292) has the earl staying at Elcho rather than Reginald.

11. *Reginald of the Isles*: son of Ruari (or Roderick) Macruarie of the Isles, and his successor as lord of Garmoran INV (A.A.M. Duncan and A.L. Brown, 'Argyll and the Isles in the earlier Middle Ages', *PSAS*, xc [1959], 192-220, especially 197 (table), 204-5; cf. *RRS*, v, 67-68, and Barrow, *Bruce*, 290-1); he had been granted land in Kintail ROS by the earl in July 1342, with a general confirmation of his lands from the king in June 1343 (*RRS*, vi, nos. 485, 73).
12. *Elcho*: a house of Cistercian nuns near Rhynd, south-east of Perth (*MRHS*, 146-7).
18. *king would not agree*: *Wyntoun* (vi, 174-5) has a more elaborate discussion of the considerations which the king rejected when deciding to press on.
20. *castle of Liddel*: a small castle or peel on the site now known as Liddel Strength CMB near the confluence of the Liddel and Esk rivers, which was then owned by the Wake family (*Chronicon Baker*, 86; R. Donaldson-Hudson, 'Liddel Strength in Cumberland', *Berwickshire Hist.*, xxxvii [1965-7], 50-53), rather than the de Soules major castle of Liddel near Newcastleton ROX (cf. *RCAHM [Rox]*, i, 85, no. 64); the army moved on to Lanercost and Naworth CMB and Redpath NTB on its way to Hexham NTB (*Lanercost*, 346; see below c.2, 1.4).
- 20-21. *Walter de Selby*: a NTB landholder who was an adherent of King Robert in 1318, and of Edward Balliol by 1335; served as keeper of Bothwell castle LAN for the English 1337; was executed by the Scots after surrendering the peel of Liddel to them (*CDS*, iii, nos. 610, 1670, and ad indicem; *Rot.Scot.*, i, 488; *Lanercost*, 345-6; *Chronicon Baker*, 86-88).
- 22-27. *The noble ... afresh*: it is reported in an English source (Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum* [RS, 93], 202) that Douglas and the earl of Moray had besieged this Liddel castle earlier in the year, but had returned home without capturing it after a bitter quarrel between the two men involving deaths and woundings among their followers; this has been interpreted to mean that this siege was conducted in the interests of Douglas as lord of Liddesdale, with the implication that he now suggested retreat because these interests had been served (Campbell, [ut cit. above 1.1], 202); but the two men were to serve together as commanders at the battle of Neville's Cross (see below, c.3, ll.14-15).
- 28-29. *You are ... fight*: this theme of jealousy of Douglas is found also in *Wyntoun* (vi, 176-7).
- 33-51. *The truth ... flight*: for an account of this English expedition to France see McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 133-5, or in more detail A.H. Burne, *The Crecy War* (London, 1955), cc.6-7.
- 34-35. *Edward his ... Cornwall*: the Black Prince, born 1330, duke of Cornwall from 1337, prince of Wales from 1342 (*HBC*, 39, 456).
40. *Caen*: dép. Calvados, France.
- 45-46. *king of Bohemia*: John count of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia by right of his wife from 1310; now old and blind (*CMH*, vii, 161-2).
- king of Majorca*: James II or III (1324-49); in 1346 he was an exile from his island kingdom; if he was at Crecy, he was not killed there, for this happened

in 1349 when he was trying to win his kingdom back (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1736).

48. *Crecy*: near Abbeville, dép. Somme; this battle was fought on 26 August 1346.

52-59. ... *York*: the source for this passage added in the margin of MS C is unknown; there was not time for troops to come from the south of England to Durham after news of the Scottish invasion became available there; in fact the archbishop of York organized the defending army with forces assembled in the north of England (*Lanercost*, 347); Bower (or his source) is playing the Scottish apologist here.

## Chapter 2 pp.255-9

Only short passages in this chapter can be traced to the same source used in *Wyntoun* (vi, 176-9), namely ll.1-7 ('armed'), 18-22 ('When ... Durham'), 32-34 ('Meanwhile ... Ogle'), but with differences of detail between the two existing texts; the rest of the chapter includes some information derived from the Scottish side of the battle and also some from the English side. See *Pluscarden* (293) for a re-written version of this chapter omitting the facts about the English manoeuvres; see also *Extracta* (178-9).

4. *Hexham*: an Augustinian priory in the Tyne valley NTB (*MRHEW*, 140); cf. above XI c.27, 1.47; see *Lanercost* (346) for the three-day stay of the Scots there.

7. *Advancing therefore*: in *Lanercost* (346) the route is said to have been through Ebchester DRH (but see next note).

8. *Ryton*: cf. below c.4, 1.37; this place cannot be Ritton NTB north-west of Morpeth; it was probably Ryton DRH on the south bank of the river Tyne, though it is not on the direct route from Hexham to Ebchester.

*St Cuthbert*: the patron saint of Durham (see above IV c.18, ll.41-58; XI c.30, 1.43n.).

18. *combined ... together*: see above c.1, text 1.52, textual note u.

20. *fortnight*: this timing is found also in *Wyntoun* (vi, 176-7); but it cannot be literally correct if the muster at Perth was on 6 October and the battle at Durham as fought on 17 October; furthermore, if there was a three-day stay at Hexham as part of the story, the timing is very tight.

25. *Bearpark*: three miles north-west of Durham city; it was apparently an enclosed area (see below ll.29-31).

32-34. *archbishop ... Ogle*: this list appears also in *Wyntoun* (vi, 178-9), except that Bower adds the name of John de Mowbray; *Lanercost* (347-8) mentions also Henry de Scrope of Masham YON (*CP*, xi, 561-3; *DNB*, li, 138-9); cf. list of twelve leaders who on 20 October 1345 received the thanks of the regent in London for their part in the battle (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 675).

32. *archbishop of York*: William la Zouche, archbishop 1342-52 (A.B. Em-

den, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, ii [Oxford, 1958], 1115-16; *DNB*, lxiii, 420-3).

*Henry de Percy*: Lord Percy 1314-52 (*CP*, x, 459-62; *DNB*, xlv, 393-5).

**32-33.** *John de Mowbray*: Lord Mowbray 1322-61 (*CP*, ix, 380-3; *DNB*, xxxix, 219-21).

**33.** *Ralph de Neville*: Lord Neville 1331-67 (*CP*, ix, 499-501; *DNB*, xl, 271-3).

*lord of Ferrers*: William de Ferrers succeeded his father Henry (see above XIII c.24, ll.4-5) as Lord Ferrers in 1343, but was still a minor in 1346 (*CP*, v, 348); this name must be an error – *Lanercost* does not include it.

*lord of Rokeby*: Thomas de Rokeby (see above XIII c.37, l.19; cf. XIII c.45, ll.19-22); succeeded 1318; died 1356 (*DNB*, xlix, 152-3).

**34.** *lord of Lucy*: Thomas de Lucy, Lord Lucy 1343-65 (*CP*, viii, 252-3; *CDS*, iii, ad indicem).

*lord of Coupland*: John de Coupland (see above XIII c.40, l.19; below c.3, l.31).

*lord of Ogle*: Robert de Ogle (see above XIII c.48, l.29); *Wyntoun* omits this name.

**36.** *park of Auckland*: now Bishop Auckland DRH (not named in *Wyntoun*); it lies 8-9 miles from Bearpark; for details of the English advance there by 16 October see *Lanercost* (347-8).

**38-39.** *decided at daybreak to join battle*: for reconstructions of the battle that followed see Samson, 'Letter'; R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (London, 1816-40), i, xlix-lii; iv, 133-4; White, 'Battle'; and A.H. Burne, 'The battle of Neville's Cross', in *Durham University Journal*, xli, new series, x (1948-49), 100-6, with map of the battle site.

**40-53.** *So ... there*: this account of moves on the English side overlaps with the account of moves on the Scottish side mentioned below c.3, ll.3-12. The English moved north-east from Auckland two miles to Merrington, then two miles further to Ferryhill, and then three miles north to Sunderland Bridge over the river Wear; the way was then open north-west to Bearpark four miles away.

**46-47.** *before [the Scots] could realise where they were*: *Lanercost* (348) mentions thick fog while the Scots were plundering Merrington.

**57.** *Neville's Cross*: the site of this free-standing cross is now in the western suburbs of Durham city; Mrs Linda Drury advises that it was much older than the battle; it marked the junction or crossing of two Roman roads; it was also one of a ring of crosses round the city, of which the sites of Charley's Cross and Philipson's Cross are also known; they may have marked the boundary of sanctuary around the shrine of St Cuthbert in the cathedral, or were at places associated with pilgrimages to that shrine. Neville's Cross is mentioned by name in 1323 in two property deeds (Durham, Dean and Chapter Archives, Miscellaneous Charters 1976-7 [reference from Mrs Drury]); the Neville family had been landholders at Brancepath some four miles away from 1174 onwards, and it was presumably one of that family who had been responsible in some way for the erection or repair of this cross; it took on a new significance after the battle, for Ralph de Neville, one of the leaders on the English side (see above l.33,) was believed in 1593 to have

rebuilt this cross in honour of the English victory (*Rites of Durham*, ed. J. Raine [Surtees Society, 15], 23); for an illustration of what it may have then looked like see Surtees, *Durham*, ut cit., iv, 133-4; it has long disappeared, but there is a modern substitute on a different site nearby.

Though the English army may well have formed up near this cross, the battle itself must have covered an extensive area; Samson ('Letter', 489) writes just of the battle of Durham; the prior and convent in their letter (see above c.1, l.8n.) describe the battle-site as stretching between the city of Durham and Findon Hill to the north of Bearpark; one modern authority (White, 'Battle', 278-9) argues for the area a little to the north of the cross called Red Hills; Dr D.J. Butler advises that the main fight was probably rather further north on Crossgate Moor.

### Chapter 3 pp.259-61

Continuing the story of the battle of Durham, Bower for the most part follows the same source as *Wyntoun* i.e. in ll.1-34 (vi, 178-85) and ll.49-62 (vi, 184-7), though in the latter case the lists of names are shorter in *Wyntoun* and in a different order; for ll.49-62 Bower turns also to the lists of the captured and the killed in *Fordun* (367, annal 165), making additions from some unknown source; Bower adds to his original text in MS C a typical comment at ll.47-49 ('Note ... Cuthbert'), and then in margin of that MS adds ll.35-42 relating to some later period in King David's life. *Pluscarden* (293-4) follows Bower with only a few minor changes, but omitting the Graham incident; *Extracta* (179-80) has a full account.

**3-12.** *In the morning ... hands*: this covers the same period as in c.2, ll.40-53 above, but now the story is told from the Scottish side; it has been argued that this episode must belong to the day before (White, 'Battle', 277, n.33).

**7.** *Ferryhill*: cf. *Lanercost* (348), where Douglas is said to have been raiding at Merrington; the two places are two miles apart, some six miles south of Durham city.

**11** *Sunderland*: i.e. the bridge across the river Wear three miles south of Durham city.

**13-17.** *They were ... third*: the king had an experienced team of commanders with him; *Wyntoun* omits Dunbar; *Lanercost* (349-50) omits Douglas; for him and Moray see above c.1, ll.22-27 note. Samson ('Letter', 492) has a different allocation of commanders.

**17-18.** *Sir John Graham*: styled earl of Menteith by right of his wife Mary the heiress, who had succeeded to the earldom on the death of her uncle Murdoch at Dupplin Moor in 1332 (*SP*, vi, 137-8; cf. above XIII c.23, ll.12-13).

**31.** *John Coupland*: see above c.2, l.34; though he is known to have had David in his custody at Wark-on-Tweed NTB for a time after the battle, it has been suggested that he was not in fact the king's captor (and *Lanercost* makes no mention of it), but rather that 'the story of Coupland's desperate

struggle and capture has the appearance of being an afterthought' (J.E. Morris in *TRHS*, 3rd series, viii [1914], 101-2; we are grateful to Professor A.A.M. Duncan for this reference). But his services as David's captor were officially rewarded in January 1347 (*CDS*, iii, no.1478; see also White, 'Battle', 291, 293-5); he lived until October 1361 × summer 1363 (*Knighon's Chronicle*, 187; cf. 73).

34. *seriously wounded by two arrows*: this information is not included in *Wyntoun*; the contemporary report by the prior and convent of Durham (see above c.1, l.8n., p.388) mentions only one arrow ('cum sagitta in facie graviter vulneratus'); but Bower's mention of two arrows is supported in Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum* (RS, 93), 219.

35. *The tip ... skill*: one arrow was extracted by two barber-doctors from York while David was being kept at Bamburgh castle NTB (Morris, ut cit., 102); this was before his transfer to the Tower of London in January 1347 (*CDS*, iii, no.1474). The king still had a metal fragment in his head in 1365, when the chronicler Froissart (from Hainault, now in Belgium) visited the Scottish court and reported that it caused the king to have recurrent headaches at the time of the new moon (*Chroniques de J. Froissart*, iv, 1346-56 [SHF, 1873], p.xi).

36-42. *until ... possessions*: there is a tradition (source unknown) that David's devotion to St Monan arose from a vow made when threatened with shipwreck while sailing across the Firth of Forth to Ardrross near this saint's shrine at Inverey at the mouth of the stream now called the St Monance Burn (J. Turnbull, 'The parish church of S. Monans', *TAES*, vol.III, tenth year 1895 [Aberdeen, 1897], 180-201, especially 185-6); Monan was an obscure early saint associated with St Adrian of the Isle of May FIF (*Wyntoun*, iv, 179; A. Boyle, 'Notes on Scottish saints', *Innes Review*, xxxii [1981], 66); David's supposed vow is certainly backed up by the provision between 1362 and 1370 of substantial funds from the crown revenues for the building of the church by the shore which still stands (*ER*, ii, cvi-cvii); the fortuitous rejection of the troublesome piece of metal from the king's body would have happened during a visit by him in 1365 or later, and presumably before 3 April 1370 when he provided an endowment for two chaplains to serve this chapel in Kilconquhar parish (*RMS*, i, no.304; ii, no.1047; cf. Cowan, *Parishes*, 178).

45-46. *Earl Patrick*: i.e. the earl of Dunbar.

47-49. *Note ... Cuthbert*: added by Bower to the material found also in *Wyntoun* and *Fordun* in harmony with the story of St Cuthbert's warning to David in a dream (see above c.2, ll.8-10).

49-62. *Four earls ... thousand men*: for different and longer lists of the captured and killed see Samson, 'Letter', 490-1; *Chronicon Baker*, 88-89, 265; *Knighon's Chronicle*, 71-73 *Rot.Scot.*, i, 678.

51. *earl of Fife*: Earl Duncan 1288-1353 (*SP*, iv, 11-12; see above XIII c.2, l.3); sentenced to death in London, but reprieved as a kinsman of the English king (*CDS*, iii, nos.1486-7).

*earl of Sutherland*: Earl William 1333-1370 × 1371 (*SP*, viii, 325-9; his name is not included in *Fordun's* list.

*earl of Wigtown*: Earl Malcolm (see above XIII c.50, l.37).

*earl of Menteith*: Earl John (see above ll.17-18); the English executed him for treason.

53-54. *Walter de Haliburton*: succeeded his father as lord of that Ilk in 1337; remained a prisoner until 1357; lived until after July 1388 (*SP*, iv, 332-3; ix, 102; *CDS*, iii, ad indicem).

55. *John Randolph*: earl of Moray 1332-46 (see above XIII c.48, l.23).

56. *earl of Strathearn*: Maurice Moray, created earl June 1344 (*SP*, viii, 255-7).

*constable of Scotland*: Sir David de Hay of Erroll, in office from before 17 June 1341 (*SP*, iii, 560-1; *RRS*, vi, ad indicem).

57. *marischal of Scotland*: Sir Robert de Keith, in office by 1294 (*SP*, vi, 30-33; *RRS*, vi, ad indicem; see above XIII c.2, ll.11-12).

*chamberlain of Scotland*: John Roxburgh, in office since June 1342 × January 1343 (*HBC*, 185; *ER*, i, and *RRS*, vi, ad indices).

57-60. *chancellor ... Scot*: these names are added by Bower to the lists in *Wyntoun* and *Fordun*.

57-58. *chancellor of Scotland*: Sir Thomas Charteris, in office before 13 April 1340 (*HBC*, 181; *RRS*, vi, and *ER*, i, ad indices; *CDS*, iii, nos.1379, 1386).

58. *David ... Lindsay*: his father was lord of Crawford LAN and the Byres ELO (*SP*, iii, 10-11).

58-59. *Roger Cameron*: perhaps R. Cameron of Baledgarno PER (west of Dundee), who is found 1337 × 1347 (*RRS*, vi, no.422); cf. John Cameron in 1320 (above XIII c.2, l.17).

59. *Gilbert de Inchmartine*: presumably the landholder at Inchmartine PER (near Baledgarno); for John de Inchmartine, sheriff of Perth in 1320 and later see above XIII c.2, ll.3-18 note, and *RRS*, vi, ad indicem; *ER*, i, 102).

*William Fraser*: see above XIII c.46, l.3.

59-60. *Andrew Buttergask*: landholder at Buttergask near Burrelton PER, and occurs as sheriff of Perth 1334 × (*RRS*, vi, no.295); witness of crown acts 4 July 1342 and 31 January 1343 (*ibid.*, nos.54, 489); clerk of the king's wardrobe 1341-2 and auditor of crown accounts July 1343 (*ER*, i, 481, 504, 515).

60. *John de Boneville*: occurs as witness of crown acts June 1341 to January 1342 (*RRS*, vi, nos.27, 32, 41, 42); perhaps same as the knight of this name who held lands in ABD 1321-7 (*RRS*, v, nos.174, 204, 328), who received a royal gift 1328-9 (*ER*, i, 210), and accounted as sheriff of Aberdeen in 1337 (*ibid.*, p.clxxxi).

*Michael Scot*: found as son and heir of Duncan Scot of Balwearie near Kirkcaldy FIF, 1 February 1327 (*RRS*, v, no.315).

62. *one thousand men*: this figure appears also in *Wyntoun* (vi, 184-5).

## Chapter 4 pp.261-5

Bower introduces here two chapters of his own reflections on the defeat at Neville's Cross, and on the implications of excommunication; there is

nothing similar in *Wyntoun* (except at the end of c.5), or *Pluscarden*; the author of *Extracta* (180-1) is struck by the aptness of these reflections in the light of the disaster at Flodden in 1513 in his own day, and quotes the verses at ll.32-35 here (see also c.5 introduction).

1-7. ... *astray*: see above c.1, ll.1-33, and c.2, ll.1-3.

7-28. *I would liken him ... numbers*: the story here does not refer to Artaxerxes I, who ruled Persia in the late 5c and early 4c B.C. (*OCD*, 126), but rather to Xerxes I, king of Persia 486-465 B.C., who invaded Greece disastrously in 480, having in his company a refugee ex-king of Sparta called Demaratus (*ibid.*, 1144, 324); the two men are reported by Herodotus (*History*, bk. VII, cc.101-5 [ed. and trans. C.E. Robinson and others (Oxford, 1922), 53-56]) to have had a conversation at length about the prospects of the expedition, during which Demaratus warned the king about over-confidence, though not in the terms of the story here. Bower's source is rather the version of this story in Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, VI, c.31 (Loeb edn, 426-9); though quotations from the same passage in Seneca are found in Helinand of Froidmont (bk.16, c.10 in Vatican MS Reg. Lat. 535, p.418) and in *Vincent* (IV cc.37-38), the substance of Bower's summary here is not found in either of these books and appears to have been taken from Seneca direct. (Dr E.L. Saak has helpfully advised on this matter.)

9-19. *One of his household ... seeking to dissuade their king*: since the four pieces of advice offered here to Xerxes should be interpreted as flattery, it is odd that at the end the advisers are said to be trying to dissuade him from his expedition ('confutarent' [text l.16]); some of this flattering and encouraging advice does not seem to be all that different from the discouraging advice later given by Demaratus; but the large size of Xerxes' forces which the flatterers see as a sign of his omnipotent power is seen by Demaratus as a real tactical disadvantage.

29-30. *An example ... Solomon*: 3 Kings 12:1-17 (*Vulgate*); 1 Kings 12:1-17 (*NEB*).

32-35. ... *advice*: R.J. Lyall (in *Bryght Lanternes*, ed. J.D. McClure and M.R.G. Spiller [Aberdeen, 1989], 37) comments: 'It is impossible to tell whether we are dealing with a popular tag, a verse specifically written for the context, or a quotation from a longer work of political advice.' Cf. below c.30, ll.93-104 note.

36-37. *inspiration of the blessed Cuthbert*: see above c.2, ll.8-10.

39-40. *church lands of the same St Cuthbert*: i.e. the lands of the church of Durham (see also c.2, ll.19-20, 56-57).

47-62. ... *permission*: St Odo was abbot of Cluny in France 879-942 (*ODCC*, 991-2); this extract has not been found in his writings in PL, 133.

49. *Theodosius*: probably Theodosius I, Roman emperor 379-95 (*ODCC*, 1361).

as the *Tripartite History* mentions: apparently just a general reference to *Cassiodori-Epiphani Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, ed. W. Jacob and R. Hanslik (CSEL, 1952), where Book IX, pp.491-579 covers the reign of Theodosius I without any mention of this tale.

62-78. *I would wish ... contempt*: Bower adds his thoughts about how excommunication should be regarded in his own day.

80-90. ... *absolved*: *Vincent* XXX c.79; the words '[££££££] rescriptit ... dimitteret' (text ll.69-70) have been added by Bower.

## Chapter 5 pp.267-9

At ll.1-62 Bower continues his reflections on ecclesiastical discipline; none of this is in *Wyntoun* or *Pluscarden*, though *Extracta* (180-1) includes the verses at ll.34-50 and 61-62; then Bower resumes chronicle items at ll.63-71 and 71-74; the first of these passages is drawn from the same source used by *Wyntoun* (vi, 186-7); cf. *Fordun* (367, end of annal 165), which mentions only the castles of Roxburgh and Hermitage; *Extracta* (181) follows Bower; the source of ll.71-74 is unknown.

1-3. ... *doctrine*: drawn from 2 Timothy 3:2.

4-5. *they like Cain ... through them*: cf. Genesis 4.

6. *one king or emperor*: i.e. above c.4, ll.48-62.

8-27. *We read .. penance*: source not identified.

28. *Innocent IV*: pope 1243-54; his pronouncement on excommunication was made at the First Council of Lyons in 1245, canon 19 (Alberigo, *Decreta*, 291; see also *Sext*, 5.11.1 [Friedberg, ii, 1093]).

31. *Luke the doctor*: i.e. Luke the Evangelist (*ODCC*, 844).

32. *on St Luke's day*: in fact on the eve of St Luke's day, i.e. 17 October (see above c.2, ll.38-39; and below ll.41-42).

34-50. ... *comment*: these lines are part of the 'prophecies' of John of Bridlington written ca 1361 with an explanatory commentary by John of Ergholme (*Political Poems and Songs* [RS, 14], i, 156-8; cf. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii, 59; see below XV c.12, ll.78-83, and c.36, ll.57-68; Bower's variants are not all mentioned here; the translation and notes follow Ergholme's notes on the intended meaning of the text.

36. *knife*: i.e. the arrow which wounded him before his capture.

37. *Zouche ... Percy*: this is how Ergholme explains 'Suspicans' (correctly 'Suspitor') and 'penetrans' (text l.32).

39. *narrow blade*: the original text has 'Angusta' (agreeing with 'spata') for 'Angusti' (text l.34). Bower's word here cannot be translated.

41. *David*: the original text has 'Daemone' i.e. 'the Devil' for 'Davide' (text l.36) here.

43. *new cross*: i.e. Neville's Cross marking where they have been deprived of life; in the original text it is the town that is 'new', not the cross (cf. above c.2, l.57).

47. *silent*: i.e. not proclaiming the divine law or gospel as they should (Ergholme).

49-50. *And ... comment*: meaning not clear in Ergholme's notes.

51-56. ... *good*: see above III c.51, ll.42-45; V c.30, ll.1-29. Cuthbert was in fact Anglo-Saxon by birth (*ODS*, 104).



61-62. ... *nasty death*: perhaps these lines are by Bower himself; they certainly echo his point of view about the day-to-day influence of saints on men's lives.

63. *after the battle*: i.e. Neville's Cross; Bower is now continuing his story from the end of c.3 above.

64. *Roxburgh castle* ROX.

*lord of Percy*: see above c.2, l.32.

65. *Eustace Lorane*: a Scot who was an adherent of Edward III at Berwick in December 1333 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 260), and was being compensated for the loss of his Scottish lands as recently as 20 May 1343 (*CDS*, iii, no.1410).

66. *Hermitage castle*: near Newcastleton ROX (see above IX c.61, l.31).

67. *the Borders*: perhaps 'Mercia' (text l.56) means more narrowly the Merse i.e. Berwickshire.

70. *the Borders*: again this time 'Marchias' (text l.58) may mean the Merse. *Cockburnspath* BWK: on the east coast.

*Soutra*: on the pass through the Lammermuir Hills south of Edinburgh.

*illegally*: the implication of this word is uncertain; it presumably implies a disapproving judgment by Bower or his source.

71. *Carlops* PEB: near the Pentland Hills south of Edinburgh.

*Crosscayne* PEB: south of Biggar LAN.

*John Kennedy*: probably the lord of Dunure AYR (*SP*, ii, 444-7; cf. *RRS*, vi, ad indicem).

72. *Alan Stewart*: perhaps a landholder in the Rhinns of Galloway WIG and in Ayrshire (*RMS*, i, app.ii, no.936; cf. *SP*, v, 344-5, and *RRS*, v, no.59).

73. *the Galwegians ... the Scots*: i.e. a reference to the activities of the supporters in Galloway of Edward de Balliol (see below c.6, ll.1-6).

## Chapter 6 p.271

For most of this chapter Bower follows the same source used in *Wyntoun*, vi, 186-97, though with some omissions and one possible reference to *Fordun* noted below; then he added the two literary references at ll.28-33 to end the chapter. *Pluscarden* has nothing from this chapter; *Extracta* (181-2) has a shortened account based on MS CA.

2. '*Brintile*' [*Hestan Isle*]: the identification of this place with a supposed 'Bruntland' in Glasserton parish near Whithorn WIG (*Wyntoun*, i, 124) is misleading; the name may be a form of 'Burnt Isle'; the place is otherwise called 'Esteholm' (*Anonimale Chronicle*, 29), now called Hestan Island in Auchencairn Bay KCB, on which by 1342 Balliol had a manor house or peel (C.A.Ralegh Radford, 'Balliol's manor house on Hestan Island', *TDGAS*, third series, xxxv [1958], 33-37).

2-3. *invaded Lothian*: this expedition set out from Carlisle CMB on 13 May 1347 (*Anonimale Chronicle*, 28); see *Fordun*, 367, annal 165, last sentence.

3. *lord of Percy*: see above c.5, l.64.

4. *Falkirk* STL.

5. *Cunninghame*: i.e. Ayrshire north of the river Irvine. *Wyntoun* (vi, 188-9) mentions also the town of Ayr.

*Nithsdale* DMF.

7. *Steward ... re-elected guardian*: cf. above XIII c.42, ll.34-35. Bower is like *Wyntoun* in associating this appointment with the need to resist Balliol's expedition; both ignore *Fordun*'s account (368, annal 166), which links the appointment more with the aftermath of the battle of Neville's Cross, and in one MS (MS FD) states that the Steward was guardian for four [sic] years 1347-50. Bower is deliberately abandoning *Fordun*'s text here. The Steward's official title this time was 'king's lieutenant' rather than 'guardian' (e.g. *RRS*, vi, no.112), which is thought to imply a limitation on his authority in the king's absence as a prisoner in England (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 149).

9-10. *entrusted ... Lindsay*: Bower omits the statement in *Wyntoun* (vi, 188-91) that the Steward first appointed William de Moray as keeper of Edinburgh castle, and then appointed Lindsay after Moray's death (cf. above XIII c.50, ll.42-44). For David de Lindsay see *SP*, iii, 10-11; his sister Beatrix was the mother of William first earl of Douglas (see below).

11-14. *William de Douglas ... earl of Douglas*: the second and only surviving son of Archibald de Douglas (*SP*, iii, 142, 148). *Wyntoun* (vi, 192-7) has more details about his return to Scotland, including the date 1348 which Bower omits, but not including the false statement added here by Bower in MS CA that Douglas returned to Scotland after the battle of Poitiers in 1356. This William was to be created earl of Douglas in 1358 (*SP*, iii, 150).

12. *Archibald the Tyneman*: see above XIII c.24, l.50; c.26, ll.47-48.

12-13. *heroic James*: see above XIII c.20.

15. *Douglasdale* LAN: Bower omits *Wyntoun*'s mention (vi, 192-5) that he also succeeded Lindsay as keeper of Edinburgh castle.

17. *Forest of Ettrick* SLK: see definition of the Douglas family lands in 1342 (*RRS*, vi, no.51).

19. *John de Coupland*: see above c.3, l.31; he was ordered on 2 Apr. 1347 to demit office as keeper of Roxburgh castle and sheriff of Roxburgh (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 693), but is found holding both offices again by 4 July 1348 (*ibid.*, 718), and was indentured as keeper of Roxburgh castle for the year Nov.1349-Nov.1350 (*CDS*, iii, no.1546). *Wyntoun* (vi, 194-7) has a fuller story about this rivalry of Douglas and Coupland.

22. *his iniquity ... astray*: cf. Psalms 26:12 (*Vulgate*); 27:12 (*NEB*).

29-32. ... *peace*: Augustine, *Letters* (Loeb edn), 328-30, no.42 [189], para.6. The Boniface in question was a governor of the Roman province of Africa, who was living at Hippo when Augustine died there in 430.

33. ... *war*: Walther, *Proverbia*, no. 29,404a; cf. Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* (Teubner edn), 65, l.9, bk. III, introduction.

# Chapter 7

## pp.273-5

Most of this chapter is derived with minor changes from three passages in *Fordun* (368-9) – ll.1-15 from annal 167, ll.44-53 from annal 168, and ll.54-61 from annal 169; Bower did not include the extra material (369, n.17) derived from the Fordun MSS FB and FD. Bower intersperses ll.15-20 derived from St Andrews cathedral tradition, ll.23-29 with some moralizing verses to which he referred in another part of his work also (see below), but which are not known elsewhere, and ll.30-43 taken from Vincent of Beauvais and again used already above VII c.9, ll.16-28. *Pluscarden* (295) touches only briefly on the Black Death (with differently expressed advice about the advantages of devotion to St Sebastian) and the death of Matilda Bruce; *Extracta* (182) includes the three main items taken from *Fordun*, though in different order.

**1-15.** ... *serpent*: Bower clearly prefers Fordun's account of the Black Death to that included by Wyntoun (vi, 196-7) under the year 1349. Fordun himself must have been alive and presumably an adult at this dramatic time.

**1.** 1349: Bower here is correcting the date 1350 found in most of the Fordun MSS.

**16-18.** *twenty-four ... priests*: figures for the size of the Augustinian community at St Andrews over the years are rare. It has been thought that twenty-four was at this time about two-thirds of the total (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 149); and about 200 years later the canons were perhaps forty in number (M.Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* [Edinburgh, 1995], 49). It is Bower who goes on to describe what he believed to have been their character and reputation, an estimate that does not sit well with his following assertion that the plague was occasioned by the sins of mankind. Cf. above VI c.52, where there is no mention of this plague at St Andrews.

**23-29.** ... *lands*: the first line had already been quoted in a similar context (above VII c.17, l.19); see Walther, *Initia*, no.14,837, which cites this passage as the only known text of these lines.

**30-43.** ... *abated*: see above VII c.9, ll.16-28 and notes. The reference to Rome here is awkwardly carried over from *Vincent* (cf. *ibid.* l.16).

**31.** *St Kilian*: an Irishman who died a martyr at Würzburg in Germany ca 689 (*ODS*, 251-2); it is Bower, not Vincent, who mentions him here as setting the context for the story that follows; both are writing about the same period defined in different ways.

**44.** 1350: Bower here rejects Fordun's date 1351; the proper date is uncertain, since the phrase 'nocte Carnisprivii' (text ll.41-42) is ambiguous. Probably the night between Shrove Tuesday and Ash Wednesday is meant i.e. 1-2 March 1350/1 (or possibly 9-10 February 1349/50).

*Sir David de Barclay*: see above XIII c.49, l.82.

**46.** *John de St Michael*: perhaps the man of this name who held lands in Glenesk ANG (*RRS*, vi, no.241).

**47.** *William de Douglas*: i.e. the lord of Liddesdale, who had been a prisoner in England since the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 (see above c.3, l.53); is

thought to have remained a prisoner until late 1350 (A.A.M.Duncan in *SHR*, lxvii, 121; but see *CDS*, iii, nos. 1562, 1565).

**48.** *his brother John de Douglas*: cf. *SP*, vi, 342-3.

**48-49.** *and ... Dalkeith*: Bower has added this phrase to Fordun's text; in fact this James de Douglas had died sometime before April 1323 (*ibid.*, 338-9); a consequence of this amendment to Fordun's text was that the 'quem' (text l.45) had to be qualified by the insertion of 'Johannem' to make it clear who was murdered at this time.

**50.** *Forgewood*: near Motherwell LAN. Bower supplies this place-name as a marginal addition to his MS C.

**54-61.** ... *Stirling*: this repeats information already included above XII c.23, ll.231-3, but with additions from *Fordun* about the date of death (20 July 1353) and the places of death and burial.

**57.** *Thomas Isaac*: see *ER*, i and ii ad indices.

**58.** *John of Lorn*: the leading member of the MacDougall family, who had opposed Robert I and supported Edward de Balliol, but then came to be reconciled with David II and married the king's niece; see *RMS*, i, no.237; *RRS*, vi, no.165; cf. *PSAS*, xc (1959), 204 (with family tree at p.197).

# Chapter 8

## pp.275-9

Bower takes the story of the murder of William de Douglas of Liddesdale (ll.1-11) from *Fordun* (370, annal 170) with alterations and additions; there follows (ll.12-25) a passage of moral reflection by Bower himself; then ll.26-71 cover the abbatial succession at Dunfermline abbey FIF, a complex story which Bower would have learned from the monks of Dunfermline (neighbours to Inchcolm) of his own day. *Pluscarden* (295) has just one sentence on the Liddesdale murder; *Extracta* (182) covers the Dunfermline story as well; there is nothing parallel in *Wyntoun*.

**1-11.** ... *between them*: both Fordun and Bower write favourably of Douglas of Liddesdale, Bower adding 'an energetic ... Scots' (ll.2-4), together with the shocking information that a godfather was killed by his godson (ll.5-7). In fact Liddesdale had in July 1352 won his freedom from captivity in England by allying with Edward III (*SP*, vi, 341), so that Bower's praise of him here is misplaced. His conduct was 'not only dubious but treasonable' (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 159).

**5.** *'Galurod'*: Bower inserted this placename in the margin of MS C; it has been identified as 'Galsewood, now Williamhope' in Cadonfoot parish SLK (*SP*, vi, 341), but the authority for this has not been traced (cf. *OPS*, i, 278-9).

**6.** *William de Douglas*: see above c.6, ll.11-18.

**9.** *Alexander de Ramsay*: for his death see above XIII c.49, ll.1-26; c.50, ll.14-16.

**10.** *David de Barclay*: see above c.7, ll.44-50.

11 *them*: Bower omits the statement in the Fordun MSS that Liddesdale was buried at Melrose abbey (a fact which is confirmed in *Melrose Liber*, ii, 463, no.490). He also shows no knowledge of the additional material regarding the Douglas family found only in MSS FB and FD (*Fordun*, 370, n.12). See discussion of this Fordun passage by David Sellar, 'Courtesy, battle and the brieve of right, 1368', in *Miscellany Two* (Stair Society, 1984), 1-12.

23-25. ... *animal*: Seneca, *De Clementia* (Teubner edn), 240, ll.23-25, bk.I, c.25, para.1.

26. *Alexander Ber*: in *Extracta* (182) his surname appears as 'Ker'; but in the Bower MSS the name is clearly 'Ber'. He had held office as abbot since ca 1328-9, since he must have died during 1350 or early 1351, and not in 1353 as stated here (see below).

27-28. *visiting ... indulgence*: i.e. on pilgrimage to Rome itself (rather than the Roman curia, which was then at Avignon) to earn the special indulgence granted on papal authority to visitors to Rome during the Holy Year 1350 (cf. *ODCC*, 661).

28. *died*: in 1350 or early 1351 i.e. some time before the promotion of Stramiglaw as his successor at Avignon on 22 July 1351 (see below).

29. *San Stefano*: near Cremona on the Lombard plain, North Italy.

33. *John Black*: not otherwise known; the terrar was the monk holding one of the obediences or offices of the Benedictine monastery in charge of the landed estates.

35. *the lord king*: David II was then a prisoner in England. Dunfermline had had royal patronage from its foundation (*MRHS*, 58).

35-36. *their diocesan bishop*: i.e. William de Laundells (see above VI c.44-45).

37. *ruled the house*: the Abbot John who occurs on 27 November 1351 (*Paisley Registrum*, 140-4) was probably Black rather than his successor with the same first name.

40. *John de Stramiglaw*: for his biography see Watt, *Graduates*, 519-20, s.v. 'Stramiglot'.

41. *general reservation*: a reference to one of the categories of circumstance in which the 14c popes at Avignon reserved classes of ecclesiastical benefice for appointment by themselves (under the practice known as papal provisions) rather than by the normal local appointing authority.

43-44. *lest ... foreigner*: one of the possible consequences of this exercise of papal power, though not as yet in the mid-14c a common matter of concern in Scotland.

45. *appointment*: Stramiglaw's bulls of appointment are dated 22 June 1351 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 297-8, no.197).

50. *when the papal appointee entered*: Stramiglaw was probably still at the papal curia until after 19 December 1351, but was back in Scotland before January 1354 (Watt, *Graduates*, 520). Bower tells this story of Black's graceful acceptance of superior papal authority over the Scottish church without criticism. In the 1350s it was still exceptional for a Scottish monastic

head to be appointed in this way. In Bower's own day it was common for rival appointees to engage in litigation over their respective rights, and for a loser to be compensated with a pension at the expense of the winner.

62. *Urquhart*: a Benedictine priory near Elgin MOR, which had been a dependency of Dunfermline since the 12c (*MRHS*, 61).

62-63. *paid the papal chamber*: an abbot appointed by papal provision had to pay a services tax to the papal finance office. Stramiglaw is known to have promised to pay a total of 250 florins for his services on 4 July 1351 (H.Hoberg, *Taxae pro Communibus Servitiis* [Vatican, 1949], 216), which is the first such recorded promise to pay made by an abbot of Dunfermline; and he certainly made some payments later (Watt, *Graduates*, 520). Bower is noting this payment again because it was novel.

65-71. ... *whatsoever*: Bower (as the interested superior of a neighbouring religious house) is emphasizing the highly unusual circumstances of Stramiglaw's appointment; this definition of the normal right of election probably dates from the mid-14c, for by Bower's time it had become usual for abbots of Dunfermline to have to obtain papal provision to their office, whether or not they also enjoyed local election and confirmation.

## Chapter 9 pp.279-81

This chapter follows *Fordun* (370-2) with only minor embellishments – ll.1-22 from annal 171, and ll.23-57 (except ll.45-49) from annal 172. Bower knew also the source behind the version in *Wyntoun*, vi, 198-9 and 206-9 (see below), but his text is clearly from *Fordun*. See *Pluscarden* (295-6) and *Extracta* (183); in the latter case, in connection with the acceptance of French gold (l.17 here), the author includes a proverb not found elsewhere: 'Pro denario Gallico amittunt Scoti suam libram.'

2. *Eugene de Garencières*: had visited Scotland before in the 1330s (*ER*, i, 451, 453, 454); he was commissioned to go to Scotland by King John of France (1350-64) on 5 March 1355 (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 160).

5-6. *namely ... moutons*: Bower adds this information to Fordun's account, presumably from the same source used by Wyntoun; in Garencières' commission the sum is expressed as '40,000 deniers d'or à l'escu'.

12. *which ... Flanders*: it was handed over to an agent of 'the lords and barons of Scotland' on 15 September 1355 at Bruges (Campbell, [ut cit. above c.1, l.1], 200).

13-14. *who ... penny*: Bower copies this comment from *Fordun*.

20-21. *which ... needs*: added by Bower to Fordun's account.

21-22. *destruction ... England*: i.e. Edward III's expedition in February 1356 (see below cc.12-13).

23. *month of August*: this is Fordun's date; Sir Thomas Gray, who was present, says that this incident happened 21 days before the capture of

Berwick (see below c.10) i.e. about 8 October 1355 (*Wyntoun*, i, 125; see *Scalacronica*, 304).

*earl of March*: see above c.3, ll.45-46.

24. *William de Douglas*: see above c.6, ll.11-12; c.8, ll.1-8). *Wyntoun* (vi, 206-7) states that Eugene de Garencières was with them too.

27. *William de Ramsay of Dalhousie*: identification uncertain; in most MSS of *Fordun* he is just 'dominus de Ramsay', with 'Willelmus' added in the two late MSS FB and FD; Bower omits 'dominus' and adds 'de Dalwolsi' (text l.23). The modern account of the family of Ramsay of Dalhousie is not satisfactory (*SP*, ix, 64-65; cf. iii, 89-90); cf. above XIII c.42, l.56 for a William Ramsay (probably of the Dalhousie family) killed in 1342 (not 1338); if Bower is correct in omitting the title 'dominus', the William here could be the younger brother of the Patrick de Ramsay who was lord of Dalhousie by 1353, and himself later the sheriff of Lothian in 1357 (cf. *SP*, ix, 64-65); in any case he is to be distinguished from the contemporary William de Ramsay of Colluthie, later earl of Fife (*CDS*, iii, and *RRS*, vi, ad indices).

28. *Norham NTB*: on south bank of river Tweed.

32. *Nisbet*: south of Duns BWK.

45-49. *except ... before*: Bower's source for this discreditable story is unknown.

52. *John de Haliburton*: presumably the man who forfeited to the English his lands of Lambden, south of Greenlaw BWK 1336-7 (*CDS*, iii, p.370); said to have been taken prisoner at Neville's Cross by Sir Thomas Gray (*Scalacronica*, p.xxx; cf. below l.46n). See above XIII c.32, l.50.

54. *James Turnbull*: a name added by Bower in margin of MS C; he would have found it in *Wyntoun*'s source; not identified.

55. *Thomas Gray with Thomas his son*: the father held lands of Heaton, Kyloe and Norham NTB (see family tree in *History of Northumberland*, xiv, 328; cf. *DNB*, xxiii, 21-22); described by *Wyntoun* (vi, 206-7) as captain of Norham castle NTB at the time of his capture; composed the *Scalacronica* while a prisoner in Edinburgh castle; 1355-7 (*Scalacronica*, xxvii-xxxii, especially xxx-xxxii; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii, 92-96); Bower rejects the source followed by *Wyntoun* (ut cit.) which named his son William and states that the father knighted this son before the battle; Gray himself mentions no son at this time (*Scalacronica*, 304); the family tree shows a son called John alive 1366/7, and states that the heir when the father died in 1369 was another Thomas, then aged just 10, so that Bower was probably following a mistaken source here.

56. *James Darres*: not identified

## Chapter 10 pp.281-3

The first part of this chapter (ll.1-22) is based on *Fordun* (372, annal 173), but with minor changes of wording and the addition of specific details regarding

the Cowgate and William Towers (ll.11-12), the son of Robert de Ogle (ll.14-15) and the Douglas Tower (l.22) taken from another source, which is the same as the one followed by *Wyntoun* (vi, 200-1); then for ll.23-37 ('it') Bower follows this other source (vi, 200-3), except for the one sentence at ll.31-32 which is again taken from *Fordun*, but this time added in the margin of MS C rather than in the main text. Bower's source for the last sentence (ll.37-38) is untraced. *Pluscarden* (296-7) has a shorter version; see also *Extracta* (183).

For other people involved in this loss of Berwick by the English see *CDS*, iv, nos.3, 21, and *Scalacronica*, 304.

1-22. ... *saved*: for a different account of the capture of Berwick see *Knighton's Chronicle*, 137.

1-2. *earl of Angus*: Thomas Stewart had succeeded his father as an infant in 1331 (see above XIII c.20, ll.80-81, 104-5); he appears to have spent his youth in France (*SP*, i, 169-70); styled earl by 22 August 1344 (*HBC*, 499), and found back in Scotland as a witness to royal and other charters from at least May 1351 onwards (*RRS*, vi, ad indicem; cf. A.A.M. Duncan in *SHR*, lxviii, 117 for dating).

6. *earl of March*: see above c.9, l.23.

11-12. *William Towers*: perhaps the knight mentioned by *Wyntoun* (vi, 106-7), but not by Bower, as taking part in the joust at Berwick in 1342 (cf. above XIII c.42). See also *RMS*, i, app.ii, ad indicem s.v. 'Touris', which suggests a possible identification with the Sir William Towers of Dalry MLO who was married in the 1360s to a sister of William de Douglas, the first earl (*SP*, iii, 142).

15. *Robert de Ogle*: see above XIII c.48, l.29, and XIV c.2, l.34.

22. *Douglas Tower*: a separate part of the castle's defences on the town side, connected with the main castle by draw-bridges (*HKW*, ii, 566 with plan); for repairs necessitated by damage done by the Scots on this occasion see *ibid.*, 567-8.

24. *Borderers*: *Wyntoun* has 'marchearis' i.e. Marchers, men of the English East March towards Scotland in Northumberland.

*John Coupland*: see above c.6, l.19.

33. *Eugene de Garencières*: see above c.9, l.2.

35-36. *Robert Steward*: see above c.6, l.7

## Chapter 11 pp.283-5

This account of a famous set-piece battle in Brittany in 1351, known as the Battle of the Thirty, in the course of the civil war between the Anglo-Bretons and the Franco-Bretons, is similar in outline to the account in *Wyntoun* (vi, 208-21; cf. i, 126); both authors share a common source, but Bower offers much less detail than *Wyntoun*; the account here is followed briefly in *Pluscarden* (297) and *Extracta* (183-4); *Fordun* does not mention this incident.

The version of this story thus circulated in Scotland differs substantially from that found in French sources, whether in a poem written in Brittany probably before 1355 (see edition and commentary in H.R. Bush, 'La Bataille de Trente Anglois et de Trente Bretons', *Modern Philology*, ix [1911-12], 511-44, and x [1912-13], 82-136), or in the chroniclers John le Bel (*Chroniques* [SHF], ii, 194-8, c.86) and Froissart (*Chroniques* [SHF], iv, xlv, 110-15, 338-41); in these accounts there is no mention of any captive English knight, but the challenge was issued by the Franco-Breton constable of Josselin castle against the Anglo-Breton constable of nearby Ploërmel; no source for the Wyntoun/Bower version of the story has been traced; it is likely to have been a French one, for English records are said to have no mention of this battle (Bush, 'La Bataille', ix, 513); but the source could well have been oral rather than written – this is a story which could have been brought back from France to Scotland by returning Scots; it is agreed that the fight took place near la Croix-Helléan in Brittany at a place now called la Pyramide mid-way between the two castles.

For the war in Brittany in general see M. Jones, 'The Breton Civil War', in *The Creation of Brittany* (London, 1988), c.8, pp.197-218; and for the battle itself Professor Jones advises that the most detailed and fairly reliable modern account is still that in A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, iii (Rennes, 1899), 510-29 (though it does not mention the account given here); cf. the brief account in Lavissee, *Histoire*, IV, i, 96.

There are a number of instances of this kind of combat in the Hundred Years' War (see references to four of them in Bush, 'La Bataille', ix, 513, n.3); cf. the similar battle in Scotland at Perth in 1396 between two sides of thirty each (below XV c.3).

1. *At that time*: the Breton civil war ran between 1341 and 1366 (Jones, ut cit., 197); Bower here moves back a little in his chronology to the winter of 1350-1.

4-5. *John Beaumanoir*: Wyntoun has this name more accurately (Bewmaner/Bewmanour) than Bower has here (text 1.4); for John lord of Beaumanoir in dép. Côtes du Nord see *DBF*, v, cols.1123-4; he was at this time constable of Josselin castle, dép. Morbihan, Brittany

5. *a certain conceited knight*: name not known.

21. *Normandy*: an error; the fight was in Brittany (see above).

21-22. *a day appointed*: 26 March 1351 (Jones, ut cit., 197).

24. *a certain Frenchman*: his name was William de Montauban (Bush, 'La Bataille', ix, 520).

34-35. *Nine of the English ... one of the French*: Froissart's account agrees on these figures.

39-41. *... pride*: Walther, *Proverbia*, nos.303, 8712, 9919, 11,056, 11,079 for many sources with variant forms of these lines.

## Chapter 12 pp.287-9

Most of this chapter is based on *Fordun* (373-4) – ll.1-16 from annal 174 (with several changes), ll.17-34 from annal 175, and ll.48-53 from first part of annal 176; Bower has added extra reflections on the weakness of Edward de Balliol's claim to the Scottish throne, first in the text (ll.34-47), and then in a long marginal addition in MS C (ll.54-72), with cross-references to other parts of his book. *Pluscarden* (297-8) covers ll.1-53 in shortened and altered form; *Extracta* (184) has just one paragraph without the passages of discussion; *Wyntoun* (vi, 202-7) has a much briefer account, and wrongly places Edward's expedition to Edinburgh before rather than after his stay at Roxburgh.

1. *aforsaid year on 1 February*: the story here continues from c.10 above into the period January-February 1355/6; Bower adds the specific day to Fordun's mention of the month only; both writers probably date the return of Berwick to English hands too late, for Edward was at Roxburgh receiving Balliol's resignation by 20 January 1356 (see below); the date 13 January 1356 is mentioned elsewhere for the handover of the town (Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriæ* [RS, 28, vii], 297).

5. *collected ... men*: added by Bower to Fordun's text; for this figure of 80,000 men he is following the same source used by Wyntoun (vi, 202-3).

6. *as ... parts*: Edward made a brief visit to France late October/early November to ca 18/21 November 1355 (*HBC*, 39).

15-16. *that ... there and more ... enriched*: two passages added by Bower to Fordun's text, so suggesting that the Scots withdrew advantageously, while Fordun had said that each man returned 'indemnes' i.e. 'unharméd'. *Pluscarden* (297) builds on Bower's text to say that these men returned home 'de bonis Anglorum locupleti' i.e. 'enriched with the wealth of the English'.

19. *Roxburgh ROX*.

20-33. *Edward de Balliol ... perpetuity*: Balliol resigned his right to the kingdom of Scotland in favour of Edward III by various stages evidenced by documents dated 20-27 January 1356, securing favourable financial terms for himself in return (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 787-9; *CDS*, iii, nos. 1591-1604); he was to live until January 1364 (E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, in *SHR*, xxxv, 82-83; cf. Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 161). His words of resignation were presumably carefully drafted, and Fordun may have found them in some official record kept in Scotland.

20-21. *like ... anger*: Wyntoun too (vi, 204-5) suggests that Balliol resigned his crown in anger, hoping that Edward III would avenge him against the Scots.

28-29. *offered ... crown*: this formality, as a sign of handing over the kingdom, is noted in the English records of the occasion (e.g. *Rot.Scot.*, i, 788). *Pluscarden* (297) suggests that a sceptre also was handed over.

29. *earth and stones*: the customary symbols used in a ceremony of legal investiture of landed property, the handing over of which marked the formal transfer of ownership; the ceremony would then be backed up by the drawing up of a document or documents as evidence of the transaction.



34. *beginning*: after 'habuit' (text l.29) Bower omits 'tunc in manus alterius resignavit' in *Fordun*, and adds at ll.33-47 his additional rather confused reflections, which in *Pluscarden* are substantially re-written with greater clarity.
37. *not valid*: *Pluscarden* adds here 'without the consent of the three estates' as a 15c interpolation.
38. *power of institution*: i.e. power to make a new appointment after receiving a resignation.
43. *Chapter [12]*: in fact this appears to be a reference to the act of Edward III himself (rather than his father) on 1 March 1328 (see above XIII c.12, ll.77-113).
- 44-45. *because ... superior, etc.*: apparently a reference to some familiar legal principle. This has not been firmly identified; but Professor Hector MacQueen advises that Bower could be thinking here of the general principle stated in *Regiam Majestatem* (Book II, c.63, [Stair Society edn, 172-3]) that no vassal can lawfully do anything tending to deprive his superior of his heritage. The point here may be that a king's superior is God, so that a purported resignation to the king of England is no more than an alienation without the proper consent of the relevant lord.
47. *Chapter [26]*: this seems to be a reference to the act of resignation by Edward de Balliol's father John on 10 July 1296 (above XI c.26).
48. *England*: Bower omits from *Fordun*'s text here the phrase 'suum consanguineum acclamans' i.e. 'hailing [Balliol] as his cousin'.
52. *Haddington* ELO.
- 54-72. *... Chapter [27]*: some of the genealogical material set out here in a late addition to the text of MS C is false, though the cross-references at the end to XI c.13 and IX c.42 (error for c.27) point to correct statements already in the main text; Bower was adding information which he knew to be contradictory; it is an example of his policy of letting his readers make up their own minds about conflicting evidence.
55. *mother was a bastard*: this assertion might conceivably, if wrongly, be believed about Edward de Balliol's grandmother Dervorguilla (see below), but not about his mother Isabel, daughter of John de Warenne earl of Surrey 1240-1304 (*SP*, i, 7).
- 56-57. *lord of Allerdale ... Gunnild*: Waltheof lord of Allerdale CMB did have two daughters, but neither was called Mariota, and it was Gunnild who married Uchtred of Galloway (*SP*, iii, 243-5; iv, 137).
- 59-60. *Gunnild ... Huntingdon*: Earl David (brother of King William I) in fact married Matilda daughter of Hugh earl of Chester 1162-81 (*CP*, iii, 167-9; vi, 647; *SP*, i, 4; see table in K.J.Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219* [Edinburgh, 1985], 180-1).
- 60-61. *John the Scot ... father*: not accurate; Earl David died in 1219; John earl of Huntingdon and Chester (but lord, not earl, of Garioch ABD) died in 1237 (*CP*, iii, 169).
- 61-65. *three daughters ... Edward de Balliol*: an accurate account (see Stringer, ut cit.).

65. *battle at Dupplin*: see above XIII c.21 ff.

66-70. *The said Margaret ... kingdom*: a mistaken assertion of an irregular marriage deduced from earlier wrong information, and leading to an invalid conclusion.

## Chapter 13 pp.289-93

This whole chapter is based on *Fordun* (374-5, middle section of annal 176); but Bower has elaborated the story throughout with extra details (see also below c.14). *Pluscarden* (298) has only a brief summary of this chapter, as has *Extracta* (184); *Wyntoun* (vi, 204-5) has almost nothing to say about this expedition of Edward III, except that it reached Edinburgh; the author confesses ignorance of the details.

Bower's elaboration of *Fordun*'s text was presumably based on local knowledge about events in his home area (cf. below c.14, l.2).

4. *evil ... north*: quotation untraced; it was presumably a common saying.

5. *North Berwick* ELO; not mentioned in *Fordun*.

12-13. *the burgh*: added by Bower to the *Fordun* text.

13-18. *monastery ... within it*: this Franciscan church lay beside the river Tyne on the site now occupied by the 18c Holy Trinity episcopal church (C.McWilliam, *Lothian*, in *The Buildings of Scotland* series [Harmondsworth, 1978], 235); it had been founded before 1242 (*MRHS*, 126); Bower refers below (XV c.34, ll.46-51) to a flooding of this church (presumably rebuilt) in 1421.

16-18. *whose choir ... within it*: added by Bower to *Fordun*'s text.

21-23. *Leaving ... Burnt Candlemas*: added by Bower to *Fordun*'s text. Candlemas falls on 2 February; since King Edward was at Roxburgh to receive Balliol's resignation on 20 January (see above c.12), and is said here to have spent ten days at Haddington (see above), he may not have been at Edinburgh exactly on the feast day.

25-26. *in Ettrick Forest and places nearby*: substituted by Bower for 'near Melrose' in *Fordun*; see also *Knighton's Chronicle*, 139; the Forest area lay in SLK to the south-west of Melrose ROX.

26-27. *intention and plan*: perhaps Edward had intended to march to Scone to be crowned, as suggested by Nicholson (*Later Middle Ages*, 162); but his actions in laying the country waste would hardly have been acceptable to the Scots.

29-30. *God ... future*: Bower follows *Fordun* into a supernatural explanation of the changes imposed on Edward's plans.

34. *as ... follows*: added by Bower to draw attention particularly to his additional story in c.14 below.

37-38. *... nothing*: John 15:5.

**38-39.** *and ... God:* added by Bower to Fordun's text; this quotation is listed in Walthers, *Proverbia*, no. 22,593 from here and other sources. See also *Les Fabulistes Latins*, ed. L.Hervieux, iii (Paris, 1894), 76, where the line is identified as coming from a fable collected by Avianus.

**44-51.** *Also ... faithful:* Bower retains this short version of the sacrilegious robbery at Whitekirk as in Fordun's text, and then develops the story himself in the following chapter.

**44.** *sons of Belial:* a Hebrew expression meaning 'scoundrels' (*ODCC*, 152; cf. 1 Samuel 2:12 in *NEB*).

**45-46.** *White Kirk ... Hamer:* the lands and church of Hamer, which lay between North Berwick and East Linton ELO, had belonged to the Augustinian abbey of Holyrood near Edinburgh since the 12c (Cowan, *Parishes*, 209); Bower with his Augustinian connections adds here the information about the barony. The church came to be commonly called the White Kirk, which is now the name of the place. It was already by the 13c a place of pilgrimage (McWilliam, *Lothian*, ut cit., 467) – hence the statue embellished with offerings from pilgrims which attracted the attention of robbers.

## Chapter 14 pp.293-5

All of ll.1-41 have been composed by Bower himself; ll.42-62 too are largely by him, though he does include a few phrases from the shorter account in *Fordun* (375, end of annal 176); a mark of the originality of the composition of this chapter is the unusually large number of variants introduced for the version in MS CA. There is nothing parallel in *Pluscarden* or *Wyntoun*; *Extracta* (184) has a brief summary of the story in ll.1-41 only.

**2.** *I:* i.e. Bower, who is handing on oral evidence collected personally.

**5.** *Whitekirk:* see above c.13, ll.45-46.

**42-44.** *two canons ... place:* the White Kirk of Hamer had been appropriated to Holyrood Abbey, which was therefore responsible for the ministry there; this is an example of the practice in monasteries of the Augustinian order whereby this responsibility was sometimes exercised by detaching canons from the abbey community to serve some of its churches (cf. M.Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* [Edinburgh, 1995], 43-45, 70-71).

**57.** *Tynemouth NTB.*

## Chapter 15 p.297

For the whole of this chapter Bower returns to the source used for the same selection of items in *Wyntoun* (vi, 222-7). *Pluscarden* (298-9) amends the text

to suggest that William de Douglas was the active force in Nithsdale as well as in Galloway, and fails to mention that King David returned to captivity. *Extracta* (185) has a brief summary, omitting any mention of David.

Wyntoun places this whole section immediately after the battle of the Thirty (see above c.11) i.e. after March 1351; this fits with the only clearly datable item here, namely King David's visit to Scotland between November 1351 and April 1352 (see below); but in following the same source Bower rejects this chronology, suggesting a date in 1356, though this is too late not only for the king's visit, but also for the items on MacDowall and Kirkpatrick (see below).

**1-2.** *lord of Douglas:* i.e. William de Douglas (see above c.6, ll.11-13; cf. c.9, dated 1355); the account of him touching on these events in *SP* (iii, 148) confuses him with William de Douglas of Liddesdale when stating that he was in 1351 a negotiator in England over King David's release (cf. A.A.M.Duncan, '*Honi soit qui mal y pense*: David II and Edward III, 1346-52', *SHR*, lxvii, 113-41).

**6.** *Dugal MacDowall:* 'Duugal' or 'Dowgal', the name-forms in *Wyntoun*, are surely to be preferred to 'Donald' in the text here; for some (undated) notes on this man see P.H.McKerlie, *History of the Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, new edn (Paisley, 1906), i, 291-2; cf. dated notes by R.C.Reid on 'The McDowells' in *TDGAS*, 3rd series, xxxv (1958), 52-59; he appears to have been still loyal to Edward de Balliol on 29 November 1352 (*CDS*, iii, no.1578; cf. index for other members of the MacDowall family at this time), but to have changed his allegiance before being forfeited by the English on 18 August 1353 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 761, where the name is 'Duncan'); see also *RMS*, i, ad indicem; cf. below XV c.14, l.85n.

**8.** *the guardian:* i.e. Robert Stewart (see above c.10, ll.35-36).  
*Cumnock church AYR.*

**9.** *to the present time:* this statement is found also in *Wyntoun* (vi, 222-3); it is probably derived from the common source used by both authors, which has been thought to have been completed in the early 1390s (*Wyntoun*, i, 135, ll.1097-1103 n.; cf. above p.xvii); this fits with the mention below of John Stewart becoming 'prince of our kinrik' (*Wyntoun*) or 'Robert III' (here l.22).

**10.** *Roger de Kirkpatrick:* for a predecessor with the same name see above XII c.7, l.33; for this man see R.C.Reid, 'The early Kirkpatricks', *TDGAS*, 3rd series, xxx (1953), 61-110, specially 73-76; cf. 79; acted as sheriff of Dumfries for the Scots before December 1353 (*RRS*, vi, no.125; see also ad indicem); his son was a hostage for David II in July 1354 (*CDS*, iii, no.1576); he was to be killed at Caerlaverock ca 24 June 1357 (see below c.20, ll.1-20).

**11.** *Nithsdale DMF.*

**12.** *Dalswinton DMF:* to the east of the river Nith in Kirkmahoe parish north of Dumfries; this was an old Comyn property (Barrow, *Bruce*, ad indicem); the English government were arranging the repair of the castle there 26 February 1348 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 713); cf. below c.18, l.26.

*Caerlaverock DMF:* to the east of the estuary of the river Nith south of Dumfries; see G.Stell, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Dumfries and Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1986), no.41; it was being held for the English by Herbert de Maxwell, 1 September 1347 (*CDS*, iii, no.1507; cf. *Rot.Scot.*, i, 704-5);

Kirkpatrick is found acting as lord of Torthorwald DMF within the castle on 5 January 1356 (Reid, 'Early Kirkpatricks', ut cit., 74).

**13.** *cast them down to the ground*: in fact Caerlaverock at any rate appears to have been usable in 1356 and 1357 (see above); Wyntoun mentions only Dalswinton as having been razed.

**16-20.** *... sent back*: David was in Scotland temporarily from soon after 14 November 1351 to 22 April 1352 or soon after (Duncan, 'Honi soit', ut cit, 126, 132; see detailed discussion of this visit in that article).

**20-22.** *John Steward ... Robert III*: John was the eldest son of the guardian Robert Steward; born ca 1337, lord of the Steward's lands in Kyle AYR, created earl of Carrick in 1368, king as Robert III in 1390 (*SP*, i, 17).

**23.** *Annandale DMF*: the English administration was still active in this area in November 1347 (*CDS*, iii, no. 1516), and in fact retained parts of it until 1384 (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 196; see below c.44).

## Chapter 16 pp.297-301

Here ll.1-49 are based on *Fordun* (375-7, annal 177), with minor changes of wording and some additions; ll.50-59 are added by Bower at the end of the chapter as an introduction to c.17. *Wyntoun* (vi, 226-31) has the same story in outline, but with less detail, so that Bower probably had nothing to learn from *Wyntoun*'s source for his improvements to *Fordun*'s text. *Pluscarden* (299-300) has basically the same story as here, with an original tailpiece on the arrogance of the French; *Extracta* (185) has a brief summary.

The story of the battle of Poitiers is told here from the French side; it may be presumed that *Fordun* learned of it from Scots who had taken part; Bower's additions may also derive from oral tradition rather than a written account. For modern studies of this battle see R.Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, i (Paris, 1909), c.6, pp.189-244, with map at end; A.H.Burne in *EHR*, liii (1938), 21-52 (cf. criticism by V.H.Galbraith, *ibid.*, liv [1939], 473-5), and *The Crecy War* (London, 1955), 275-321.

**1.** *John king of France*: John II 1350-64.

*the fourth Edward*: i.e. Edward the Black Prince 1330-76, eldest son of Edward III; for his activities as his father's lieutenant in Gascony from September 1355 see McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 138 ff.

**8.** *William de Douglas*: see above c.9, l.24; he was reportedly well rewarded for his service in France (Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Luce [SHF], iv, 194).

**11-12.** *so as ... Wales*: added by Bower to *Fordun*'s text; cf. aim of going on pilgrimage mentioned in *Scalacronica* (175).

**17.** *Poitiers*: dép. Vienne, France.

**28-30.** *so that ... English*: Bower adds this illuminating explanation of motive to *Fordun*'s text.

**32.** *count of Clermont*: Bower misleadingly supplies this name, which is not

in *Fordun*: this marshal, appointed in 1352, was in fact John de Clermont, lord of Chantilly (Delachenal, ut cit., 93, n.3; Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.2182).

**36-37.** *in rough ... road*: graphic detail added by Bower to *Fordun*'s text.

**41.** *September*: the battle was fought on 19 September 1356.

**42.** *king's eldest son*: the future King Charles V 1364-80; this clause about him was added by Bower.

**43.** *Philip*: then aged 14; duke of Burgundy 1363- 1404 (Mas Latrie, *Trésor*, col.1569).

**43-45.** *who ... French*: added by Bower; this explanation of his standard nickname is not mentioned by Delachenal in his account of the boy's part in the battle (loc.cit., 240-1).

**47-49.** *The prince ... kingdom*: added by Bower as a link with the story below c.17, l.26 ff.

**54.** *ransomed*: Bower does not include here the additional information about other Scottish participants in the battle of Poitiers found in two of the *Fordun* MSS, MS FB and MS FD (*Fordun*, 377, n.3).

**55.** *Archibald de Douglas [the Grim]*: he was to be lord of Galloway from 1369 and earl of Douglas 1388-1400 (*SP*, iii, 157-65; *DNB*, xv, 261-3).

*Sir James*: see above XIII cc.19-20.

## Chapter 17 pp.301-5

Bower's sources for the three sections of this chapter (ll.1-25, 26-36 and 37-79) are unknown; none of it is from *Fordun*, and *Wyntoun* (vi, 231) has only a brief reference to the story about Archibald de Douglas in ll.1-25, which may well have been in oral circulation in Scotland and enriched in the telling; since ll.26-79 reflect Scottish sympathies for the sufferings of the French at the hands of the Black Prince, the source is unlikely to have been English. *Pluscarden* (300-1) has the same main outline as ll.1-25, with considerable alterations, then a reference to ll.26-36 in one sentence, and a version of ll.37-79 that is almost completely different except for a few of the colourful descriptions. *Extracta* (185-6) has an exceptionally full account derived from this chapter.

**5-6.** *Sir William de Ramsay of Colluthie*: the lord of lands north of Cupar FIF; after marriage to Isabella the heiress to the earldom of Fife, he was created earl 6 March × 12 April 1358; died 8 April 1359 × 22 July 1360 (cf. *HBC*, 508); see *Scalacronica*, 175, and *RRS*, vi, ad indicem; he had a son by a former marriage (*ER*, i, 609; cf. p.clxviii, n.1).

**24.** *escaped*: Douglas was back in Scotland before 16 November 1357 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 817).

**26-36.** *... English*: this paragraph is presumably based on a French rather than an English source; in fact the prince returned to Bordeaux with his French royal prisoner after the battle, and remained there until sailing

directly to England in April-May 1357 (Froissart, *Chroniques* [SHF], v, pp.xvii, xx-xxi).

38. *on Good Friday*: the writer of *Pluscarden* (301) assumes that this was the first Good Friday after the battle of Poitiers (i.e. 7 April 1357); but Bower's text is not so specific, and since the prince set out for England from Bordeaux in April 1357 (see above), the dating at ll.55-56 below does not fit that year; the anecdote is probably a traditional one, rather than one associated with this particular period.

38-39. '*Pune de Pane*': unidentified.

50. *men of Belial*: i.e. scoundrels (see above c.13, l.44). Dr Clive Sneddon has kindly advised on the translation of the battle cries in French that follow.

78-79 *Black Monday*: an expression for Easter Monday current in English and Scots from 14c onwards; see *OED*, s.v. 'Monday', where this passage is among the examples quoted, with the remark: 'the historical explanations in the quotations are untrustworthy.'

## Chapter 18 pp.305-7

In this chapter Bower includes all of *Fordun*, 377, annal 178 with amendments at ll.8-21 and 29-33; but to start the chapter at ll.1-8 he follows the source used by Wyntoun (vi, 230-3); though one of his amendments to *Fordun* ('xiii' [text l.11] for 'decem') may also have been derived from that source, he does not have a passage parallel to Wyntoun's general comments on King David II (vi, 232-7), and the item on Queen Joan (ll.34-37) does not correspond with Wyntoun's account (vi, 242-5); its source is unknown; the sources of the two late additions in margin of MS C (ll.22-28 and 38-42) are also unknown. *Pluscarden* (301-2 has a shortened version of this chapter with several factual additions; *Extracta* (186) has a summary including a wrong understanding of the date of Queen Joan's death (see below) as taking place in 1357.

1-8. ... *completed*: despite Bower's 'at that time' (l.1), which follows events of 1356-7, this section appears to relate to the abortive negotiations between Scottish and English envoys (including the earl of Northampton) about the release of King David at Newcastle-upon-Tyne (not Berwick) in July and October 1354 (*CDS*, iii, no.1576; cf. no.1580 dated 12 November at Berwick; *Rot.Scot.*, i, 766-74); David was himself at Newcastle in October (ibid., 769, 773; cf. Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 159-60).

3. *earl of Northampton*: William de Bohun 1337-60 (*HBC*, 474; *DNB*, v, 310).

8-9. *in the same year*: in fact 1357, treaty dated at Berwick 3 October 1357 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 811-14; *RRS*, vi, nos.148-50).

9. *David was released*: apparently on 7 October 1357 (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 163).

11 *eleven years*: correct by modern counting; Bower is amending 'twelve years' in *Fordun*.

13. *fourteen years*: *Fordun* has the correct 'ten years' here; Bower falls into error in following same source as *Wyntoun* (see above); presumably he had no knowledge of the text of the treaty itself.

13-14. *Meanwhile ... kingdoms*: added by Bower to *Fordun*'s text, perhaps following the source of three lines of *Wyntoun* which survive in corrupt form (vi, 233, ll.6908-10; see i, 128 note).

19. *hostages*: see list in the treaty (*Rot.Scot.* i, 812-13).

22-28. ... *rebuilt*: this commitment by David has not been traced in the record sources.

24. *Nithsdale DMF*.

25. *on the English*: MS CA mentions here also damage to the castle of Lochmaben in Annandale DMF (cf. above c.15, l.23).

26. *Dalswinton DMF*: see above c.15, l.12.

27. *Dumfries DMF*: this was a royal castle which lay at Castle Dykes, one mile south of the centre of the town (*RCAHM [DMF]*, 49-51, no.128).

*Morton DMF*: see discussion of this site east of the river Nith near Thornhill in G.Stell, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Dumfries and Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1986), no.39.

*Durisddeer DMF*: castle site identified east of Castlehill in this parish (*RCAHM [DMF]*, 68, no.170).

28. *still not been rebuilt*: apparently relates to the 1440s; but Bower may have taken these words over from his unknown source.

29. *Christian de Bruce*: see above XI c.13, ll.31-32; XIII c.12, ll.20-21, and c.35, l.31; 1357 is the correct year for her death (*ER*, i, p.cxxxiv).

30-31. *and wife ... Scotland*: added by Bower to *Fordun*'s text; for Moray's death and burial in 1338 see above XIII c.42, ll.22-25; Bower again here makes no mention of the moving of Moray's body at a later date (perhaps now) to lie with that of his wife among the royal tombs in Dunfermline abbey, though the author of *Pluscarden* (302), probably with local Dunfermline knowledge, states that both Christian and Andrew lay together in the Lady Chapel there (see also *Fordun*, 363, annal 158); for some reason Bower appears to be positively evasive here on a matter of which he must have had personal knowledge.

34-37. *Lady Joan of the Tower ... died*: Bower not only has no parallel with Wyntoun here (see above), but was apparently not aware of the passage later in the *Fordun* MSS FB and FD only (*Fordun*, 380, n.7) regarding the death of Queen Joan near London in 1362 after five years in England; the date there is given as 14 August (the eve of the Assumption of the Virgin), while the date 7 September (the eve of the Nativity of the Virgin) is reported by the Malmesbury chronicler (*Eulogium* [RS, 9], iii, 229-30) and is generally favoured today (*DNB*, xxix, 390-2; *HBC*, 39; cf. *ER*, ii, p.liii); her last-known safe-conduct to travel to England is in fact dated 9 May 1358 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 822), and this is the year that Wyntoun says she went to London with her husband; *Pluscarden* adds that her pilgrimage was to Canterbury in particular. She apparently attended grand tournaments at Windsor in the spring of 1358 (*Knighon's Chronicle*, 159).

38-42. ... *8 November*: Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh in Ireland

1347-60, did preach a sermon in defence of the rights of the secular clergy against the activities of the mendicant orders at the papal court at Avignon on 8 November 1357; perhaps a copy of this sermon, 'Defensorium Curatorum', was known to Bower in Scotland (ODCC, 516; A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, ii [Oxford, 1958], 694).

## Chapter 19 pp.307-9

This chapter contains an account of the peasant rising in France known as the Jacquerie, which is not mentioned in *Fordun*; Bower is following the same source used in *Wyntoun* (vi, 237-41), but in a much more developed version. *Pluscarden* (302) and *Extracta* (186-7) are both brief.

For modern accounts of the Jacquerie see Lavissee, *Histoire*, IV, i, 131-7; Delachenal, *Charles V*, i, 394-416; M.Mollat and P.Wolff, *The Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1973), 123-31.

1. *That same year*: Bower and Wyntoun both date the Jacquerie in 1357; in fact the rising occurred May-June 1358.

5. *Jack Bonhomme*: this traditional nickname (which is found also in Froissart, *Chroniques* [SHF], v, 100) suggests that the rising was named by contemporaries after him; but it is accepted today that the name came from the word 'jacque', meaning a short tunic that peasants wore, which was applied to those who wore such a garment; Wyntoun also has this name in one place (l.6979), but in one MS at another place (l.6959) uses the name 'Carllis', which usually means 'churl' or 'peasant', but may here be an echo of the real name of the leader called William Karle or Cale, which is said to be a form of the name 'Charles' found in Picardy (Delachenal, *Charles V*, i, 403; see n.2 where the name Jak Bonhomme is condemned as erroneous).

8-9. *king of France ... Poitiers*: for capture of King John in 1356 see above c.16, ll.45-47.

34-35. *noble man ... royal stock*: Charles II the Bad, king of Navarre and a major magnate of France, grandson of King Louis X 1314-16 (*DBF*, viii, cols.547-50); Wyntoun mentions him by name.

45. *Jack ... Bad*: Wyntoun has no equivalent to this ending, which may well be Bower's own work; 'Kay' may refer to William Karle.

## Chapter 20 pp.309-11

For ll.1-20 Bower is following the same source that is behind *Wyntoun* (vi, 241); but the account here is much more elaborate than in *Wyntoun*; and Bower does not go on to include a parallel to the tailpiece that follows there in

praise of King David; the rest of the chapter is by Bower himself, incorporating quotations from St Bridget and the Bible. *Pluscarden* (302-3) has a brief account of ll.1-20 with minor changes; *Extracta* (187) has a summary including Bower's explanation of the reason for Kirkpatrick's murder.

1-2. *In the said year ... Baptist*: though the placing of this item by both Bower and Wyntoun suggests that in their source it is dated 1357, the year must be 1358, since Roger de Kirkpatrick (see below) was still active on 6 November 1357 (*RRS*, vi, 186, no.150); only Bower mentions the day i.e. ca 24 June.

2-3. *Roger de Kirkpatrick ... Caerlaverock*: see above c.15, ll.9-15.

3. *James de Lindsay*: probably not the same as Sir James de Lindsay lord of Crawford and Kirkmichael, who is mentioned in the treaty for the king's release in October 1357, and then as dead before 1 October 1358 after conveying the barony of the Byres ELO to his brother Alexander (*RRS*, vi, 175, 186, 226; *ER*, i and ii, ad indices; cf. *SP*, iii, 11; v, 391), for if he were this man, it would raise difficulties about his ancestor of the same name who had helped Robert Bruce in 1306 (see below), and whose heir this James was; but no other identification can be suggested.

19. *guilty of blood-feud*: literally 'guilty of the death of a relative'.

21-28. *... heirs*: see above XII c.7, ll.32-56; the reference is to the murder of Comyn by Bruce at Dumfries on 10 February 1306; the supposed prophecy is here related in slightly different terms; the real reason for Lindsay's shocking act remains unexplained, but Bower associates the two murders when relating each.

29. *Chapter 7*: Bower in MS CA here adds: 'Ex isto facto perpendi potest, quod unius peccato in plures desunt ira Dei', and then omits the quotation from St Bridget.

*Book XII, Chapter 19*: cross reference uncertain; 'xix' (text l.26) in MS C should perhaps be read as 'xiv' and refer to XII c.14, ll.46-53 above; but 'xix' is clear in MSS D, R and E, though there is nothing relevant in XII c.19 above.

34-42. *... against me: Memoriale ... B. Brigidae*, v, question 14, answer 3, sect.H

38-39. *sins ... generation*: cf. Numbers 14:18. After 'peccata' (text l.34) Bower's scribe has omitted 'patrum' in the Bridget text.

43-49. *... level*: an addition in margin of MS C.

44-45. *where ... fault*: Genesis 20:1-18.

47. *Joshua 7 and 22*: for MS CA Bower deletes these references and instead spells out the passages in Joshua 7:13 and 22:18, 20 as follows (there are some variants compared with the Vulgate edition):

'Non poteris stare contra inimicos tuos donec deleatur qui hic contaminatus est scelere', dixit Dominus ad Josue (Josue vii). Et propter selius Achor sacrilegium. Propter quod legimus ipsum Josue dixisse cuidam parti filiorum Israel (Josue xxii): 'Vos hodie reliquistis Dominum, et cras in universum Israel ira eius deseviet. Nonne Achor filius Zare preterit mandatum Domini, et super omnem populum Israel ira eius incubuit?'



Chapter 21  
pp.311-13

Here two passages are taken from *Fordun* – ll.1-13 from pp.377-8, annal 179 with minor additions, and ll.39-49 from p.378, annal 180 (omitting last sentence there). Brief account in *Pluscarden* (303) covers only these sections. Since ll.13-26 relate events in and near Haddington ELO, and ll.27-38 refer to the nunnery there, these entries were probably based on oral traditions known to Bower himself from his childhood there. *Extracta* (187) summarizes the whole chapter; there is nothing parallel in *Wyntoun*.

1. *eve ... Nativity*: 7 September.

14-15. *Nungate quarter*: a suburb of Haddington ELO on the right bank of the river Tyne across Nungate Bridge from the main town.

18. *Nuns' Bridge*: now Nungate Bridge.

32. *the monastery*: i.e. the nunnery, one of the largest in Scotland, founded in mid-12c (see above VIII c. 25, ll.71-72); its exact site is uncertain, though it owned the chapel of St Martin on rising ground to the east of the suburb (cf. *RCAHM [ELO]*, 43, no.69).

39. *sent his ambassadors*: these two envoys first negotiated at Paris a treaty for financial support from France towards King David's ransom with Charles the son of King John (who was regent for his captive father) on 29 June 1359 (Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, 103-5); they were at Avignon receiving personal favours from Pope Innocent VI August-September 1359 (*CPP*, i, 345-7); the pope had in June 1358 refused to allow the Scottish clergy to contribute to the king's ransom (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 312, no.631); the bulls authorising the levy of a tax on the Scottish clergy as described here are not known, but it was certainly collected (e.g. *ER*, ii, 109); and the envoys were paid their expenses in due course (*ibid.*, 50, 77).

40. *Sir Robert Erskine*: a prominent member of the royal administration from his service as chamberlain ca 1350 while King David was a prisoner in England until his death in 1385 (*SP*, v, 592-6; *HBC*, 185; *RRS*, vi, ad indicem); see below c.27, l.12.

*Norman Leslie*: second son of Andrew de Leslie (see above XIII c.2, ll.17-18), who had perhaps already gone on crusade to Prussia in 1356 as he was to do again to Egypt in 1365 (*SP*, vii, 270-1; cf. below XVI c.15, l.27n.); said to have been captured by the English while fighting for the French at Flavigny, dép. Côte d'Or, ca 1360 (*Scalacronica*, 190); see below c.27, l.14.

49. *returned home content*: Erskine was probably home by 23 October 1359 (*RRS*, vi, no.224).

The sentence in *Fordun* omitted here by Bower states that despite the terms of the papal bull limiting the tax on churchmen in Scotland to their spiritualities, they were compelled by the king to contribute to the ransom from their lands and temporalities also. Perhaps it was as a result of his experience as a collector of taxes from the clergy and laity in the 1430s (see below XVI c.9) that Bower decided to omit mention of a precedent that was an unfortunate one in the eyes of the clergy. But it is worth noting that one of the *Fordun* MSS (MS FD) has a puzzling mention here of King William, presumably William the Lion, probably in the context of some privilege of

exemption from taxation of clerical temporalities that is not now known; perhaps Bower too was puzzled.

Chapter 22  
pp.313-17

All of this chapter is based on *Fordun* (379-80) with some additions and omissions – ll.1-19 from annal 181, and ll.20-51 from annal 182; *Pluscarden* (303-4) has a shortened version of the whole chapter, dating the first paragraph wrongly as 1358 (though the second correctly 1360), and inserting at ll.40 and 46 a cautious agnosticism about the facts taken over from Bower. *Extracta* (187-8) is very brief. The account in *Wyntoun* (vi, 244-7) is an outline of the story in *Fordun*, and is thought (*ibid.*, i, 128-9) to have been taken directly from there.

For events in France 1359-60 see Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, cc. 4-6, pp.141-265.

1-2. *keeping ... side*: this is wrong; King John remained a prisoner in England (*ibid.*, ii, 142-3, 183).

2. *about Michaelmas*: that would be ca 29 September 1359; in fact Edward landed at Calais on 28 October 1359 (*ibid.*, ii, 150, n.5).

4-5. *spread ... locusts*: an addition by Bower to *Fordun*.

12. *advanced ... Paris*: early April 1360 (*ibid.*, ii, 189-92; cf. *Scalacronica*, 193).

18. *returning*: Edward landed back in England on 18 May 1360 (*HBC*, 39). The story at the end of *Fordun*'s annal here has been brought forward chronologically, though later than the story at the beginning of the annal that follows.

21-22. *a certain cardinal*: added by Bower to *Fordun*; Androvin de la Roche abbot of Cluny in Burgundy, France, as papal nuncio acted as intermediary between the two sides (Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, 186, 190, 192); he was to be rewarded with appointment as a cardinal on 17 September 1361 (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 43; cf. Delachenal, *ut cit.*, ii, 252, n.4).

24-25. *sent ... England*: the French envoys met Edward at the hamlet of Brétigny near Chartres, dép. Eure-et-Loir, 1-7 May 1360, i.e. before his return to England (Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, 195-6).

33-37. *For as his ransom ... France*: for a detailed analysis of the treaty of Brétigny of 7 May 1360 see *ibid.*, ii, 201-7; French and Latin texts in *Foedera*, III, i, 487-94.

36. *with many others*: Bower omits here the following words of *Fordun*: 'quos scriptor presentis chronicae scire non potuit', though he then continues with largely the same selection of details. Presumably neither author had seen a copy of this complex treaty.

38. *Gascony*: along with *Guyenne/Aquitaine* (alternative supplied by Bower) these provinces on either side of the river Garonne in south-west France had been held by the kings of England as fiefs of France since the 12c.

**41-42.** *Berry/Bourges*: a province and town in central France south of the river Loire; they are in fact not mentioned in the treaty.

**42.** *towns of Calais and Guines*: Calais, dép. Pas-de-Calais had been in English hands since the long siege of 1345-6; Guines was not a town, but a lordship in the vicinity of Calais.

**45-46.** *three millions, if you please*: an addition by Bower in the margin of MS C; it is the correct total in *écus d'or* (Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, 204), i.e. £500,000 sterling (McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 140).

**47-51.** *resigned ... king of France*: Edward did on 24 October 1360 drop the title and arms of king of France, but the formal acts of resignation never took place (ibid., 141-2).

**49-51.** *and he ... France*: added by Bower to *Fordun*.

**51.** *France*: after annal 182 here in *Fordun* two of the surviving MSS (MS FB and MS FD) include two unnumbered extra annals not found in the other MSS, both dated 1362 (like annal 183 that follows); the first covers the death of Queen Joan near London (see above c.18, ll.36-37), the second the death of Pope Innocent VI and the election sixteen days later of his successor Urban V, wrongly stating that there was an extended electoral conclave lasting six months; *Fordun* himself is scarcely likely to have made this error when himself writing in the 1360s, so that these must be late additions to his MSS, which presumably Bower never saw.

## Chapter 23 p.317

Bower's sources for the story in this chapter have not been traced; it does not appear in *Fordun* or *Wyntoun*; the information must ultimately have come from France. For shorter versions of the chapter see *Pluscarden* (304) and *Extracta* (188).

**2.** *king of France*: King John was freed by the English at Calais on 25 October 1360 (Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, 259-60, where there is a list of the hostages).

**13-14.** *Roland ... Lorrain*: Professor D.D.R.Owen has kindly identified these names among characters in the French *Roland* and *Chansons de Gestes*.

**21.** *Do not be angry*: literally 'Nor should your attitude change.'

**29-32.** *new troubles ... revoked*: for a brief account of this breakdown of the treaty, see McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 142.

**32-33.** *king ... England*: King John landed in England on 4 January 1364 (Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, 352).

**34.** *died*: at London, 8 April 1364 (ibid., ii, 361).

## Chapter 24 pp.319-23

Some of this chapter is based on the same sources which lie behind *Wyntoun*, vi, 249-51, namely ll.1-8, 8-11, 31-32, 17-23 (more developed here) and 23-30; Bower himself adds ll.11-17, 33-45, and then the sermon against adultery in ll.46-93. *Pluscarden* (304-5) has a shortened account without the sermon, but with a variant version of the quotation at ll.56-57; *Extracta* (188) has a very brief summary.

**1-2.** *at the Roman court*: i.e. at Avignon, now in France.

**3.** *Innocent VI*: pope until 12 September 1362.

**9-11.** *began ... following*: i.e. it lasted from 2 February to 25 December, probably 1362 (as in *Wyntoun*); the short mention of this pestilence in *Fordun* (380-1, annal 183) is in most MSS dated 1362 (without any starting or ending date), but in MS FB and MS FD the year 1360 is implied; see also below c.25, ll.1-8.

**11-17.** *It spread ... as before*: cf. the account of the first pestilence in 1349 above c.7, ll.1-20.

**19-23.** *partly ... health*: these are Bower's own suggestions regarding motives.

**23-24.** *Kildrummy castle*: see above XIII c.35, l.21; cf. XIV c.18, l.29.

**24-25.** *quarrel ... Mar*: Thomas earl of Mar, a grandson of Christian de Bruce (the sister of King Robert), had come of age ca 1350 and lived until 1373 x 1374 (*SP*, v, 583-5); the circumstances of the king's quarrel with him are explained differently in the sources; *Wyntoun* (vi, 251) states that Mar was already absent from Scotland, apparently in the service of Edward III, and there is some evidence to support this; it may have been with the approval of King David, whom he had earlier served for a time 1358-9 as chamberlain of Scotland (cf. *SP*, ut cit.; *HBC*, 185); on the other hand *Scalacronica* (202) has a story of Mar being appealed by William de Keith (probably the marischal of Scotland [*SP*, vi, 35-38]) for extortion, though a trial of this appeal by battle at Edinburgh had been halted by a judgment of the king more in favour of Keith than of Mar; the seizure of the earl's principal castle would have been part of a judicial process that ended with its restoration on payment of a fine; cf. further information and discussion by A.A.M.Duncan, in *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community*, ed. A.Grant and K.J.Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993), 262-7.

**27.** *Sir Walter Moigne*: held forest of Drum ABD from the king in 1359 (*ER*, i, 586; cf. *RRS*, vi, no.236), when serving as steward of the king's household (*ER*, ii, ad indicem; cf. *RRS*, vi, ad indicem); certainly held Kildrummy castle sometime August 1362 x March 1363 (*ER*, ii, 166), and served as sheriff of Aberdeen about the same time (ibid., i, p.clxxxii); for further information on him see Duncan, ut cit., 265-7, 270.

*Ingram de Wyntoun*: occurs as witness of a charter issued by William de Keith the marischal at Kintore ABD 12 May 1361 (*RMS*, i, no.213).

**31-32.** *monastery of Kinloss*: the Cistercian foundation near Forres MOR (*MRHS*, 76); for confirmation of the king's presence there at Christmas 1362

see *RRS*, vi, 283. Bower does not include here the additional information in *Wyntoun* (vi, 251) that Bishop William de Laundels of St Andrews spent this Christmas nearby at Elgin MOR.

33. *Thomas Stewart earl of Angus*: see above c.10, ll.1-2; he had served as chamberlain of Scotland 1350 × 1356 – 1358 (*HBC*, 185); the expenses of his imprisonment at Dumbarton were paid June 1361 × August 1362 (*ER*, ii, 115), and for his funeral there August 1362 × 25 March 1363 (*ibid.*, 167-8; cf. *HBC*, 499).

40-45. *murder ... mistress*: it is remarkable that neither Fordun nor Wyntoun makes mention of this lady or of her demise; but a contemporary report in *Scalacronica* (196-7) states that she belonged to London, and that David had become enamoured with her while a prisoner there; it dates her murder on 24 June 1360 near Soutra on the road between the abbeys of Melrose ROX and Newbattle MLO, at the latter of which she was buried. *Pluscarden* (305) is wrong to re-phrase the text here to have the party riding south rather than north.

41. *Richard Holly*: the name is given as 'Richard de Hulle' in *Salacronica*, but he is described as a Scot; his companion is not mentioned there.

46-92. *... tyranny*: Bower takes the chance of a mention of the king's adultery to compose a sermon on the subject; he was aware of the contemporary 'prophecies' of the seer of Bridington regarding King David's lasting reputation as an adulterer (see below XV c.12, ll.78-83).

51-53. *... death*: Leviticus 20:10.

53-54. *civil law*: Professor Hector MacQueen advises that this must be a reference to the Roman Civil Law; it appears to be an unspecific recall of the Lex Julia of the Emperor Augustus, which laid it down that while a husband could kill his adulterous spouse and her partner if caught in the act, and had to divorce her, acceptance of payment by way of compensation would be regarded as condonation of the adultery and thus quite contrary to the spirit of the law (cf. *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol.i, *Digesta*, ed. T.Mommsen [Berlin, 1920], xlvii, 5, 'Ad legem Juliam de Adulteriis coercendis', pp.345-51).

55. *St David the king*: i.e. King David of the Bible.

56-57. *... Uriah*: 2 Kings 12:10 (*Vulgate*); 2 Samuel 12:10 (*NEB*).

66-67. *Boniface ... people*: see above III c.58, ll.37-55.

79-80. *ordered Uriah ... killed*: 2 Kings 11:15 (*Vulgate*); 2 Samuel 11:15 (*NEB*).

81-82. *... marriage*: Ecclesiasticus 23:32 (*Vulgate*); 23:22 (*NEB*).

84-88. *...punishes*: Walther, *Initia*, no.5990, and *Proverbia*, no.8276a, citing here and elsewhere.

91-92. *Vegetius ... tyranny*: not traced in Vegetius Renatus, *Epitoma rei militaris* (Teubner edn); it is apparently not a classical quotation.

## Chapter 25 pp.323-7

Bower follows the same source as *Wyntoun* (vi, 249 and 251-3) for ll.1-8 and 14-39, but provides much more detail; ll.9-13 form an annalistic type of entry from an unknown source; then for ll.40-83 he copies *Fordun* (381-2, annal 184) with only a handful of changes. *Pluscarden* (305-6) provides a shorter version of the chapter with the items in the same order; *Extracta* (188) is very brief.

1. *in the same year*: as it stands this should mean 1362; but in *Wyntoun* the two deaths mentioned in this paragraph are dated 1361, and from the case of Thomas Moray (see below) this must be correct.

3. *John de Sutherland*: see above XI c.13, l.50 (cf. *SP*, viii, 328); he died ca 8 September, presumably 1361.

5. *Sir Thomas Moray*: wrongly described here (text l.5) as earl of Moray, for there was no earl of this name at this date (*HBC*, 516; cf. *SP*, vi, 296); *Wyntoun* correctly gives the name as Sir Thomas Moray, i.e. the lord of Bothwell LAN, whose widow on 23 July 1362 obtained a papal dispensation to remarry (*SP*, ii, 129-31; cf. *RRS*, vi, ad indicem); if therefore he died ca 29 September as stated here, the year must have been 1361; he had been in Scotland at Aberdeen as witness of an act by the earl of Sutherland as late as 13 September 1360 (*ibid.*, no.307).

9. *John de Pilmor*: bishop of Moray since 1326 (Watt, *Fasti*, 215; cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 450-1); he died at Spynie near Elgin MOR on 28 September 1362 (*Moray Registrum* 360), so that Bower's dating of this paragraph is correct.

11. *Alexander Bur*: provided by pope (with no mention of previous election) 23 December 1362 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, no.653); served as bishop of Moray until 1397 (Watt, *Fasti*, 215; Watt, *Graduates*, 67-70).

14-39. *... refused*: in *Wyntoun* this parliament is placed in 1363 immediately after an event dated April; here it is placed before the events related in ll.40-83 which must date before 14 May 1363 (see below); this is misleading, for this parliament met at the end of the year 1363/4 on 4 March (cf. *APS*, i, 492-5); for modern accounts see Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 171-2; A.A.M.Duncan in *SHR*, lxvii (1988), 135-8.

17. *Lionel*: the second surviving son of Edward III, duke of Clarence from November 1362, died 1368 (*HBC*, 39); it is argued that while Bower's account is generally trustworthy, he makes a slip here, for other evidence makes it clear that it was John of Gaunt, the third surviving son, duke of Lancaster from November 1362, died 1399 (*HBC*, 39-40), who was being considered for the succession to the Scottish throne (Duncan, *ut cit.*, 136); since *Wyntoun* did not name the son in question, it may well have been Bower himself who made this mistake when working from their common source.

26-27. *men ... heirs apparent*: i.e. Robert Stewart and his sons.

27-29. *The three estates ... oaths*: this point is made in a marginal addition to *MSC*; the reference is to the tailzies of 1318 and 1326 settling the succession to the throne ultimately on Robert Stewart (see above XIII c.12, ll.14-20 and c.12a; see discussion in introductory notes to this latter chapter suggesting

that Bower came across the text of the tailzie of 1318 at a late stage of his work).

**31-39.** ... *refused*: here Bower offers reflections on the events he has just related; they are sympathetic to King David (as are remarks hereabouts in *Wyntoun* [vi, 253-5]), and so contrast with Bower's moral condemnation of David the adulterer (see above c.24); but while *Wyntoun* says (l.7186) that David was angry at the rejection of the proposals in parliament, Bower (or his source) suggests (ll.38-39) that he was secretly relieved; cf. A.B. Webster, 'David II and the government of fourteenth-century Scotland', *TRHS*, 5th series, xvi (1966), 123-4.

**40-83.** ... *ceased*: this story of a revolt against King David must date before the ceremonial oath of renewed fealty taken by the rebels on 14 May 1363 (see below c.27), and apparently before the king's second marriage in April 1363 (see below c.28, ll.1-5), though it is suggested that news spread by January 1363 of this impending marriage may have helped to spark off the revolt (Webster, 'David II', ut cit., 128-9).

Bower follows Fordun's account closely with few changes; none of the rebellious magnates are named – perhaps a sign of tact on Fordun's part, since he was presumably writing very soon after the event; another account in *Scalacronica* (202-3) includes mention of specific persons and places; for a modern account see Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 168-70.

**42.** *leading important men*: *Scalacronica* mentions the earl of Douglas (i.e. William de Douglas lord of Douglas [see above c.16, l.8], who had been created earl of Douglas in January 1358 [*SP*, iii, 150]), the earl of Dunbar or March (i.e. Earl Patrick 1308-65 [*SP*, iii, 266-7]), and Robert Steward.

**43-44.** *either ... kingdom*: Bower's text here 'ut ipsum ... exularent' (text ll.39-40) has been substituted for 'ut ipsum super injusta petitione, ut omnibus visum est, eorum opinioni affecterent aut exularent' in *Fordun*. It seems that Bower is not so sure that the demands of the rebels were 'injusta' i.e. unrighteous; it is suggested that the rebels were demanding the dismissal of the king's counsellors and Margaret Logie his intended wife (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 169); *Scalacronica* states that the rebels had petitioned for the removal of those who had given the king 'evil counsel' in connection with financial levies for payment of the king's ransom.

**47-48.** *let me not call it treachery*: added by Bower after replacing Fordun's 'proditionem' with the milder 'intencionem' (text l.42); Bower is again taking a more favourable view of the rebels.

**48.** *cruelly*: here Bower is more critical than Fordun, deliberately replacing his 'viriliter' i.e. 'in manly fashion' with 'crudeliter' (text l.44).

**50-51.** *who ... misdeeds*: added by Bower in margin of MS C to Fordun's text.

**53.** *around the whole country*: *Scalacronica* mentions Dirleton ELO, Inverkeithing FIF, and Lanark LAN.

**66-67.** *in accordance ... leniency*: Fordun's comment taken over by Bower.

**72.** *take up ... opponents*: added by Bower in margin of MS C to Fordun's text. It is the men on the king's side whom Bower regards as acting 'in manly fashion' (cf. above ll.47-48).

**74-75.** *mindful ... soul*: added by Bower from Proverbs 20:2 to Fordun's text.

**80.** *oath of fealty*; taken on 14 May 1363 (see below c.27).

**83.** *etc.*: implication uncertain; Bower has not been quoting the Bible. *That disturbance then ceased*: cf. Psalm 105:30 (*Vulgate*); 106:30 (*NEB*).

## Chapter 26 pp.327-9

This chapter is the work of Bower himself; *Pluscarden* (306-7) has a similar but shorter study, citing only one of the same quotations; nothing parallel in *Wyntoun* or *Extracta*.

**2.** *legislator*: the meaning here is more an enforcer of the law than a creator of it.

**4.** *canon law*: this allusion is untraced in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*.

**6-10.** *Augustine ... mercy*: quotation is from Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, bk.IX, c.5, l.14 (CCSL edn, i, 254); Bower is mistaken when in MS C he describes the 'He' in the quotation as a poet, for Augustine names him as Cicero (q.v., *Pro Ligario*, xii, 37 [Loeb edn, 492]); he was aware of his error by the time MS CA was being written, and omitted there the word 'poet'.

**11-12.** ... *king*: Proverbs 20:28.

**13.** ... *remission*: Professor H.M. Hine advises that this is not in fact an exact quotation from Seneca, *De Clementia*, but is rather a paraphrase of one of the main themes of that work, e.g. bk.I, c.19, ll.1-2 (Loeb edn, 408): 'Excogitare nemo quicquam poterit, quia magis decorum regenti sit quam clementia'; and the closely related theme that clemency is more important in a ruler than in other people is much repeated in that work.

**14-15.** ... *harm*: Seneca, *De Clementia*, I, 3, 3 (Loeb edn, 364).

**18-21.** ... *spirit*: *ibid.*, I, 7, 2 (Loeb edn, 376).

**29-32.** ... *party*: quotation not traced in the works of Cicero; apparently it is not from a classical source.

**32-34.** *Christ ... Christ*: Luke 9:53-56.

**41.** *tripudium*: a ritual dance involving stamping of the feet (cf. *OED*, s.v.).

**50-54.** ... *hearts*: Matthew 18: 32-35.

**61.** *a golden clime breathed on him*: 'zona' (text l.51) in the sense of a climatic zone of the earth; hence the meaning is 'he prospered'.

## Chapter 27 pp.331-3

Bower knew of the undated reference to the occasion described here which is to be found in *Fordun* (382, end of annal 184): Fordun knew of the text that

follows at ll.6-47, though it is not included in the collection of historical texts now found in some of the surviving MSS of his work; since Fordun seems to be providing a cross-reference to this text ('ut in alio loco forma est'), it may well be that Bower found it in the MS of Fordun's book that he used (which was none of the surviving MSS); cf. discussion above XI c.26 introductory note, and XI c.35, ll.29-30 note. There is no mention of this text in *Wyntoun* or *Extracta*; *Pluscarden* (307) has one sentence on the event (misdated to 14 January), but no text.

2. *Inchmurdo*: a house belonging to the bishops of St Andrews near Boarhills FIF (see above X c.28, l.36n.).

6-7. *Robert ... Strathearn*: the Steward held the earldom of Strathearn from early November 1357, just after King David's return from England (cf. *RRS*, vi, nos. 150, 153).

8-9. *William bishop of St Andrews*: William de Laundels, bishop 1342-85 (see above VI c.45).

9. *Patrick bishop of Brechin*: Patrick de Leuchars, bishop 1351-83, chancellor of Scotland 1353-70 (*HBC*, 181).

10. *John abbot of Dunfermline*: John de Stramiglaw (see above c.8, ll.39-64).  
*Walter de Wardlaw*: see biography in Watt, *Graduates*, 569-75; he became bishop of Glasgow in 1367, and a cardinal in 1384; this is the first-known reference to him as king's secretary (*HBC*, 192; cf. *RRS*, vi, 12).

11. *Gilbert Armstrong*: see biography in Watt, *Graduates*, 16-18; he was provost of the chapel royal of St Mary-on-the-Rock at St Andrews from about now until his death at the end of 1375.

12. *Robert de Erskine*: see above c.21, l.40; he was currently serving a second period as chamberlain of Scotland (*HBC*, 185).

13. *Archibald de Douglas*: see above cc.16-17.

*Robert de Ramsay*: sheriff of Forfar 1357-9 and 1361-4 (*ER*, i, 588; ii, 114, 117, 140); granted lands of Longforgan PER 20 August 1358 (*RRS*, vi, no.193).

13-14. *Thomas de Fauside*: witness of crown acts ca 1353-5 (*RRS*, vi, nos.132, 134-5; cf. *SHR*, lxxviii, 117 for dating); earlier in service of Robert Steward when regent 1341-2 (*ER*, i, 488); lent money to the king 1361-2 (*ibid.*, ii, 111, 115).

14. *Norman de Leslie*: see above c.21, l.40.

*Alexander de Lindsay*: younger brother of James de Lindsay lord of Crawford (cf. above c.20, l.3) and father of the first earl of Crawford, a major landholder in Angus through his marriage to an heiress in 1358 (*SP*, iii, 12-15; *RRS*, vi and *ER*, ii ad indices).

15. *corporal oath*: an oath ratified by touching a sacred object, such as the Gospels (as here) or relics, as opposed to a simple verbal oath (*OED*).

22-23. *Patrick ... Douglas*: i.e. the two earls most prominent with the Steward in the recent revolt (see above c.25, l.42n.).

23. *John Steward of Kyle*: Robert's eldest son, lord of Kyle AYR, later King Robert III (see above c.15, ll.20-22).

23-24. *Robert Steward of Menteith*: Robert's second surviving son, lord of

Menteith PER by marriage in 1361 to the heiress of the earldom, later duke of Albany (*SP*, i, 16, 146-9; cf. *HBC*, 515).

49. *demande*: opposite the end of this chapter in MS C is a marginal note in the texthand: 'Literam conminatoriam Turcorum vide in fine huius libri, qui hic debet situari, et bullam super defunctorum episcoporum bonis in fine XV libri.' See below cc.55 and 56.

## Chapter 28 pp.333-8

Bower has composed c.28-33 himself; the chapter heading here appears to fit better the first paragraph of c.34 below, which it may well have been the intention to insert here after the heading had been written; this would suggest that the inclusion instead of these self-revealing six chapters on wives and women in general marks a change of plan; certainly the introductory ll.1-5, which are the excuse for the long excursus that follows, are not derived from the parallel items in *Fordun* (382, annal 185) and *Wyntoun* (vi, 251), introducing as they do at ll.4-5 Bower's own guess at King David's motives for his second marriage. *Pluscarden* (307) is not taken directly from here; cf. *Extracta*, (190).

1-5. ... *appearance*: in MS C David's new wife was first given her married name as Margaret Logie and described correctly as a daughter of Malcolm Drummond (*SP*, vii, 31-34; cf. *RRS*, vi, no.318), though Malcolm was wrongly described as the father also of Annabel Drummond, soon to be married to John Steward lord of Kyle (see above c.27, l.23) and later his queen 1390-1401 (*SP*, vii, 37), when he was in fact her grandfather; this reference to Malcolm was then deleted and the name of John Logie put in the margin as a correction; but the scribe failed to correct at the same time the word 'daughter' ('filiam' [text l.3, note a]), and it was only in MS CA that this word was changed to 'widow' ('relictam'), which correctly identifies Margaret's relationship with John.

The date of Margaret's marriage to the king is not certain; cf. the duplicate entry below c.34, ll.1-2; *Fordun* (382) dates it '1363', while *Wyntoun* (vi, 251) has 'April 1363'; it has been thought that it took place as late as ca 13 February 1364 (*HBC*, 59); John Logie, a knight from Logiealmond PER, was a grandson of the knight of the same name executed in 1320 (see above XIII c.1, l.13; cf. *RRS*, vi, no.212); he was apparently still alive after 1 April 1363 (*ER*, ii, 176; cf. p.lvii); but his widow is likely to have become queen before October 1363 (*ibid.*, p.liv) and certainly before 6 December 1363 (*CDS*, iv, no.93). For the enrichment of Margaret's Drummond and Logie relations after her marriage, see *ER*, ii, pp.lvii-lx.

5. *pleasure ... appearance*: cf. *Scalacronica* (203), which describes this marriage as a love-match.

9-15. (1) *in choosing ... sharing*: in setting out the points for discussion in schematic form Bower was probably following his university training in scholastic method.



- 18-24. *We have ... brothers*: Genesis 34.  
 26. *... woman*: Ecclesiasticus 9:9 (*Vulgate*); 9:8 (*NEB*).  
 30-32. *... Lord*: Proverbs 19:14.  
 33-52. *... character*: based on Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, in *The Works of Aristotle*, ix, ed. W.D. Ross (Oxford, 1925), Book VIII, c.3, paras. 1156a-b.  
 38. *old merchants*: 'senum mercatorum' (text l.42) is clear in the MSS, and perhaps refers to friendship based on long-established business connections; in Aristotle the phrase is just 'old men', contrasted with 'young men' (below ll.40-41).  
 55-56. *... honoured*: Proverbs 31:30.  
 58. *accidentally*: 'per accidens' (text ll.58-59) is probably the technical term in logic indicating an attribute that is not part of the essence (*Word-List*, s.v., and *OED*).  
 59-63. *... modesty*: Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*, bk.I, c.46 (PL, 23, col.288).  
 68-84. *Hence ... behaviour*: cf. John Chrysostom, *Commentarius in Matthaeum Evangelistam*, Homily III, c.4 (PG, 57, col.35), where this part of the Gospel of Matthew is discussed, but not, despite Bower's specific reference, in the words quoted here; see also below c.31, ll.5-10.  
 91-100. *... children*: selected from Tobias 6:11-22 (*Vulgate*); Tobit 6 in *NEB* is different.  
 103-6. *... chose*: Genesis 6:1-2.  
 108-9. *Abraham ... girls*: cf. Genesis 24:2-3.  
 109-11. *Jacob ... them*: cf. Genesis 29.

Chapter 29  
pp.339-41

4. *... them*: Colossians 3:19.  
 5. *from a rib*: cf. Genesis 2:21-22.  
 9-12. *... other*: Ecclesiasticus 25:1-2.  
 14-17. *As Varro says ... man*: quotation from Varro not identified; in fact the Roman writer Varro did not write comedies (*OCD*, 1107-8).  
 19-24. *The first ... wine*: for these three examples taken from a longer list, and for the forms of the proper names, see Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem*, ed. C.Kempf (Teubner edn, 1888), pp.289-90, bk.VI, c.3, paras. 10, 12, 9. The full name in the last example is Egnatius Mecenius or Metenius.  
 26-27. *... woman*: Job 2:10.  
 29. *The Apostle*: i.e. St Paul.  
 33-34. *... for it*: Ephesians 5:25.  
 35-36. *... bodies*: *ibid.*, 5:28.

- 37-38. *... self*: *ibid.*, 5:33.  
 45-46. *... her*: Ecclesiasticus 25:26 (*Vulgate*); 25:19 (*NEB*).  
 50-51. *... woman's*: *ibid.*, 25:22 (*Vulgate*); 25:15 (*NEB*).  
 51-53. *... wife*: *ibid.*, 25:23 (*Vulgate*); 25:16 (*NEB*).

Chapter 30  
pp.341-5

1. *comparable to a serpent*: cf. above c.29, ll.50-51.  
 13. *groaning*: Ezekiel 9:4. The letter T is the last letter in the Hebrew alphabet, and in the ancient Hebrew script was in the form of a cross.  
 15-16. *Ash Wednesday*: the first day of Lent.  
 19. *antimony*: a bluish-white substance used as eye-shadow.  
 28-29. *... appearance*: Ecclesiasticus 4:26 (*Vulgate*); 4:22 (*NEB*).  
 33-34. *... wicked*: Psalm 81:2 (*Vulgate*); 82:2 (*NEB*).  
 35-36. *... recognize*: Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. J.Labourt, iii (Paris, 1953), no.54, para.7, ll.25-26, p.30: 'Qua fiducia erigit ad caelum vultus, quos conditor non agnoscat?'  
 37-39. *... hair*: Isaiah 3:17.  
 40-44. *Thus ... her*: a variant version of the tale listed in F.C.Tubach, *Index Exemplorum* (Helsinki, 1969), no.2400, s.v. 'Hair plucked by an ape', and in *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, iii (London, 1910), 397, no.440.  
 45. *... destroyed*: Isaiah 33:1.  
 47-48. *... devices*: these lines from Ovid have already been quoted above twice VII c.34, ll.60-61, and IX c.38, ll.37-38 (q.v. for details).  
 63-67. *... silent*: Esther 14:16 (*Vulgate* only).  
 68-79. *... laugh*: for a related version of these stories see *The Exempla ... of Jacques de Vitry* (London, 1890), 101, no.243.  
 81-88. *... garments*: Isaiah 3:18-23 (note that variations are possible in the translation of the various items of dress).  
 89-91. *... stomacher*: *ibid.*, 3:24.  
 93-104. *... Hell*: Professor John MacQueen has kindly provided the translation from Middle Scots here and below c.31, ll.85-95. The poem in its original form, which develops the last verse quoted here from Isaiah, is printed by R.J.Lyall, in 'The lost literature of medieval Scotland', *Bryght Lanternis*, ed. J.D.McClure and M.R.G.Spiller (Aberdeen, 1989), 37, where there is a discussion of the indeterminate date and the various possible literary contexts of these lines. Cf. above c.4, ll.32-35 note.  
 101. *petticoat looking like an undershirt*: Professor MacQueen suggests that this means a garment combining a bodice and a skirt, which was regarded as something unusual and ostentatious, perhaps even wanton.

Chapter 31  
pp.347-51

6. ... marry: Matthew 19:10.

6-10. ... good: the quotation may run on to l.11 'her'; cf. John Chrysostom, *Commentarius in Matthaeum Evangelistam*, Homily LXII-LXIII, c.2 (PG, 57, cols. 598-9), where this part of the Gospel of Matthew is discussed, but not in the words quoted here; see also above c.28, ll.68-84.

16-18. ... desire: the quotation may run on to l.22 'basilisk'; it cannot be found in the modern Augustine concordance.

26-27. ... woman's: Ecclesiasticus [not 5] 25:23 (*Vulgate*); 25:15 (*NEB*).

28-29. if the bones ... fire: see *On the Properties of Things*. John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, ed. M.C.Seymour (Oxford, 1975), ii, 1216.

32-35. ... by her: these lines are noted in Walther, *Proverbia*, no. 18,509 from here only.

39-41. ... lost: noted in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.16,595 from here and various collections of verses.

44. mentioned already: cf. above ll.16-18.

47-51. ... suspicion: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, viii (Rome, 1977), letter 538, p.505, ll.7-10.

56-58. ... wickedness: Ecclesiasticus 42:12-13.

68-70. A woman ... on it: this does not refer to the work of Aristotle mentioned here, but rather to the related work 'De somniis', which is also in the *Parva Naturalia* (ed. J.I.Beere in *The Works of Aristotle*, iii [Oxford, 1908], c.2, 459b), where the text runs as follows: 'Speculorum enim admodum nitidorum, si forte mulieres menstruae inspexerint, superficies sanguinea quasi nebula affunditur; et novo quidem speculo haud facile est eiusmodi maculam detergere, veteri autem facilius.'

74-75. ... reputation: Ecclesiasticus 47:21-22 (*Vulgate*); 47:19-20 (*NEB*).

78-84. Babio ... Devil: not traced in the play called 'Babio' (which has a central character of that name); see *Three Latin Comedies*, ed. K.Bate (Toronto, 1976), 37-60.

85-95. ... Devil: perhaps this translation from schematic Latin into Middle Scots is by Bower himself; Professor John MacQueen has kindly supplied the modern version; the origins and precise sense of 'coitand' (text l.74) are obscure (*DOST*).

96-98. The elephant ... once: see T.H.White, *The Book of Beasts* (London, 1954), 25.

97. according to the Naturales: see Pliny, *Natural History*, bk. VIII, c. 10 (Loeb edn, iii, 22-23, note b), where it is noted that in some MSS of Pliny's work it is asserted that elephants 'never bear more than once'.

103-5. ... can: see Walther, *Proverbia*, no.9049; the first line here is commonly found; the other two less so.

106-8. Hugh ... says: i.e. the quotation at the start of c.32 below comes from Hugh of St Victor, *De Nuptiis*, bk.I (PL, 176), col.1207.

107-8. ... oil: Proverbs 5:3.

Chapter 32  
pp.351-5

1-11. ... are: see above c.31, ll.106-8.

8-9. ... sword: Proverbs 5:4.

14-15. ... torture: Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* (PL, 23), col.289.

18-22. ... woman: 'Valerius ad Rufinum' is a common misattribution of Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M.R.James (Oxford, 1914), p.xxx; this quotation comes from dist.IV, c.IV, pp.157-8; cf. p.267n.

19. Aureolum of Theophrastus: Theophrastus (ca 370- 288/5 B.C.) was a pupil of Aristotle in Athens; no book called 'Aureolum' has been identified among his surviving works (*OCD*, 1058-9).

20. Jason's Medea: Jason, the mythical Greek hero, leader of the Argonauts, whose wife was the murderous witch Medea (*ibid.*, 561-2, 660).

24-25. ... foot: see Walther, *Proverbia*, no.11,775, where several sources are listed, though not the Babio play – in which it cannot be traced (see above c.31, ll.78-84 note).

31-54. ... mine: these lines are not in the Babio play either; they are attributed in some MSS to Hildebert of Lavardin, and are printed as his (but with the lines in a different order) in PL, 171, col.1428, poem 108; but Professor A.B.Scott (who has translated these lines here) advises that they are not by Hildebert; cf. the work of Bernard of Cluny or 'Morlaix' (RS, 59, ii, 57-59), where parts of the lines here can be recognized.

It is not clear whether the author is addressing 'woman' as a class or an individual.

56-58. ... fluid: not in the Babio play either; the origin of these lines is unknown; they are listed with ll.59-61 in Walther, *Initia*, no.18,746 from here.

59-61. Babio ... them: two lines which are found near the end of the Babio play (*Three Latin Comedies*, ut cit., 60, ll.483-4).

Chapter 33  
pp.355-9

6-11. ... fled: a story drawn from Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem* (Teubner edn), bk.IV, c.6, para.5, sect.2, p.199, ll.25-30.

7. *Mithridates*: it is not clear which of the six kings of Pontus called Mithridates it is that Valerius has in mind here (cf. *OCD*, 695-6).

11-17. *He tells ... male one*: Valerius Maximus, ut cit., bk.IV, c.6, para.1, sect.1, p.197, ll.5-11; again not an exact quotation; Valerius tells the story about two snakes rather than two lambs.

18-25. *For the above ... saved*: ibid., bk.IV, c.6, para.6, sect.3, p.201, l.23 - p.202, l.7; not an exact quotation.

19-20. *Spartans ... Lacedaemonians*: these are two names for the same people (*OCD*, 1006-8).

27-35. *The Indians ... fidelity*: Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*, (PL, 23), cols.286-7. In MSC the first word is clearly 'Vidi' (text l.24), a scribal error for 'Indi'.

37. *... husband*: Ecclesiasticus [not 36] 26:1.

37-59. *I have heard ... happy*: source of this story is unknown; Bower may literally have heard it rather than read it, in which case 'the schools' (ll.46-47) may have been the new university at St Andrews.

64-80. *... pleasing*: two separate passages taken from Hugh of St Victor, *De Nuptis*, bk.I (PL, 176, col.1203).

82-89. *... from us*: these lines are listed in Walther, *Initia*, no.3167 from here only.

84-85. *and we ... home*: Professor A.B.Scott advises that the theme here goes back to Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. J.Labourt, viii (Paris, 1963), p.131, letter 147, c.10: 'Solemus mala domus nostrae scire novissimi, ac liberorum et conjugum vitia, vicinis cantantibus, ignorare.'

#### Chapter 34 pp.359-61

For ll.1-2 and 48-58 Bower may have had available *Fordun* (382, annals 185-6), though the textual comparison is not exact; *Fordun* is now becoming unavailable for the core of Bower's story; for the queen's divorce case he claims to have seen a notarial instrument with abundant detail (ll.11-14), but he chooses to include little of it; his source for the account of David's last years (ll.23-48) is unknown, but it is not the same as the source used by *Wyntoun* (vi, 253-5). *Pluscarden* (307) follows the chapter in general, but introduces information of very doubtful authenticity (i.e. that Margaret pretended to be pregnant, and that she planned later to marry King Edward III of England [whose wife Philippa did die on 15 August 1369]), and was certainly wrong in stating that Margaret died before David. *Extracta* (190) summarizes the whole chapter.

1-2. *... queen*: cf. above c.28, ll.1-5; here as in *Fordun* the place of the marriage is given as Inchmurdo FIF (see above c.27, l.2); *Fordun*'s date is 1363.

4. *about the beginning of Lent 1369*: this would normally mean ca 27

February 1369/70 according to Scottish computation; but it appears from the royal financial records that the divorce in practical terms was effective from 20 March 1368/9 (*ER*, ii, 344-6; cf. pp.lx-lxi); Bower therefore probably took his date from the notarial record mentioned above, which presumably followed the custom of the Roman court regarding the beginning of the year, so that the date here is ca 14 February 1368/9.

4-7. *she secretly ... found*: Pope Urban V did not return to Avignon from Italy until 27 September 1370 (*ODP*, 224); Margaret's case started at the papal court before King David's death in February 1371 (*CPL*, iv, 94); but she is not likely to have been there in person at that stage, whether she was expelled from Scotland (ibid.), or left secretly (as here); she is likely to have been still in Scotland until after she obtained a safe-conduct on 19 February 1372 to travel through England with a substantial entourage (*CDS*, iv, no.193; cf. p.401, no.17; cf. p.xv); she had reached Avignon by 23 June 1372, when she borrowed money there from some London merchants (ibid., no.197); already by 30 July 1371 and 30 January 1372 Pope Gregory XI had been interceding with King Robert II on her behalf (*CPL*, iv, 94, 99, 120; cf. 104; see also Theiner, *Monumenta*, 341, no.685); Scottish envoys were in Paris January-February 1373/4 seeking help from King Charles V there to secure reversal of papal decisions in her favour (Robertson, *Parl.Recs.*, 129-31; cf. misdating in *CDS*, iv, pp.xv-xvi; this notarial record [which was copied into the volume of miscellaneous parliamentary records known as the 'Black Book'] is too short to be the lengthy book mentioned in introduction above, but it could well have been included in that book); presumably died soon afterwards as stated below l.17.

16. *would have ... interdict*: presumably Bower read of this possibility (as a means of enforcing a papal judgment on King Robert) in the certified record which he mentions at ll.11-14.

18-22. *... as before*: for Robert Stewart and his sons John and Robert as rebels in 1363 see above c.27; the third surviving son, Alexander, was to become lord of Badenoch INV in 1371 and earl of Buchan from 1382 (*SP*, ii, 262-3; *DNB*, liv, 262); there are financial records relating to the imprisonment of the father and his son Alexander in Lochleven castle FIF in the winter of 1368-9 (*ER*, ii, 309, 347; cf. pp.lxi-lxii); for the date of the queen's divorce see above.

23-39. *... wanted*: cf. the praise here for David with that in *Wyntoun* (vi, 253-5); see accounts in Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 178-9, and Webster in *TRHS* (ut cit. above c.25, ll.31-39), 124-5; cf. discussion of 'Highlands and Lowlands', in A.Grant, *Independence and Nationhood* (London, 1984), c.8; and see A.A.M.Duncan, (ut cit. above c.24, ll.24-25 note), 267-8.

25-26. *united ... different tongues*: cf. above II c.9.

26. *wild caterans*: see above I c.19, l.47, and below XV c.3.

31. *in the following way*: cf. the actions of James I in 1428 (see below XVI c.15); Bower is writing with recent experience of the king's problems in mind; but he does not here give any specific examples; cf. Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 178-9.

40-48. *... knighthood*: for a discussion of the activities of Scots in crusading in the 1360s, especially in Egypt and Prussia, see Macquarrie, *Crusades*,

80-85. This is the only evidence of King David's ambition to join them; it may be that a copy of the circular letter included in c.55 below (which Bower thought should be read after c.27 above) did reach Scotland in 1366 as stated there.

54. *his slight payment*: presumably 'slight' because he had not lived long.

55-56. *in his forty-seventh year*: cf. above XIII c.5, ll.11-12; *Wyntoun* agrees with Bower; *Fordun* does not mention his age, but wrongly states that he reigned for forty-eight years.

56. *in the thirty-ninth year*: in fact the forty-second year.

56-57. *feast of St Peter's Chair 1370*: 22 February 1370/1.

58. *at Holyrood*: i.e. at the abbey near Edinburgh, not beside his father and Aunt Christian at Dunfermline FIF (see above XIII c.13, l.63; XIV c.18, l.32).

### Chapter 35 pp.361-5

This chapter appears only in Bower; but ll.59-61 suggest that it was composed soon after King David's death.

25. *he increased ... region*: presumably a reference to major buildings like castles and churches.

35. *imperial law*: perhaps a learned reference to 'the law common to many nations' i.e. a blend of Roman Civil and Roman Canon Law (see above XI c.7, l.32, and c.48, ll.3-6 notes); or, more likely in this context, a reference to the one law imposed by the king on the whole country (cf. above c.34, ll.25-26).

46-47. *statute ... permission*: see David's charter to the burgesses of Scotland, 28 March 1364 (RRS, vi, no.316; cf. Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 177-8).

67-69. *Father of Mercy ... King of Heaven*: i.e. two different descriptions of the attributes of God.

68. *spice of the guilty*: a puzzling phrase, for 'aroma' (text l.49) normally has an attractive connotation.

### Chapter 36 pp.365-7

*Fordun* (382, annal 186) has only one sentence on the coronation of Robert II, emphasizing his hereditary title (through his mother Marjorie, the daughter of Robert I); Bower follows instead for ll.1-21 the same source used for *Wyntoun* (vi, 264-7), suggesting a kind of elective monarchy, and with more detail than *Wyntoun* chose to include; the rest of the chapter is Bower's own

work. *Pluscarden* (310-11) has many minor changes of style, and drops most of ll.34-55 in favour of a general reference to 'the books of Solomon' (undefined) on the begetting of bastards; *Extracta* (190-1) summarizes ll.1-25 only.

1-2. *the three estates of the realm*: though no record survives of a meeting of such a body at this time, a consultative and deliberative council made up of three elements or 'communities' (clergy, nobility and burgesses) had been meeting since 1357 at least (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 166), and may well have met after King David's death as suggested here.

2. *Linlithgow WLO*.

4. *Robert Stewart*: it is editorially convenient to mark the arrival of the House of Stewart on the throne by dropping the form of the family surname 'Steward' as a translation of 'Senescallus' (indicating status subordinate to royalty) in favour of 'Stewart' on a regular basis for the king and all members of his family. It is noteworthy that the scribes of the various MSS of Bower's work written between the 1440s and 1510 are not consistent in their usage either before or after 1371.

6. *the tailzies*: see above XII c.24, and XIV c.12a.

6-9. *Sir William de Douglas ... interest*: the basis of this reported claim by Douglas is not known (cf. *SP*, v, 594); Douglas had previously been an ally of Robert Stewart and his family (see above c.27, ll.21-24); now future 'loyalty was not taken for granted, but was richly rewarded' (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 185; and see below).

9-10. *Sir George de Dunbar*: had succeeded to the earldom of Dunbar or March as great-nephew of the previous Earl Patrick in July 1368, and was to retain it as a prominent figure in Scotland until his death in the 1420s (*SP*, iii, 270-6; see below XV c.32, ll.13-18; see also *Fordun*, 377, n.3 for his parentage, and cf. above XIII c.47, l.9n.).

10. *John earl of Moray*: not in fact created earl of Moray (as a grandson of Thomas Randolph the companion of Robert Bruce through his younger daughter) until 9 March 1372; then held this earldom until 1391 x 1392 (*SP*, vi, 298-301).

11. *Robert de Erskine*: see above c.27, l.12; for his fees as keeper of Dumbarton and Stirling castles see *ER*, ii, ad indicem; the keeper of Edinburgh castle in 1371 was Thomas de Erskine, not Robert (*ibid.*, ii, 364)—the same error occurs in *Wyntoun*.

16. *James de Douglas*: the future earl of Douglas 1384-8; his wife was Isabel Stewart (*SP*, iii, 155-7).

20-21. *So on the following ... ceremony*: the coronation and anointing in fact took place a day later than stated here i.e. on 26 March 1371, with homage by the magnates on the following day (*APS*, i, 545); as at the next coronation in 1390 (see below XV c.1) the abbey of Scone secured recompense from the royal treasury for damages at this time (*ER*, ii, 393).

25. *Like another Abraham*: the parallel is not very apt, for Abraham had only two sons, one illegitimate (Ishmael) and one legitimate (Isaac); but from each were ultimately descended twelve tribes (*The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, 4-5, 26-27, 329, 338).

26. *plenty ... of children*: see list of his thirteen legitimate children and eight illegitimate ones in *SP*, i, 15-17.

28-31. *... everything*: Deuteronomy 30:9.

36-37. *appropriate for his natural children*: in fact King Robert's most notorious children, Alexander earl of Buchan (see above c.34, ll.18-22) and Walter earl of Atholl (see below XVI c.27), were both legitimate.

37-38. *... viper*: Isaiah 59:5.

42. *on both sides*: possibly 'utrobique' (text l.38), literally 'on both parts', means 'by both the king and his subjects'.

44-52. *as Aesop writes ... nothing*: quotation not identified; the corpus of fables associated with Aesop is not known to include a collection called his *Apology*.

57-58. *... wastrels*: these lines are listed in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.22,561 from here and elsewhere.

### Chapter 37 pp.369-71

This whole chapter follows the same source used for *Wyntoun* (vi, 266-73); both Bower and *Wyntoun* leave the same large gap in their accounts of the 1370s (see below l.20); nothing in *Fordun*; *Pluscarden* (311-12) covers ll.7-56 with some more fiercely anti-English phraseology; *Extracta* (191-2) has a summary of the chapter.

1. *truce ... fourteen years*: a reference to the truce arranged on 24 August 1369 to run for fourteen years from 2 February 1370 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 934-5; cf. 938-9); Bower has not in fact mentioned it previously.

2-3. *certain days ... both sides*: for the system whereby the wardens of the marches on both sides of the Border met at regular intervals to administer the customary Border law, see discussion in T.I.Rae, *The Administration of the Scottish Frontier 1513:1603* (Edinburgh, 1966), 47-60.

5. *John Stewart*: he had been created earl of Carrick on 22 June 1368 (*RRS*, vi, no.400); cf. above c.34, ll.18-21.

7. *Robert earl of Menteith*: cf. above c.27, ll.23-24; he was from 27 March 1371 styled earl, rather than just lord, of Menteith (*HBC*, 515).

8. *a man-at-arms*: no name was known to the scribes of the Bower MSS; in one of the *Wyntoun* MSS (vi, 268) the name Donald Taylor is preserved; in *Pluscarden* (311) the unhelpful surname 'Dunbar' is suggested.

8-9. *earl of March*: see above c.36, ll.9-10.

10. *Roxburgh fair*: the town and castle of Roxburgh ROX were at this date under English administration (*OPS*, i, 485).

17-18. *... derided*: quotation untraced; it is apparently not from a classical source.

20. *next feast of St Lawrence*: probably 10 August (cf. *ibid.*, i, 470, n.1); that the year-date was 1377 is proved by consequent correspondence dated 4/14 September 1377 (*CDS*, iv, no.242).

37. *Sir John de Gordon*: lord of Gordon BWK and Strathbogie ABD (*SP*, iv, 514-15).

41. *Sir John Lilburn*: probably a NTB landholder (Lilburn lies to the south of Wooler), who came in October 1378 to hold lands in Teviotdale ROX (*CDS*, iv, no.271).

45. *Carham NTB*: on south bank of the river Tweed opposite Birgham BWK.

### Chapter 38 pp.371-3

For ll.1-17 and 32-45 Bower continues to follow the incidents covered in the source used also by *Wyntoun* (vi, 272-7), and adds ll.17-31 as a comment of his own. Nothing in *Fordun*; *Pluscarden* (312-13) covers ll.1-19 only, considerably re-written; *Extracta* (192) summarizes the whole chapter.

1. *Sir Henry de Percy*: succeeded his father as Lord Percy of Alnwick NTB in 1368; created earl of Northumberland 16 July 1377, and lived until 19 February 1408 (*CP*, ix, 708-12; *DNB*, xlv, 399-405).

4. *advancing in haste*: no date is mentioned, but August 1377 may be presumed (see below).

*Duns BWK*.

8-9. *with noisy ... inside*: *Pluscarden* (312) amends this to read 'sonitu cuiusdam instrumenti quod in Scotia vocatum est *Clochbolg*, cum aliis tubae corneis'; *DOST* is no help with *Clochbolg*.

22-31. *... circumstances*: Cassiodorus, *Variae*, bk.I, no.40. in MGH, *Auctores Antiquissimi*, xii, pp.36-37.

33. *Sir Thomas de Musgrave*: identified also as Lord Musgrave from 1350 (*CP*, ix, 434-6; *DNB*, xxxix, 425); he had been continued as keeper of Berwick for the English for three years from 9 February 1376 (*CDS*, iv, no.208, and ad indicem).

34-35. *Sir John de Gordon*: see above c.37, l.37.

38. *he was captured*: this was on 27 August 1377 (*CDS*, iv, no.252), apparently at Melrose ROX (*CP*, ix, 435, note c; see Froissart, *Chroniques* (SHF), ix, 44-46; cf. p.xxxii-xxxiii); his career then came to an end (*ibid.*, 436).

43. *lord of Johnstone*: called Sir John of Johnstone in *Wyntoun* (vi, 276-7); landholder at Johnstone in Annandale DMF (*SP*, i, 233-4); *Wyntoun* credits him with beating the English near the Solway Firth.

47-48. *if not ... churchmen*: an interesting definition of the readership of his work as envisaged by Bower himself.



Chapter 39  
pp.375-9

Source of ll.1-12 is not known; they have no equivalent in *Fordun* or *Wyntoun*; l.13 is found in *Fordun* (382, annal 186, last sentence); then Bower enlarges at length on St Bridget of Sweden in ll.13-30 and 39-102, with an editorial intrusion at ll.31-38 taken from the margin of MS C. *Pluscarden* (313) summarizes the main themes, with very little on St Bridget, but with some minor additions; *Extracta* (192) has a summary with variants (see details below).

This chapter follows chronologically after c.36 above, as if Bower had not been aware of the correct dates of the events described in cc.37-38 (which are undated in his text) and assumed wrongly that they took place 1371-2.

Bower was well-informed about the career and writings of St Bridget; presumably details of her life were circulating in Scotland in his day, probably based on the accounts of her life composed for her canonization (see below); of all the authors whom he quotes literally in his book he gives the most space to Bridget.

1-3. ... *ground*: *Extracta* exceptionally disagrees with the text of Bower and dates this storm to 6 December 1371 rather than 1372; there is no means of knowing which is right.

4-6. ... *Aberdeen*: no explanation is offered for why the queen had not been crowned with her husband Robert II on 26 March 1371 (see above c.36, ll.20-21); cf. below XV c.1, ll.1-12 for procedure in 1390.

4. *Lady Euphemia*: daughter of Hugh earl of Ross 1323-33 (see above XIII c.27, l.20); married first to John Randolph, third earl of Moray (died 1346), and secondly (in terms of a papal dispensation dated 2 May 1355) to Robert Steward (*SP*, i, 16; vii, 236-7); cf. below c.47, ll.63-64.

5. *performed at Scone* PER: Bower's placing of this item suggests a date 6 December 1372 × 24 March 1372/3; but see above ll.1-3 note.

6. *bishop of Aberdeen*: Alexander de Kininmund II 1355-80 (*Watt, Graduates*, 301-3); no reason is suggested for the absence of the bishop of St Andrews who would normally perform this function.

7-11. *Walter earl of Atholl ... hanging there*: see above c.36, ll.36-37 note, and below XVI c.36, ll.73-74 note; Bower is more specific here than he is later about Atholl's fate; 'and are still hanging' refers to the time of writing in the 1440s; presumably Bower has himself added ll.6-12 here to the entry about the queen; for Walter Stewart see *SP*, i, 436-9. *Extracta* adds the information that he was also lord of Methven PER and Kinclaven PER as well as Brechin ANG.

11-12. *David earl of Strathearn*: see *SP*, viii, 259-60; he succeeded to his father's earldom at the time of Robert's coronation in March 1371, and held it until his death 1382 × 1389 (*HBC*, 521). *Pluscarden* inserts here details about the murder of his son-in-law Patrick Graham in 1413 (see below XV c.23, ll.24-50).

13. *In 1373 ... Bridget*: she died on 23 July 1373 (see below ll.29-30). There follows Bower's main discussion of St Bridget of Sweden and her writings; for short modern accounts see *NCE*, ii, 799 and *ODS*, 61-62; for a longer account

see *DHGE*, x, cols.719-28; and for a full study see J.Jorgensen, *Saint Bridget of Sweden*, 2 vols. (London, 1954), which is followed here; her works are available in an old edition: *Memoriale effigiatum librorum prophetiarum seu visionum B. Brigidae alias Birgittae*, ed. O.Magnus (Rome, 1556, no pagination).

15. *Närke and Vadstena*: both places lay in central Sweden on the shores of Lake Vättern – the former was where her husband was law-man, the latter where a mansion was given to her by King Magnus of Sweden for a convent (Jorgensen, ut cit., i, 69, 195-6).

16-17. *father ... mother*: i.e. Birger Persson and Ingeborg.

17. *husband*: Ulf Gudmarsson.

18-19. *The knight ... Holy Sepulchre*: for William de Lindsay of the Byres ELO see *SP*, v, 391; the story here cannot be authentic, for Charles died in Italy on 12 March 1372 without ever reaching the Holy Land (Jorgensen, ut cit., ii, 236). *Pluscarden* mistakenly says that it was Bridget's father, not son, that was knighted.

19-21. *There was ... Revelations*: see *Memoriale*, VII, c.13; Bridget had a series of visions in this connection after her son's death on her way from Naples to Jerusalem in 1372 (Jorgensen, ut cit., ii, 244-7).

27-28. *while ... pontiffs*: she was based in Rome 1349-73; these popes (who lived most of the time at Avignon) are Clement VI 1342-52, Urban V 1362-70, and Gregory XI 1371-8; Innocent VI 1352-62 is missing from this list.

31-38. ... *effect*: Bower's scribe for MS C chooses a curious place in the middle of this chapter about Bridget to attach a marginal note about three disparate documents which he had at a late stage copied at the end of Book XIV (see below cc.55, 56, 56a).

40-41. *On the Supreme Pontiffs*: included in the collected *Revelations* (*Memoriale*, IV, cc.136-44); they comprise revelations directed at Popes Innocent, Urban and Gregory.

41. *They frequently came to her*: seldom literally true, for they were mostly at Avignon while she was in Rome (see above ll.27-28).

43. 1338: Bridget was then aged 35; she had been having visions since the age of 7 (Jorgensen, i, 32).

45. *Rule of the Holy Saviour*: the new order was approved by Urban V in June 1370, and confirmed by Urban VI (1378-89) on 3 December 1378 (*DHGE*, x, col.729); but Bridget was not canonized until 1391 by Boniface XI (1389-1404), a point which is stated correctly in *Extracta* (see *ODS*, 62, and Jorgensen, ut cit., i, 302-4).

47-54. *An angelic ... angel said*: the 'Sermo Angelicus de Excellentia Beate Marie Virginis', in 21 chapters, is in the collected *Revelations*, following a version of the 'Rule of the Holy Saviour'.

In MS CA Bower moved this section to follow 'Linköping' (below l.62).

49-50. *cardinal's house ... St Laurence in Damaso*: a house attached to the titular church of Cardinal Hugh Rogerii (a brother of Pope Clement VI), who was then living at the papal court at Avignon, in which Bridget lodged on her arrival in Rome (Jorgensen, ut cit., ii, 19).

52-53. *the manner ... Mattins*: the syntax and meaning are unclear here; this passage has not been found in the 'Sermo Angelicus'.

57 *Book of Questions*: i.e. Book V of the *Revelations*, containing sixteen questions and thirteen revelations.

61. *Matthias of Sweden*: a Paris graduate in theology, who became Bridget's spiritual director until his death in 1350 (Jorgensen, ut cit., i, 56-59; ii, 74).

62. *Linköping*: a cathedral city near Vadstena.

67-74. *which are ... underfoot*: observations by Bower on the Scotland of his day in explanation of his enthusiasm for the works of Bridget.

77-89. *... community*: not in fact a quotation from the section of the collected *Revelations* known as the 'Revelationes Extravagantes', but from VII, c.16, second paragraph D.

86-87. *... child*: Ecclesiastes 10:16.

90-93. *... Purgatory*: this passage has not been traced Bridget's *Revelations*, VII, c.17 as cited..

94-102. *It is explained ... clothes*: this passage bears some relation to *Revelations*, VII, c.17, paragraphs F-G, but most of the wording is Bower's own rather than Bridget's, and the final direct speech has not been traced.

103-5. *... Bridget*: cf. Bower's similar lines about his own book (below XVI c.39, end); to no other work is such praise given. In MSC these lines are in the hand of the rubricator.

## Chapter 40 pp.379-81

Bower follows same source as *Wyntoun* (vi, 278-81) for ll.17-26 and 30-43; otherwise his source for the short items at ll.1-3, 4-10, 11-15, 16, 26-29 and 52-54 is unknown; ll.43-51 provide a typical reflective comment by him. *Pluscarden* (313-14) is shorter with some variants; *Extracta* (193-4) follows MS CA as usual, with some additional passages.

The chapters numbered 40-42 in Goodall's edition are here numbered 55-56a (see above c.39, ll.31-38 note); it follows that this chapter is numbered 40, with the subsequent chapters numbered in series hereafter. This corresponds with Bower's own arrangement in MS C.

1-3. *... Martin V*: the Great Schism in the papacy (*ODCC*, 591) began with the election of Clement VII (now regarded as an anti-pope) in September 1378, and lasted for thirty-nine years in most parts of Europe until the election of Martin V at the Council of Constance in November 1417 (Scotland did not accept him as pope until August 1419 [see below XV c.25, ll.48-50]); 'sixty-eight years' here is wildly wrong (cf. below XVI c.5, ll.31-61 note); *Extracta* is nearer the truth with 'thirty-six years' and also various additional details about the council.

4-10. *... control*: Bower was a canon at St Andrews within twenty years of this disaster; more details are given here than above VI c.45, ll.7-8 and c.53,

ll.35-41. *Pluscarden* rejects the suggestion that a plumber was at fault, in favour of a fire kindled by the blazing sun.

12. *the Merse*: i.e. Berwickshire.

13-15. *Their names ... others*: Bower's account here is not taken from the notes in *Fordun* (382, annal 187); he knows only four incomplete names, and his scribe has left plenty of room for three Christian names to be inserted and then further names to be added; for MS CA he added one extra name and changed 'Fordun' to 'Forde'. None of these men can be identified.

15. *others*: here in MS CA Bower adds: 'quos propterea omnes comes Marchie fecit decapitari, quia pretendebat castrum a se fore assecuratum specialiter.' Cf. the account in *Fordun* (382), where it is noted that the castle was soon recaptured and all the Scots inside were killed; and see A. Grant, 'Otterburn from the Scottish point of view', in *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Goodman and A. Tuck (London, 1992), 39.

16. *... October*: David Stewart was the elder son of John Stewart earl of Carrick, the heir to the throne (see above c.37, l.5); created duke of Rothesay in 1398 (see below XV c.4, ll.3-4); in the *Pluscarden* MSS the year- date is given as 1379 (or in one case 1380).

17. *earl of Douglas*: see above c.36, ll.6-9.

19. *as we have said*: see above c.38, ll.1-17, where Percy's expedition is dated 1377.

21. *Penrith CMB*: see *Wyntoun* (vi, 278) for clear identification of this place-name.

26-29. *But it turned out ... Plague*: *Wyntoun* does not connect the bringing to Scotland of prisoners from Penrith with the spread of the Third Plague, which is noted quite separately (vi, 282-3); *Pluscarden* too fails to make the connection suggested here. For the Second Plague see above c.24.

30-43. *... Solway*: this expedition apparently followed close on the previous one in 1380; but in a much re-written account *Pluscarden* dates it early in 1381.

43-51. *Soldiers ... fight him*: a comment by Bower, quoting Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* (Teubner edn), bk.III, c.18 [sic], p.103, ll.19-22, and p.104, ll.3-4..

52. *monastery at Arbroath ANG*: see *MRHS*, 66-67.

*accidentally burnt*: see in the textual footnotes the alternative explanation preferred by Bower for MS CA.

53. *as is mentioned above*: see X c.30, ll.6-8. where the date is 9 January 1272.

## Chapter 41 pp.383-7

In cc.41-42 Bower includes the full text of the renewed treaty of alliance between France and Scotland sought by King Robert II at the start of his reign; none of this is in *Fordun* or *Wyntoun*; the main document is that issued

by King Charles V at Vincennes near Paris on 30 June 1371; this was written in French, but included (ll.26-53 here) the formal commission of the Scottish envoys written in Latin (original of whole document now in SRO SP.6/2; copies printed in Robertson, *Parl.Recs.*, 120-3 and [as confirmed in 1391] in *ER*, iii, pp.xcvii- civ); the text of the commission has survived separately and is printed in *APS*, i, 559-60; Bower secured (or may perhaps have himself made) a translation of the main text from French into Latin (see ll.5-6). *Pluscarden* (314- 19) has a full text of the treaty and an abbreviated text of the commission, both of which contain substantial variants compared with the texts here; as usual in this edition the texts here follow the Bower MSS, and have not been collated with the original treaty or the published versions mentioned above. *Extracta* (194) has only a brief mention of the treaty in one sentence.

Bower entered this treaty quite wrongly in the year 1381 – his dating at the start (l.1) and at the end of the text itself (c.42, text l.56); probably the version supplied by the translator (who may have made the error in the first place) did not include the Latin commission, for it was at first omitted from the main text of MS C (text l.22); but later it was decided to include it in the margins of two folios of that MS, at first bearing the correct date '1371' (text ll.52-53, note g); this was then altered to '1381' to conform with the dating of the main text, leaving the contradictory phrase 'in the first year of our reign'. This erroneous dating was copied in all the Bower MSS, and also in *Pluscarden* and *Extracta*; cf. G ii, 392-5, where Bower's text is silently dated 1371 throughout by the editor, without any explanation of why Bower had placed it chronologically out of sequence.

1-2. *Walter ... Glasgow*: see above c.27, l.10; in 1371 he was bishop of Glasgow, but not yet a cardinal.

2. *Lord Charles*: King Charles V of France 1364-80.

13-14. *treaties ... long ago*: see above XI cc.16-17 (1295), and XIII c.5, ll.1-10 (1326).

19. *Archibald de Douglas*: see above cc.16, 17, 27; he is regularly called the king's kinsman (e.g. *RMS*, i, no.401 of same date).

20. *Adam de Tynningham*: see Watt, *Graduates*, 551- 5; he was dean of Aberdeen from 1366, and served as bishop of Aberdeen 1380-9.

33. *James de Douglas*: see above c.36, l.16; apparently he did not in the end join this embassy (see above ll.19-20).

52. *31 May 1381*: for '1381' see introduction above; there is a lacuna in MS C where the month-date has been written; 'Maii' is clear in MSS R, D, CA and the later Bower MSS; but in the other copies of this commission that survive the word is clearly 'Marcii' i.e. March. Thus it was just after the new king's coronation (see above c.36, ll.20-21 note) that these envoys were commissioned.

## Chapter 42 pp.387-9

This chapter in MS C originally contained just the remainder of the Franco-Scottish treaty started in c.41 above; then ll.59-62 were inserted as an addition

in the margin of MS C; their source is unknown; the first item in this addition was copied into *Pluscarden* (319-20); *Extracta* (194) has both items, the first considerably elaborated (see below).

19-20. *dies without an heir*: this clause is likely to have been brought forward from Robert I's situation when the 1326 treaty was being drafted; it was hardly a matter of concern in 1371, when Robert II had so many sons available to succeed him.

33-34. *Item ... authority*: Wardlaw and Tynningham moved on from Paris to Avignon, and there secured papal recognition of Robert II by Gregory XI on 30 January 1372 (*CPL*, iv, 99; cf. 104 for dating; cf. Theiner, *Monumenta*, 341, no.685).

54. *Simon count of Braisne*: cf. Dalachenal, *Charles V*, v, ad indicem, s.v. Simon de Roucy; cf. MS CA for the name of his county.

58. *30 June 1381*: correctly 1371 (see above c.41, introduction).

59. *Sir John Lyon*: see *SP*, viii, 263-9; he held office as chamberlain of Scotland from 20 October 1377 (*HBC*, 185) until his death on 4 November 1382 (*ER*, iii, 657).

60. *Sir James de Lindsay*: see *SP*, iii, 12, where his claim to lands in Buchan is mentioned; Bower in MS CA is wrong to identify him rather than Alexander de Lindsay (see below) as the father of the first earl of Crawford.

*Pluscarden* elaborates the story by stating that Lyon was killed at night when naked in bed and unsuspecting. *Extracta* is more precise in saying that Lyon was decapitated, and then suggests a motive for the enmity between the two men – Lindsay considered Lyon guilty of ingratitude when Lindsay had helped to cover up a sexual liaison between Lyon and a daughter of the king before he was openly regarded as married to her (cf. *SP*, viii, 268); perhaps this scandal affecting one of the aunts of King James I was unknown to Bower; or perhaps he thought it advisable not to mention it.

61. *Sir Alexander Lindsay*: uncle of the above James de Lindsay (*SP*, iii, 12-15); he had a safe-conduct to travel through England on his way to the Holy Land, 4 December 1381 (*Rot.Scot.*, ii, 40); cf. above c.39, l.18 note for another member of the Lindsay family and the Holy Land.

61-62. *at Candia on the island of Crete*: 'insula de Candey' (text ll.60-61) is probably a reference to Candia (modern Herakleion) on the north coast of Crete, or possibly to Canea (modern Khania) further west on the same coast.

## Chapter 43 pp.391-3

The story in ll.1-41 ('overcome') is the same in outline as in *Wyntoun* (vi, 282-7), so that both as usual appear to be based on the same unknown source, but each version has details not in the other; the source of Bower's story in the rest of the chapter (which deals with events in London) has not been identified; Dr C.J.Given-Wilson advises that it appears to derive from the north of England, but is not now known. The fact that a greater number than usual of minor changes was made for MS CA suggests that much of this text was

composed afresh for MS C as it was being written, rather than simply copied, for Bower judged it important to take trouble to improve on the first attempt. *Pluscarden* (319-20) and *Extracta* (194-5) both have brief accounts.

1. *In the same year*: i.e. 1381 (disregarding the intrusive marginal passage dated 1382 at the end of c.42 above).

1-2. *a little before ... France*: a misleading statement, for the embassy in question in fact went to France in 1371 (see above c.41-42).

2-3. *troubles ... by the Scots*: Wyntoun (vi, 282-3) refers specifically to a raid by William earl of Douglas (cf. above c.40, ll.17-26).

5-6. *John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster*: the oldest surviving son of King Edward III, and the leading figure during the minority of Richard II: see A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (London, 1992), especially pp.76-86; see *Rot.Scot.*, ii, 27-39 for his activities on the Scottish Border September 1380 – June 1381.

6-8. *negotiated at Berwick ... truce for three years*: an over-simplification (as in *Wyntoun* too); he negotiated one truce at Berwick on 1 November 1380 to last until 30 November 1381 (*Rot.Scot.*, ii, 29-30), and another near Ayton BWK on 18 June 1381 until 2 February 1384 (*ibid.*, 38-39).

8. *returning to the south of England*: he went only as far as Bamburgh NTB (Goodman, *Gaunt*, 81-82).

9. *peasants had revolted*: for the Peasants' Revolt in England of June-July 1381 see R.B. Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, 2nd edn (London, 1983), especially the 'Chronology of the Revolt' at pp.36-44.

11. *put him into custody*: not literally true; he remained at either the Tower of London or Baynard's Castle at either end of the city of London, though under pressure from the mobs of peasants.

13. *murdered the archbishop of Canterbury*: Simon Sudbury was lynched on 14 June 1381 (Dobson, *ut cit.*, 40).

14-15. *torn ... to the ground*: on 13 June (*ibid.*).

16-19. *The leader ... Jack Straw*: one of the rebel leaders whom some contemporaries (notably the chronicler Henry Knighton) erroneously identified with the dominant leader Wat Tyler (*ibid.*, 181; cf. discussion in *Knighton's Chronicle*, 219, n.2).

20-37. *On learning ... gifts*: for a reflective account of Lancaster's flight to Scotland see *Knighton's Chronicle*, 235-9.

23. *earl of Carrick*: see above c.37, l.5.

26. *responded favourably*: Carrick as lieutenant of the Marches on the Scottish side issued Lancaster with a safe-conduct to travel to Edinburgh, at Melrose ROX on 22 June, and King Robert followed with another covering the whole kingdom, dated at Scone PER on 28 June (*John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-1383*, ii, ed. E.C. Lodge and R. Somerville [Camden Third Series, lvii (1937)], nos.1186-7).

*William earl of Douglas*: see above c.40, l.17.

27. *Archibald de Douglas*: see above c.41, l.19; he had been created lord of Galloway on 18 September 1369 (*SP*, iv, 144).

31. *Haddington ELO*.

33. *monastery of Holyrood*: beside Edinburgh.

35-37. *various magnates ... royal gifts*: Lancaster reciprocated with gifts to certain magnates including the earl of Carrick (Goodman, *Gaunt*, 83).

39-40. *ought to return home*: though *Wyntoun* (286-7) deals with his return journey to Berwick, Bower does not do so, but launches instead into an account of events in London which *Wyntoun* does not cover.

42. *mayor of London*: William Walworth (Dobson, *ut cit.*, 37).

48-54. *The peasants ... give in to them*: this is misleading; both at Mile End on 14 June and Smithfield on 15 June the king came in the company of the mayor, not as a captive of the rebels.

57. *Jack Straw*: he may have been present at Smithfield (Dobson, *ut cit.*, 193), but it was Wat Tyler who was struck down by the mayor.

73. *ropes of [ ]*: meaning of 'sablonibus' (text ll.61-62) has not been discovered.

## Chapter 44 pp.395-7

Here ll.1-15 offer reflections by Bower; then there follow three items (ll.17-41, 42-59, 60-72) which are in the same mistaken chronological order as in *Wyntoun* (vi, 288-93) i.e. both authors are following the same source but with different details; and as in c.43 Bower again makes substantial changes in his text for MS CA (see also l.39 note below). *Pluscarden* (320) has a short account of ll.17-59, and a re-written version of ll.60-72; *Extracta* (195) summarizes ll.17-72.

1-15. *... stabs him*: Bower demonstrates fierce hostility to peasants who do not know their place; cf. his account of the Jacquerie in France in 1358 (above c.19).

2. *... rises high*: listed in Walther, *Initia*, no.1576, and *Proverbia*, no.1565 from here and many other works; 'misero' (text l.2) is often found as 'humili'.

4-5. *... seed*: Jerome, *Lettres*, i, ed. J. Labourt (Paris, 1949), letter 22, p.116, ll.23-24.

7-8. *... delay*: Ovid, *Remedies of Love* (Loeb edn), p.184, ll.91-92; see Walther, *Proverbia*, no.22,418.

10-11. *... the same*: listed in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.141 from here and many other works.

14-15. *... stabs him*: listed in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.32,180 from here and many other works.

17-18. *on the ending of a period of truce*: this should have been 2 February 1384 (see above c.43, l.6 note); Lochmaben castle was lost by the English between 4 January and 5 March 1384 (*CDS*, iv, 73, no.331); if the story below of an eight-day siege and the surrender of the castle on 4 February is accurate, the siege must have started before the end of the truce. For a different account

leading to the surrender of the castle on 5 February see *Westminster Chronicle*, 58-59.

18. *Archibald de Douglas*: see above c.43, l.27.

21. *castle of Lochmaben* DMF: the principal castle of the lordship of Annandale (see above c.15, l.23; c.18, l.25n.); David II in 1366 had negotiated with the representatives of the English earl of Hereford regarding this castle, which remained in the earl's keeping, while various revenues in Annandale were split between him and the king (*RRS*, vi, 396-7, no.363; cf. A.B. Webster, in *SHR*, lxxiv [1995], 107); but the Hereford inheritance came to be divided on the death of the last Bohun earl in January 1373, and this part of it may well have still been in English crown hands until a settlement in December 1384 following the majority of the younger heiress (*CP*, vi, 474-7); description in G. Stell, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Dumfries and Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1986), 113, no.42.

22-23. *earls of Douglas and Dunbar*: William earl of Douglas was alive until ca May 1384 (*SP*, iii, 152-3); for George earl of Dunbar see above c.36, ll.9-10. Bower notes in MS CA that the latter claimed a right in Lochmaben castle.

26. *Alexander Featherstonehaugh*: the full form of his surname (derived from a place near Haltwhistle NTB) appears in *Wyntoun* (vi, 289), and in English records, which supply also his first name as Alexander rather than William as in the text here (e.g. *CDS*, iv, nos.327, 331, 342).

39. *that is 4 February*: this marginal addition to MS C is derived from a short annal which is placed out of chronological order at the end of *Fordun* (383, annal 190).

42-43. *When the English heard ... Scots*: the events related in this paragraph did not in fact take place after the capture of Lochmaben castle (nor 'in that ilk tyde as men tald', as *Wyntoun* has it), but much earlier in 1380 (see below). The story that follows has the mark of being handed down orally with no regard for dates.

45. *Roxburgh castle* ROX.

45-46. *baron of Greystoke*: Ralph Lord Greystoke, succeeded to the family estates near Penrith CMB after his minority in 1374 and lived until 1418 (*CP*, vi, 195-6); he was much employed in the administration of the Marches on the English side of the Border (e.g. *Rot.Scot.*, ii, ad indicem), and was in fact appointed keeper of Roxburgh castle at some date before 1380 (*CDS*, iv, no.315; cf. next note).

52-53. *he was captured ... at Horse Rigg*: Greystoke was captured (according to English sources) on the English side of the Border (ibid.), on 25 June 1380 at 'Horsedridge in Glendale ward, Northumberland' (*CP*, vi, 195 note e); this is now Horse Rigg in the upper valley of the river Glen (now called the Bowmont Water thereabouts), just across the Border from Sprouston and Yetholm ROX; the date is confirmed by a reference to the capture as happening some time before 21 February 1381 (*Rot.Scot.*, ii, 34); the name-form 'Benrig', which appears in *Wyntoun* as well as here, is an error, so that speculation that this incident took place at Benrig on the river Tweed near St Boswells ROX (*Wyntoun*, i, 130) is baseless.

61. *young Richard II*: he had succeeded to the English throne in 1377 at the age of ten.

63-65. ... *oppose them*: there is no equivalent of this speech in *Wyntoun*; it may well be Bower's own invention.

64. *our place and race*: the Latin here ('locum et gentem' [text ll.54-55]) suggests an alliterative proverbial saying in English.

65. *duke of Lancaster*: see above c.43, ll.4-40; Greystoke had regarded him as a possible patron after his capture (*CDS*, iv, no.315), and by 1384 or 1385 he may have joined the duke's retinue (Goodman, *Gaunt*, 287-8, 378).

70-71. *Holy Week 1385*: this year-date is an erroneous marginal addition in MS C; Lancaster in fact mustered his troops at Newcastle NTB on 24 March 1384, and arrived outside Edinburgh in early April; it was a brief campaign, for he was back at Durham by 23 April (Goodman, *Gaunt*, 224-5); see below c.45, l.96; cf. accounts in *Westminster Chronicle*, 66-67, and *Knighton's Chronicle*, 335.

71-72. *But ... could*: this is Bower's own turn of phrase; cf. *Wyntoun*, where it is simply said that Edinburgh was not burnt, but preserved in order to pay a ransom (cf. below c.45, ll.3-6).

## Chapter 45 pp.399-403

In this chapter Bower blends together into one story material taken from the same source that *Wyntoun* used with a traditional story preserved in Inchcolm abbey; ll.1-6, 45-68 and 96 correspond to *Wyntoun* (vi, 294-7), though considerably elaborated by Bower; ll.7-44 and 69-95 contain the Inchcolm story. *Pluscarden* (321) has only a short summary; *Extracta* (195-6) has a fuller account than usual.

1. *put in at Leith*: the story continues from c.44 above; this detail is not mentioned in *Wyntoun*.

8-9. *the island ... Emonia*: i.e. Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth opposite Aberdour FIF, where Bower himself was abbot in his day (cf. above IX c.52, l.42).

11. *sons of Belial*: see above c.13, l.44.

13-22. *A certain ... heather*: the part of the abbey described here was too insignificant to be clearly identifiable now (cf. *RCAHM [FIF]*, 15, and figures 78-79; and *Inchcolm Abbey and Island*, official guidebook [Edinburgh, 1989], 19).

15. *tofall*: i.e. a building annexed to the wall of a larger one (cf. *Wyntoun*, vi, 309, l.568).

25. *North Queensferry*: on the shore of Fife within sight of Inchcolm to the west.

26. *Barnhill*: on the shore of Fife opposite Inchcolm (see below XV c.38, l.14).

29. *power of St Columba*: i.e. to protect the monastery dedicated to him.



31-32. ... to him: Ovid, *Tristia*, bk.IV, c.8, ll.47-48 (Loeb edn), 194; listed in Walther, *Proverbia*, no.16,743.

45-47. ... *Lothian*: a linking passage to suggest that the Inchcolm raiders were the same as the English foraging party that landed at Queensferry; cf. *Wyntoun* (vi, 294-5), which makes no such connection since no mention is made there of any raid on Inchcolm.

48-49. *South Queensferry* WLO.

50. *three noble Scottish knights*: Bower goes on to mention four of them; but *Wyntoun* does not include Nicholas Erskine.

51-52. *Thomas and Nicholas Erskine*: sons of Sir Robert Erskine (see above c.36, l.11); see *SP*, v, 596- 601 and 596 respectively.

52. *Alexander de Lindsay*: not certainly identified; but may have been Sir Alexander de Lindsay of Baltrudy PER (*RMS*, i, no.489; *SP*, iii, 13-14).

53. *Sir William Cunningham*: thought to be the son and heir of the Sir William Cunningham who until 1385 still held the family lands at Kilmaurs AYR (*SP*, iv, 228-31; cf.227).

58-59. *mainly ... St Columba*: probably wishful thinking on Bower's part as he blended two stories together.

84-85. *the outhouse*: 'domus' (text l.11) and 'domicilium' (l.76) refer to the same building that was not part of the church.

86. *chasuble*: a sleeveless vestment worn by a celebrant of Mass.

95. *Dunipace*: near Denny STL.

96. *The duke*: i.e. the duke of Lancaster (see above c.44, l.70n.).

#### Chapter 46 pp.403-5

Some of this chapter has apparently been composed with knowledge of *Fordun*, though there are differences between the two texts – for ll.1-2 see *Fordun*, 382, end of annal 187; for ll.7-11 see 383, annal 188; and for ll.22-66 see 383, annal 189; but Bower's main authority was the common source which he shared with *Wyntoun* – for ll.12-21 see vi, 298-301, and for ll.22-66 see vi, 301-5 (though again there are differences). *Pluscarden* (321-3) has a full account of this chapter, adding in connection with ll.2-6 information about developments under King James II; *Extracta* (196 and 198-9) has a full summary, adding in connection with ll.7-11 the erroneous statement that Cardinal Wardlaw had been appointed by Pope Urban VI, when in fact it was the other pope at Avignon during the Great Schism (Clement VII) who was responsible.

1-2. ... *September*: in *Fordun* the date is given as December 1384, which is likely to be correct, for news of the loss of Berwick castle reached the English parliament at Westminster that met 12 November – 14 December 1384 towards the end of its sitting (Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* [RS, 28], ii,

118; cf. *HBC*, 565). *Fordun* also states that the castle was soon handed back to the English, and Walsingham (ibid.) states that the earl of Northumberland achieved this after being condemned in this parliament on 14 December for losing this castle in the first place.

Before the marginal correction was made above c.44, l.70, the dating here was probably correctly intended to be 1384 for the first three paragraphs of this chapter.

2-6. *And about ... this Book*: this refers to the papal bull in c.56 below; cf. above c.39, ll.33-37, where a marginal addition to MS C also draws attention to it as inserted after the rubrics of Book XV, not (as here) Book XIV. This time the cross-reference is written within the original main text, and so indicates an earlier intention of the scribe of MS C to insert this letter on the blank bottom half of fo.293 after the list of rubrics for Book XIV, for after a rubric had been added at the end of the list there in different ink describing this bull as forming a c.56 in Book XIV, a corrective note has been inserted: 'Vide tamen post titulos libri XV.'

7-11. ... *powers*: for Walter de Wardlaw see above c.27, l.10 and c.41, ll.1-2; he was created a cardinal while still retaining the see of Glasgow on 23 December 1383, being usually styled 'the cardinal of Scotland'; first called a cardinal in Scotland 2×9 June 1384; appointed legate to Scotland and Ireland 24 November 1384 (Watt, *Graduates*, 571). As a comment on his elevation to cardinal *Pluscarden* adds: 'quo raro visum est in Scotiam'; in fact he was the first Scot ever to reach this rank.

12-15. ... *until then*: the reference is to the battle of Durham or Neville's Cross in 1346 (see above cc.2-3); Douglas had in fact had some influence in Teviotdale ROX as early as ca 1348 (see above c.6, ll.22- 25); *Wyntoun* (vi, 299) dates this new move to soon after the departure of the duke of Lancaster in April 1384, and comments that the English now held no ground in Scotland outside Berwick and the castles of Roxburgh and Jedburgh ROX.

15. *a little later*: assumed to be ca May 1384 (*SP*, iii, 153).

17. *Douglas castle* LAN.  
*Melrose* ROX.

18-19. *Sir James de Douglas*: see *SP*, iii, 155-7).

22. *In that year 1385*: the year-date here is correct, but it was in fact the year following the events that have just been related. For accounts of the French force in Scotland see Francisque-Michel, 83-90, or more briefly in Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 196-7.

26. *John de Vienne*: a Burgundian, vassal of Duke Philip the Bold, admiral of France from 1373, died in 1396 (notes in P.Contamine, *Guerre, État et Société à la Fin du Moyen Age* [Paris, 1972], 152, 591-2). There is an old study of him in *Biographie Universelle*, xlviii (Paris, 1827), 441-3, and a fuller one by H.-Ph.-A. Terrier de Loray, *Jean de Vienne, Amiral de France 1341-1396* (Paris, 1877, not seen). He was of knightly status, but not a count, so that 'Volentinosa' is unidentified.

27-31. ... *with ... forty ships*: these figures are nearer those found in *Wyntoun* than those in *Fordun*.

32. *Dunbar* ELO.  
*Leith*: the port for Edinburgh MLO.

35-38. *gifts .. francs*: for the distribution of 10,000 gold francs or 40,000 *livres tournois* among the Scottish magnates see J.B.A.T. Teulet, *Inventaire Chronologique* (Abbotsford Club, 1839), 28-30; *Foedera* (O), vii, 484-6.

43-44. *Wark, Ford and Cornhill*: all in NTB; Wark and Cornhill lie on the south bank of the river Tweed, and Ford lies a few miles to the south.

46. *Archibald de Douglas*: see above c.44, l.18.

50. *diverted to .. Carlisle*: on 7 September 1385 (*Westminster Chronicle*, 132-5).

52-53. ... *danger*: Bower and Wyntoun agree on this assessment of motive, presumably taken from their common source.

56. *to besiege Roxburgh castle*: the date is not clear, but the expedition to Cumberland and Carlisle is said to have taken place in August 1385 (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 197), which would have kept them out of King Richard's way when he invaded Scotland in that month (see below c.47, ll.5-15); the move to Roxburgh would have come later, say September.

57. *Sir Robert Stewart*: see above c.37, l.7; created earl of Fife (as well as earl of Menteith) in December 1371 x March 1372 (*HBC*, 508; cf. *SP*, i, 146-7).

58. *earls of Douglas and March*: i.e. Earl James of Douglas, and Earl George of Dunbar or March

59-66. *A dispute ... terms*: again an account that is similar in both Bower and Wyntoun; for a discussion of this passage as a possible illustration of the Laws of War concerning sieges at this time, see Grant, 'Otterburn', 59-60, n.59

#### Chapter 47 pp.407-9

Bower starts by adapting material in *Fordun* (383, annal 189) for ll.1-4 and 5-15, while also for ll.5-15 and 57-61 showing dependence at a late stage of composition (see below) on the source used in *Wyntoun* (vi, 314-15); at ll.16-18 Bower enters personal information about himself before developing ll.19-56 as a diatribe against Richard II of England; the addition to MS C at ll.62-64 comprises two annalistic entries from unknown sources. *Pluscarden* (323-4) follows in outline the facts given here, but is wrong about the date of Richard's invasion and his treatment of Holyrood abbey, while adding a confused comment on his death; *Extracta* (199) has two short sentences following MS CA as usual.

1-4. ... *All Saints*: Bower here ends the story of the French expedition to Scotland (see above c.46); he takes the date of their departure (1 November 1385) from *Fordun*; but they had been in Scotland since May rather than for just three months. It is noteworthy that the cash they had brought with them was not distributed in Scotland until 16 November 1385 (see above c.46, ll.35-38 note).

5-15. ... *unharméd*: Richard entered Scotland on 6 August 1385 and left by 19 August (N.B. Lewis in *EHR*, lxxiii [1958], 15-16). Cf. *Westminster Chronicle*, 120-1, 124-31 for an account from the English side. For modern

accounts of this expedition see McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 439-40, and Goodman, *Gaunt*, 103-4.

9. *aged 19*: Richard was aged 18 at the time.

12-13. *Dryburgh BWK, Melrose ROX and Newbattle MLO*; for Richard's justification for burning Melrose and Newbattle see *Knighon's Chronicle*, 337.

15. *unharméd*: for MS CA Bower brings forward to here ll.57-61 below (q.v.).

18. *into the world*: in MS CA Bower adds here the following melancholy passage as he reflected on living into his sixties:

in villa de Hadyngton, utinam hinc mundus transiturus de mundo, cum iam me in januis constitutum esse recognosco. Cotidie morior, cum cotidie demitur aliqua pars vite mee. Quinque etates hominis pertransivi, et, ut michi videtur, usque ad hesternum quicquid transit temporis perit. Sed et hunc ipsum diem quem ago cum morte divido.

19-56. ... *with them*: a sermon from the heart against the evil of burning monasteries (especially by a king), and against fire-raising in general.

30. *dish-washers*: 'elixe' (text l.25; cf. l.32) appears to have this meaning.

35. *Solomon the Great*: i.e. the Biblical figure (cf. Mathew 6:29).

36. *escaped ... Isles*: see below XV c.9, ll.17-21.

42-45. *and on account ... lodging*: instead of 'et propter ... hospicio' (text ll.34-37), MS CA has:

quia juxta Augustinus: 'Si veraciter agitur penitencia, non remittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum.' Tamen etiam propter timorem multimodorum meledicionum que interpretatur sibi utpote quando pauper homo cuius domus incenditur vagibundus efficitur, et filius forte latro et filia lupanari addicitur, ipse meledicit cum conjuge sua eum qui domum suam combussit.

The quotation is from Augustine, *Liber Epistularum*, iii (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum edn, 1904), p.419, ll.7-8, letter 153, section 20.

49-50. ... *hear him*: Ecclesiasticus 4:6.

51-56. ... *with them*: Ecclesiasticus 35: 16-19 (*Vulgate*); 35: 13-16 (*NEB*).

57-61. ... *peasants*: though this passage is contained within the main text of MS C, it appears to be an entry additional to ll.5-15 above which had not been available when these lines were composed, and intended to be read with them (see also above l.15 note). The reference is to Lancaster's stay at Holyrood abbey in 1381 (see above c.43, ll.31-37).

62-63. ... *died*: see above c.46, ll.7-11; his death in 1387 has been narrowed to 22 May x 20 September (Watt, *Graduates*, 575); additions to MS D in a 16c hand give the dates 21 and 23 August.

63-64. *Also ... died*: for Queen Euphemia see above c.39, l.4; in MS D the same 16c hand gives the date '20 February 1387' i.e. probably 1387/8.

Chapter 48  
pp.409-11

Most of this chapter (ll.1-12 and 27-52) is based on the same source as *Wyntoun* (vi, 314-19); the story about the captured Anglo-Saxon charter (ll.13-26) dates from the time of Albany's governorship i.e. 1406-20. *Pluscarden* (324) follows the main story, but errs in making James de Douglas the father of Archibald; *Extracta* (199) has a short summary.

1-12. ... *wish it*: it has been argued that this expedition to Cockermouth CMB took place in the summer of 1388 after the expiry of a series of truces on the Border (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 198); but since the earliest of these appears to date from November-December 1385 (*Rot.Scot.*, ii, 75-76), there was time for the expedition to have been mounted in the autumn of 1385 as suggested here and assumed in *Wyntoun*, though such a date clashes with that for the expedition to Cumberland of Archibald de Douglas and the French force mentioned above (c.46, ll.45-51). Cf. below cc.49-50 for expeditions in 1388.

1-2. *Sir Robert Stewart*: see above c.46, l.57; Bower omits the praise of him offered at this point in *Wyntoun* (316-17).

4. *James de Douglas*: earl of Douglas (see above c.46, ll.18-19).

*Archibald*: Archibald de Douglas lord of Galloway (see above c.46, l.46).

5. *Solway Sands*: the treacherous sands at the head of the Solway Firth between Dumfries-shire and Cumberland, which could be crossed at low tide.

6-7. *Cockermouth CMB*: the lands of the honour of Cockermouth had just been acquired by the earl of Northumberland by marriage with the heiress of the Lucy estates there 1381 x 1384 (J.M.W.Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family 1416-1537* [Oxford, 1958], 8).

13. *very old charter*: Dr Simon Keynes and Professor N.P.Brooks advise that this document is obviously not an authentic charter of King Athelstan (who ruled over Northumbria 927-39); it is far from having an appropriate form for any pre-1066 charter, and in any case King Athelstan had no wife; this Middle English summary of what was by the 14c believed to have been the substance of an ancient land grant in terms that were by then incomprehensible is included in W de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, iii (London, 1893), no. 1342; it may be related in some way to two similar Middle English versions of supposed grants of privileges by the same King Athelstan to the churches of Ripon YOW and Beverley YOÉ (ibid., ii [1887], nos. 647 and 324-6). There can be no certain identification of the grantee or of the places mentioned in such a text; but it has reasonably been thought that 'Roddam' is the estate of that name near Ilderton, south of Wooller NTB, and that 'Odam' is a lost name found on 18c maps of that estate; furthermore there is on that estate a small hill called 'Athelstane's mount', where the king was believed to have made his grant; and this short text came to be elaborated into a folk-rhyme of eight lines (*History of Northumberland*, xiv, 276-8); be that as it may, there is no doubt that 'Roddam was part of a Saxon dreng's holding, and one of the services by which it was held was the carriage of logs to the Saxon royal castle of Bamburgh, from which it may be inferred that the dreng held from the king' (ibid., 277); the reported seizure of this document in

Cumberland rather than Northumberland remains unexplained, but may have resulted from a simple confusion on Bower's part between different Scottish raids on the north of England in this period.

28. *William [de Douglas]*: see *SP*, iii, 163-5 and *DNB*, xv, 360-1; Bower portrays him here as a romantically heroic figure at greater length than is found in *Wyntoun*.

39. *on one occasion*: no date can be suggested for this tale.

Chapter 49  
pp.413-15

Most of this chapter follows the same source used by *Wyntoun*; ll.1-5 parallel *Wyntoun*, vi, 318-21, but are followed by ll.5-15 from an unknown source, together with Bower's own knowledge of the Sinclair family; ll.16-52 parallel *Wyntoun* vi, 320-5, but with considerably more detail here; for ll.53-60 cf. *Wyntoun*, vi, 324-5, from which Bower has to some extent departed (see below). *Pluscarden* (324-5) adds extra information about the Sinclair family in Nithsdale under King James II, it confuses James and Archibald de Douglas, and brings forward to here material found below c.54, ll.54-74; *Extracta* (199-200) follows suit, which means that exceptionally it was not following MS CA.

2-3. *gave him ... Lady Egidia*: this marriage has been dated ca 1387 (*SP*, iii, 164), though this is too late to fit the story which follows about the supposed interest of the king of France.

4. *Nithsdale DMF*.

5-12. *This lady ... marriage*: Bower's source for this story is untraced. The king of France at this time was Charles VI – born 1368, succeeded 1380, married 1385 (Isenburg, *Stammtafeln*, ii, table 16).

12. *who is still alive*: i.e. while Bower was writing in the 1440s.

13. *Sir Henry de Sinclair II*: his wife also was called Egidia; died 1420 (see below XV c.32, l.19).

14-15. *William earl of Orkney*: see below XVI c.10, ll.57-58.

15. *other sons and daughters*: only one other child (a daughter) is listed in *SP*, vi, 571).

16-18. ... *in a hostile manner*: Bower does not say where this expedition went; cf. *Westminster Chronicle* (344-5) for a two-pronged Scottish attack on England starting on 29 June; see also *Knighton's Chronicle*, 505; it was probably this force (said to number 30,000 men) that the earl of Douglas failed to join, and which raided as far as Brough-under-Stainmore WML, as only *Wyntoun* (vi, 326-7) states (cf. below c.50, ll.1-2); this would be Sir Robert's and Sir Archibald's 'success', which they were to report later (see below l.57), and from which they returned in time to hear the news from Otterburn on 6 August 1388 (see below c.51, ll.22-23); but an additon to MS D in a 16c hand dates this expedition to August at the same time as Otterburn;

and it is implied below (c.50, ll.19-20) that Fife's force was still in England in early August.

For a discussion of the 'three-pronged assault' by the Scots against the English that year, on the East March, the West March, in Ireland and on Man, see Grant, 'Otterburn', 46-49.

**16.** *At the same time*: a puzzling start to the paragraph, for what has gone before is a number of undated anecdotes; *Wyntoun* (vi, 321) starts a new section simply with the date '1388'.

**18-19.** *A little before this*: presumably early summer 1388, for this force too returned to Scotland to report their 'sucess' before the news came from Otterburn.

**21.** *Carlingford*: on the south side of Carlingford Lough, co. Louth.

**30.** *Dundalk*: co. Louth, about fourteen miles from Carlingford.

**32-34.** *Accordingly ... large numbers*: the English justiciar at Dublin called out 'the service of Carlingford' sometime June 1388 × June 1389, presumably as described here (A.T.Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* [London, 1968], 321).

**40.** *Sir Robert Stewart of Durisdeer*: he had acquired the lordship of Lorn ARG through marriage, and exchanged it with an older brother for their father's lands of Durisdeer DMF, confirmed by crown 13 April 1388 (*SP*, v, 1).

**51-52.** *Loch Ryan* WIG.

**53-56.** *... force*: cf. above ll.16-18, where Fife and Archibald de Douglas are the leaders, whilst here it is Archibald's son that is the leader. *Wyntoun* (vi, 324-5) has William meet up with the other two in distant Redesdale NTB; Bower's scribe first copied that name, and then deleted it (text l.50, note n), so leaving the impression that they were all near at hand to Loch Ryan making plans for another invasion of England when the news came from Otterburn.

**57.** *happy successes*: i.e. at Brough and Carlingford respectively.

**59.** *bad news*: the earl of Fife at any rate is reported to have heard the news of the death of the earl of Douglas the day after it happened at Otterburn NTB i.e. on 6 August 1388 (see below c.51, ll.22-25).

#### Chapter 50 pp.415-17

This chapter is based on the same source used for *Wyntoun* (vi, 326-33 and 336-7), with some parts elaborated rather more; two short passages (ll.36-37 ['He left ... Galloway'] and ll.56-58 ['But ... side']) have no equivalent in *Wyntoun*. *Pluscarden* (325-8) covers the whole of cc.50-51 here with minor variants, including mention of a curious plan by the Scottish leaders at Otterburn to visit what is called 'the festival of St Cuthbert of York', and the erroneous statement that the earls of March and Moray were fatally wounded; *Extracta* (200-1) covers both chapters in two short paragraphs, adding in this case that the earl of Moray was wounded.

**1.** *Sir James de Douglas*: i.e. the earl of Douglas (see above c.46, ll.18-19; and c.49, ll.16-18 note).

**2.** *army of the earl of Fife*: *ibid*.

**14-16.** *Sir Henry Percy the younger ... vernacular*: see *DNB*, xliv, 395-9; *CP*, ix, 713-14.

**19-20.** *reconnoitred the earl of Fife's force*: see above l.2.

**21-22.** *Otterburn in Redesdale* NTB: cf. the accompanying poem in c.52 below which also covers the story of the battle which now follows; the poem must have been written before the death of its author in 1404/5, and quite possibly in the 1390s, whilst Bower's source is thought to have been compiled ca.1390 (*Wyntoun*, i, p.xciii, n.2). For a modern discussion of this famous battle based on Froissart and English as well as Scottish sources see C.Tyson, 'The battle of Otterburn: when and where was it fought?', in *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.Goodman and A.Tuck (London, 1992), 65-93.

**23-24.** *earls of March and Moray*: see above c.36, l.10.

**24.** *other knights and nobles*: some other Scottish magnates are listed in the account of the battle in *Knighton's Chronicle*, 505-7.

**25.** *St Oswald's Day*: this date (5 August) is found also in the poem below (c.52, ll.33, 318); some other sources agree with it, others suggest 19 August instead, which on balance is less likely (cf. Tyson, *Otterburn*, 72-74, and see especially *ibid.*, 62-63, n.86, and 92, n.21).

**36-37.** *He left ... Galloway*: see *SP*, iii, 156-7, 159-60.

**38-39.** *earl of Moray ... bareheaded*: the English believed that he was subsequently wounded to the point of death (*Knighton's Chronicle*, 507).

**42.** *Sir Ralph [Percy]*: the third son of the first earl of Northumberland; married an heiress to the Strathbogie claim to the earldom of Atholl; died overseas (probably on crusade) on 15 September 1397 (*CP*, i, 308-9, note e; see also G.Brenan, *A History of the House of Percy*, i [London, 1902], genealogical table opposite p.168).

**43.** *Sir Matthew de Redman*: both Bower and *Wyntoun* give the wrong first name 'Maurice'; for this WML knight who belonged to the Percy affinity see A.Tuck, 'The Percies and the community of Northumberland in the later fourteenth century', in *War and Border Societies*, *ut cit.*, 181-2; see also *CDS*, iv, ad indicem s.v. 'Redemman'.

*Sir Robert Ogle*: for this NTB knight (1351-1410) see Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, ii, 146.

#### Chapter 51 p.419

Bower continues to follow the same source used in *Wyntoun* (vi, 332-9) for this continuation of his account of the battle of Otterburn, but has some passages derived from different sources i.e. ll.1-9, 13-16 (but see below c.52, l.324), and ll.20-22 (see below); Bower then adds ll.26-30 linking up with c.52. For *Pluscarden* and *Extracta* see above c.50, introduction).

**1-9.** ... *withdraw*: for Sir John Swinton see *The Swintons of that Ilk and their Cadets*, ed. A.C. Swinton (Edinburgh, 1883), 10-21; *DNB*, iv, 237; G.S.C. Swinton, 'John of Swinton, a Border fighter of the Middle Ages', *SHR*, xvi (1919), 261-79; he was later killed at Humbleton Hill in 1402 (see below XV c.14, l.50).

**12-13.** *Henry Hotspur was captured*: payments from the English Treasury towards his ransom are recorded on 15 July 1389 and 23 February 1391 (*CDS*, iv, nos. 395, 420).

**19-20.** *Robert Hert*: not identified; cf. a man with the same name who served as a bailie of Lanark in 1379 (*ER*, iii, 20).

**20.** *John Towers*: witness to act of James earl of Douglas 27 July 1388. (Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 73); see *RMS*, i, no.637; *RRS*, vi, 256, 436-7; cf. *ER*, iii, 285 for a mention in 1393 of the marriage of his son and heir; see also Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 401.

*Sir William Lundie of that Ilk*: not identified; it is not clear whether he took his title from the lands of Lundie ANG or Lundin FIF; exceptionally this name appears quite differently in *Wyntoun* (vi, 336-7; cf. i, 133), where in the parallel place 'Sir Thomas of Erskyn' is mentioned as having been wounded in the face; this was presumably the well-known heir and successor to Sir Robert Erskine who had died in 1385 (*SP*, v, 596-601; cf. above c.21, l.40; c.36, l.11; cf. c.45, ll.51-52).

**22.** *feast of All Souls*: 2 November.

**22-25.** *On the morning ... Douglas*: see above c.49, ll.59-60.

**27.** *Thomas de Barry*: a Paris M.A.; served Bishop (later Cardinal) Walter de Wardlaw as his chaplain at Avignon in the 1370s and in Scotland in the 1380s, and canon of Glasgow in this connection; secured patronage of Archibald third earl of Douglas, by whose favour he was appointed first provost of the collegiate church at Bothwell LAN founded by this earl in February 1398; died July 1404 × March 1405 (for more details see Watt, *Graduates*, 31-32).

## Chapter 52 pp.421-43

This chapter is wholly devoted to Barry's poem on the battle of Otterburn, which must have been composed within seventeen years of the event (see above c.51, l.27n.); it was a source available to Bower for his general description of the battle in cc.50-51 above, though the points of similarity indicated below are few. He included the whole poem in *MSCA* as well as *MS C*; it is not found in *Pluscarden* or *Extracta*, though the former (328) refers to its inclusion here. It was printed in Hearne, iv, 1079-93 from *MS R* collated with *MS H*, as well as in Goodall; the section-headings in these editions are taken from marginal finding-notes in the *MSS* which are not normally included in this edition, but are exceptionally inserted here for the convenience of readers of this long chapter. Exceptionally too the line-

numbers of the English translation are allocated, not in simple accordance with their appearance on the printed page, but to correspond with the line-numbers of the Latin text to make comparison of text and translation easier.

For a brief analysis of this poem see A.G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge, 1992), 284-5; the editors are grateful to Professor Rigg for substantial help in solving problems of translation and for some of the editorial notes included here; he has also pointed out that the poet used a very complex and demanding series of metres, and that to achieve his rhymes he often has to distort syntax and ordinary meaning, and to employ parenthetical remarks.

Brian Scott offers the view that Barry's poem is indeed a metrical *tour de force*. With a few exceptions his chosen metre is the rhymed hexameter, but he is constantly ringing the changes, and employs practically all the variations possible, given rhyming syllables at the *caesura* and the end of the line. There is a kind of restlessness in his shifting from one pattern of rhyme to another every few lines. In making the following analysis of the metres and patterns of rhyme used in this poem the general survey of metres by Professor Rigg (*Anglo-Latin Literature*, 316-28) has been found invaluable; it is clear, and more accessible than the equally useful book by Dag Norberg (*Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale* [Stockholm, 1958]).

lines 1-6 elegi unisoni (leonine elegiacs, rhyming at *caesura* and end of line, a a, a a [cf. Rigg, p.322]); 7, 8 unisoni (hexameters, rhyming at *caesura* and end of line, a a, a a [cf. Rigg, p.319]); 9, 10 collaterales (hexameters, rhyming at *caesura* and end of line, a b, a b [cf. Rigg, p.320]); 11-20 unisoni; 21-28 collaterales; 29, 30 unisoni; 31-32 cruciferi (hexameters rhyming at *caesura* and end of line, a b, b a [cf. Rigg, p.320]); 33, 34 collaterales; 35, 36 unisoni; 38-41 collaterales (rhyme at *caesura* imperfect); 42, 43 unisoni; 44-47 collaterales (rhyme at *caesura* of 45 imperfect); 48, 49 unrhymed elegiac couplet; 50, 51 unrhymed hexameters; 52, 53 collaterales; 54-57 unisoni; 58, 59 collaterales; 60, 61 unisoni; 62-79 hexameters with 'run over rhyme', i.e. where the last two syllables of one line rhyme with the first two of the next [cf. Rigg, p.321], here with additional rhymes in the second, third and fourth feet; 80, 81 unisoni; 82-89 collaterales; 90-111 caudati (hexameters with rhyme at end of the line, but here with the additional refinement of internal rhyme in the first three feet); 112-15 collaterales; 116-25 leonine hexameters; 126, 127 leonine elegiac couplet (cf. Rigg, p.322); 128, 129 dactylci tripartiti (hexameters with second and fourth feet rhyming, and the ends of the lines also rhyming in couplets [cf. Rigg, p.320]); 130-2 hexametri tripartiti (as above, but with spondees instead of dactyls rhyming in the second and fourth feet [cf. Rigg, loc.cit.]); 133 dactylicus tripartitus; 134-7 caudati (137 rhymes at the end of the line with 136, but internally is a tripartitus); 138-77 metre of Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, bk.1, metrum 2 (hemiepes + adonic [cf. Rigg, p.318]; line 155: scismāticānt, pāpām cōgnōscērē vērūm, has one syllable too many); 178, 179 caudati; 180-93 collaterales; 194, 195 caudati; 196, 197 hexametri tripartiti; 198-219 octameters (eight foot, dactylic line [cf. Rigg, p.316]; 220-9 collaterales, rhyming on -escit and -entem throughout; 230-49 caudati, with internal rhymes in the second, third and fourth feet, cf. ll.90-111 above; 250-2 (Rigg [p.385, note 141])



thinks these lines may be rhythmical; they are similar to the asclepiad maior [ --/ ---/ ---/ ---/ --], but lack one syllable); 253 appears to be a five foot dactylic line (cf. Rigg, p.317), but with spondees replacing dactyls in the first and third feet; 254-61 unisoni, in which the rhyming syllables belong to words which share the same form, but have different grammatical functions, e.g. 'victum' 'having been conquered' rhymed with 'victum' 'food' in the accusative; 262-7 unisoni; 268-71 collaterales; 272-4 hexameters, of which the second half of the verse is shared by both lines, rhyme scheme a, a b; 275-92 collaterales; 293, 294 cruciferi; 295-302 unisoni; 303, 304 collaterales; 305-12 unisoni; 313-18 collaterales; 319, 320 caudati; 321-8 collaterales; 329-32 caudati; 333-8 unisoni; 339, 340 octameters; 341-4 collaterales.

Considering the constraints which Barry imposed upon himself by his intricate rhyme patterns, there are surprisingly few instances of vowels which have a quantity differing from the classical norm: 44 sēparatur; 46 occidentem; 52 cōr; 55 armā; 77 dextrā (nominative); 83 vellē; 85 multīfaria; 102 quisquē; 108 sītis; 130 nullā (ablative); 161 vōbis; 213 retruditūr (before two consonants); 224 gloriā (before three consonants in the next word); 233 sūos; 237 quosquē; 240 quōd; 260 Anglicūs se; 289 cōnatur; 312 hōnor; 316 rūga; 336 sempiternalis; 341 clima, climatis.

The scribe of MS C was copying from an exemplar now lost; it is likely that he made a handful of errors which have here been editorially corrected with the scribe's readings in the textual notes; but since the various Bower MSS tend to follow MS C faithfully, the usual policy of printing here the text as Bower knew it has been followed wherever possible, even if at times the translation is necessarily strained to the point of obscurity. Professor Rigg makes the point that in some ways this is the kind of Latin verse that was easier to write than to translate, since the original author was not required to say what it meant!

This poem has no connection with the various ballads composed on both sides of the Border over the centuries which go under the names of 'The Battle of Otterburn' and 'Chevy Chase' e.g. in *The Oxford Book of Ballads*, ed. J.Kinsley (Oxford, 1969), nos. 103-4; for a discussion and text of one of these see James Reed, 'The ballad and the source. Some literary reflections on *The Battle of Otterburn*', in *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.Goodman and A.Tuck (London and New York, 1992), 94-123.

3-4. *In ... mires*: Professor Rigg advises that the theme of comparing old battles with the present one (see also below ll.41-42) is a topos of Middle English verse e.g. Sir Gawain.

6. *shaping ... styles*: i.e. using a variety of metres and rhyme schemes.

28. *causes them to grieve*: 'plangit' in the text is probably factitive.

29. *Recount*: addressed to the Muse.

32. *over sandy ground*: the metre of this line in Latin is defective, lacking a short and long syllable before 'sabulosi' in the text; this word is therefore possibly an incomplete proper name 'Sandy [ ]'.

37-40. *When ... pygmy*: these references to the signs of the Zodiac indicate

the late summer, for the sun is said to be in the sign of Cancer 21 June – 22 July, and in the sign of Leo 23 July – 22 August.

45. *larger part ... West March*: see above c.49, ll.16-18.

49-50. *On the one side ... Moray*: all three earls were together on the eastern expedition (see above c.50, ll.22-24); this is made clear below l.55.

51. *The first ... star*: the arms of this earl of Douglas were 'a heart, on a chief three stars' (Stevenson & Wood, *Seals*, ii, 317).

52. *a lion .. honour*: the arms of the tenth earl of Dunbar were (1) 'a lion rampant within an orle of sixteen roses', or (2) '... within a bordure charged with eight roses' (ibid., ii, 336-7).

53-54. *transferred .... granted*: the arms of John Dunbar earl of Moray were 'three cushions lozengeways within a royal tressure' (ibid., ii, 337); the reference here to lilies is not clear.

56. *return there*: the word-order 'redit ibi' in the text is needed for metre and rhyme-pattern.

59-78. *Here ... havoc*: cf. this story about events at Newcastle NTB with Bower's brief sentence above c.50, ll.10-12.

62. *separates out*: 'hic' in the text probably refers back to 'fragor' (l.61) i.e. it is the clash of arms that causes the two bodies of men to separate and start fighting.

64. *few*: 'parvus' in the text is perhaps an error for 'parvis' agreeing with 'armis' i.e. 'with few arms'.

82. *will*: 'velle' in the text is a future auxiliary.

154-6. *They are ... justice*: since 1378 the English had owed obedience to Pope Urban VI at Rome, while the Scots (and the French) preferred his rival Pope Clement VII at Avignon.

197. *the Antipodes*: the people living on the other side of the earth.

202. *Achilles*: the Greek hero in the Trojan war.

205. *in their full flower ... darkness*: perhaps the idea is that of a dark shadow suddenly passing over a bright flower.

208. *which ... have*: the reader is meant to assume 'habere' after 'solet' in the text.

213. *the Sisters*: i.e. the Fates; in Greek and Roman mythology the three goddesses Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos were supposed to determine the course of human life (*OED*; see also *OCD*, 430-2). The change from 'serorum' to 'Sororum' in the text is necessary to make sense.

224-5. *The shouting ... at them*: Professor Rigg identifies these lines as a good example of the poet putting rhyme ahead of syntax and ordinary usage.

233-8. *Now ... pressed*: the grammatical subject of the verbs 'comperit, interimit, reprimit' (text l.235), 'vincere se credens' (l.237), etc. is 'nova guerra' (l.233); but, particularly towards the end of the sentence, it looks increasingly as if Barry intends the subject to be 'the Scottish army'. However in our translation we keep 'war' as the subject.

234. *aimlessly*: 'frustra' in the text appears to be the correct word where the scribe of MS C has wrongly repeated 'lustra'.

244. *The English ... gullies*: the accusative and infinitive construction in the Latin suggests what the pursuing Scots are thinking.
254. *But ... danger*: meaning uncertain. Is it a general reference to the dangers of the sea? Does the writer see the dangers of the sea as a kind of defensive weapon in the arsenal of the sea?
256. *Pope Clement*: presumably the Avignonese Pope Clement VII 1378-94 (see above ll.154-6 note).
- 267-75. *See ... freedom*: see above c.50, ll.32-36.
276. *Robert Hert*: see above c.51, ll.19-20.
278. *John Towers*: *ibid.* l.20.
280. *William de Montfichet*: not identified.
282. *Simon de Glendinning*: probably the brother of Matthew de Glendinning bishop of Glasgow 1387-1408 (*Rot.Scot.*, ii, 4; cf. Watt, *Graduates*, 220-1).
284. *Gladstone*: cf. a William de Gledstones who was granted royal charters in 1365 (*RMS*, i, nos.208-9; Watt, *Graduates*, 220). He had Douglas connections (Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 20, 21).
286. *Wedderburn*: not identified. A William de Wedderburn occurs in an ELO/BWK context ca 1375 (*ibid.*, 24).
288. *Balram*: not identified; the surname has perhaps Fife connections (cf. *CDS*, v, no.27).
292. *Percy ... brother*: i.e. Henry Hotspur and Ralph Percy (see above c.50, ll.14-16, 40-42; c.51, ll.12-13).
324. *more captives than there are victors*: cf. above c.51, l.16.
325. *giving chains on this side*; even with the reading 'hac' in the text the meaning is not clear.
327. *nor ... territory*: i.e. now that they are on home ground they can go more gently.

#### Chapter 53 pp.443-5

This whole chapter follows the same source used for *Wyntoun* (vi, 338-43), with Bower adding ll.3-4 ('following ... Dalkeith'), 6-8 ('From ... governor'), and 35-39 ('This ... mouse'). *Pluscarden* (328) and *Extracta* (201) follow the chapter straightforwardly.

1-10. ... *counsel*: the year-date is wrong here; the business described in this paragraph was conducted at a general council of the three estates held at Edinburgh on 1 December 1388 (*APS*, i, 555-6).

2. *great age*: Robert II was aged 72.

3-4. *following ... Dalkeith*: it is thought that this accident had taken place while an earlier general council was meeting at Linlithgow WLO the previous

August (Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 199); for this Sir James Douglas see *SP*, vi, 344-50.

6-8. *From ... governor*: 'custos' or 'gardianus' i.e. 'guardian' is the title used by Bower for the king's deputy who ruled during the minority of King David II or his captivity in England (e.g. see above XIII c.17, text l.3; c.22, text l.6; XIV c.9, text l.6), whilst 'locum tenens' i.e. 'lieutenant' is the title used in official documents (e.g. *RRS*, vi, nos.11-17 and 112, 133, 137); 'gubernator' i.e. 'governor' is regularly used by Bower henceforward (e.g. see below XV c.3, text l.16; c.9, text l.22); it appears also in official documents (e.g. *RMS*, i, no.874 ff.).

11. *capture ... Hotspur*: at Otterburn (see above c.51, ll.12-13).

13. *appointed ... the Earl Marshal*: Thomas de Mowbray, earl of Nottingham (1383-99) and Earl Marshal of England (*DNB*, xxxix, 230-6, and *CP*, ix, 601-4) held office as keeper of Berwick and of the East March on the English side of the Border 1 June 1389 to 1 June 1390 (*Rot.Scot.*, ii, 97; *Westminster Chronicle*, 376-9; *CDS*, iv, no.389; cf. no.413).

23-24. *Archibald earl of Douglas*: i.e. the lord of Galloway, who had succeeded James earl of Douglas on his death at Otterburn.

24-25. *set out for English territory*: an addition to MS D in a 16c hand states that this force remained in England for five days up to 15 August 1389, and in that time 'burned Hexham, Corbridge, Tynemouth and all parts almost to Durham'; there is no hint about where they met the Earl Marshal. Cf. the account of this Scottish invasion as far as Tynemouth, said to have started on 29 June, in *Westminster Chronicle*, 396-7.

35-39. *This ... mouse*: Bower has already used a variant of this line from Horace, *Ars Poetica* (Loeb edn, 462, l.139) above IX c.32, l.40 in association with another definition of an Aesop fable on the same theme; here the reference may be to the short fable entitled 'Mountain in labour' (*Babrinus and Phaedrus* [Loeb edn.], 338-9, bk.IV, fable 24) concerning those who threaten to do great things, but fail to get anything done.

#### Chapter 54 pp.445-9

Some of this chapter continues to follow the same source used in *Wyntoun*, ll.1-20 are parallel to *Wyntoun*, vi, 342-7, but with more detail here, and ll.21-29 are like *Wyntoun*, vi, 354-7, though Bower inserts ll.24-26 ('He died ... Eternal King'); Bower, however, has no equivalent of the story of the tournament near Calais held in March 1390 that is found in *Wyntoun* (vi, 348-54; cf. i, 134); and it is about here that the common source used by the two authors seems to have come to an end (*ibid.*, i, 135, ll.1097-1103 note). Bower's sources for the rest of this chapter are unknown; for the confused ll.54-74 he may well have depended on oral testimony. *Pluscarden* (328-30) covers ll.1-22 and 34-46, with some additions in the latter case; *Extracta* (202) summarizes first ll.39-49 and then ll.21-24, ending with the surprising dating

of the funeral of Robert II in August 1390 (just before the coronation of Robert III), rather than in April (which seems to be indicated here).

1-3. ... *wanted*: this agreement was reached at Leulinghem, dép. Pas-de-Calais, France on 18 June 1389 (*Foedera* [O], vii, 622-30).

6. *sent his own embassy*: the French envoys received a safe-conduct to proceed from Westminster to Scotland on 3 July 1389 (*Rot.Scot.*, i, 98); and Nicholas Dagworth and John Orwell were appointed on 6 July to go with them to Scotland (*ibid.*, 99); they set out on 14 July (*Westminster Chronicle*, 398-9; cf. 230, n.1); Dagworth had been one of King Richard's chamber knights (C.Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* [New Haven and London, 1986], 162); cf. *ibid.*, 54 for a John Orwell who also was in the king's service as a sergeant-at-arms.

8-9. *They found ... Dunfermline* FIF: cf. *ER*, iii, pp.lxx-lxxi.

24. *Dundonald*: between Kilmarnock and Troon AYR; for the royal castle there see J.B.Stevenson, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: The Clyde Estuary and Central Region* (Edinburgh, 1985), no.40.

24-25. 19 April 1380; *Pluscarden* (329) has 20 April here.

25. *nineteen years and twenty-three days*: in fact fifty-eight days (see above c.34, ll.55-57; cf. c.36, ll.20-21).

31. *by seven years*: Robert was born in 1316 i.e. eight years before his uncle David II.

32-38. ... 19 April: these verses simply repeat the information already given; perhaps Bower found them as his source for that information.

39-41. ... *country*: this famous event is dated 17 June 1390 in the Elgin cathedral records (*Moray Registrum*, 381); cf. *Wyntoun*, vi, 368, which has a quite different account, so that Bower is clearly no longer following the same source. An addition in MS D in a 16c hand gives the date as 17 July; for Alexander Stewart see above c.34, ll.18-22 note; see below l.45 for his nickname 'The Wolf of Badenoch'.

41-51. *It is noteworthy ... legitimated*: cf. account above XI c.13, ll.40-43, which is a marginal addition to MS C that appears to look forward to this account of Robert II's wives and family; Bower had then omitted the date 1349 for Queen Elizabeth's marriage which is to be found in *Fordun* (317, annal 77); her first son (later Robert III) is thought to have been born ca 1337, when she and his father were not married (*SP*, i, 17); both he and Elizabeth's other children were legitimated by their parents' subsequent marriage in terms of a papal dispensation dated 22 November 1347 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 289, no.577; *CPL*, iii, 265; cf. 187); Elizabeth and Robert may well have gone through a marriage ceremony in 1349 as Fordun reports, and she is assumed to have died before 2 May 1355, when Robert obtained another papal dispensation for his second marriage to Euphemia of Ross (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 307, no.620; *CPL*, iii, 574); it is not known where Bower picked up the false information given here about a marriage to Elizabeth after the death of Euphemia (which implies a marriage after February 1388 – see above c.47, ll.63-64); but his mistake was copied into *Pluscarden* and *Extracta*.

43. *Sir Adam More*: probably one of the family of Mure or More of Rowallan AYR, he had served as steward of King Robert I's household (*RRS*, v, 211 and ad indicem; *ER*, i, ad indicem; cf. *RRS*, vi, no.284).

46-48. *Lady Euphemia ... Strathearn*: see above c.39, ll.4-12.

51-53. *for ... 'legitimi'*: see *Decretals of Gregory IX*, Book IV, Title XVII, 'Qui filii sint legitimi', Chapter VI, 'Tanta est' (Friedberg, ii, col.712).

54-74. ... *halted*: for William de Douglas see above cc.48-49; a modern study of this story finds confirmation in German and French sources for his death at the hands of Englishmen in Prussia while on crusade against the Lithuanians, but at Königsberg (now Kaliningrad in Russia) rather than Danzig (now in Poland), probably in summer 1391 (Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 85-87); in that study the lord of Clifford is not identified; but he was surely the Thomas de Clifford of Westmorland who had been active in the English West March towards Scotland 1385-6 (*Rot.Scot.*, ii, 75, 79, 81, 85) before succeeding to his father's peerage in July 1389 (*DNB*, xi, 77; cf.74); he had also served as a knight of King Richard's chamber (Given-Wilson, *ut cit.*, ad indicem), whilst being an active participant in tournaments; on 6 and 20 June 1390 he secured a safe-conduct for Douglas to make two visits to England with a large following to fight a judicial battle against him on a plea related to feats of arms ('super quibusdam actis armorum') in the court of the constable and marshal – the circumstances of the case are not precisely explained (*Rot.Scot.*, ii, 105-6; *Foedera* [O], vii, 678), and the outcome is not known; it may well be that the story in ll.60-72 here is connected with that duel rather than with any incident in Prussia (cf. F.R.H.Du Boulay in 'Henry of Derby's expeditions to Prussia 1390-1 and 1392', in *The reign of Richard II*, ed. Du Boulay and C.M.Barron [London, 1971], 171); as for the trouble at Königsberg, an English source tells the story differently, with Douglas as the aggressor in the summer of 1391 against Clifford whom he regarded as having treated him spitefully (*Westminster Chronicle*, 474-7); Clifford in his turn is thought to have died on 4 October 1391 (*ibid.*, 481, n.5; cf. *DNB*, xi, 77; cf. *CP*, iii, 292, where date of death is given as 18 August 1391).

## Chapter 55 pp.449-51

This chapter containing the full text of a document is included in MS C by the scribe as a normal chapter to complete Book XIV, even though it is clearly out of chronological order here; this layout is followed in MSS R and H, though a note had been added in the margin of MS C at c.39 above (which is mainly devoted to St Bridget) at ll.31-32 to the effect that this chapter should be 'placed' ('situari' [text l.26]) there; cf. another marginal note in MS C at the end of c.27 (along with material relating to the year 1363), stating that this document should be placed there; for MS CA Bower chose to follow this latter option, though the scribes of the related MSS FF, P and FE chose to omit this document altogether; but in MSS D, B and E (followed by G) the former option is followed in modified form, with this document entered after the end of c.39 as c.40. Here the original order and numbering of the chapters is followed.

This all suggests that while the note at the end of c.27 in MS C was added with Bower's knowledge during his lifetime to correspond with his decisions

about MS CA, the note in c.39 was added after MS R had been copied and before MS D was copied; the different layouts adopted for MS B and H, which were copied by the same scribe in 1480-1 and 1483-4 respectively, are noteworthy. This chapter is not represented in *Pluscarden* or *Extracta*.

Various versions of the letter which occupies most of this chapter have been published e.g. in Latin undated in J. Gay, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'orient 1342-1352* (Paris, 1904), 172-4, and in Italian dated 1346 in F.G. Dragomanni, *Collezione di Storici e Cronisti Italiani editi e inediti*, iv (Florence, 1845), 260-2. Dr A.T. Luttrell has provided useful bibliography about it, and advises on the strength of an unpublished MS in Venice (Museo Civico Correr, Cod. Cicogna 2547), and quoting also the opinion of Professor Elizabeth Zacharidou, that there lies behind the various versions a genuine letter written in western Asia Minor in the summer or autumn of 1344, when a joint papal-Venetian crusading expedition was advancing for its capture of Smyrna on 28 October. On the other hand Professor Norman Housley advises that this text is a propagandist forgery that 'almost certainly originated with the enemies of Venice, probably the Genoese, who saw the crusade as an instrument of that city's colonial ambitions' (N. Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305-1378* [Oxford, 1986], 231-2). Whatever its origin, it is known to have been 'often copied by anonymous publicists who accommodated its substance to their own purpose', and this was happening as late as the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 (R. Schwobel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: the Renaissance Image of the Turk 1453-1517* [Nieuwkoop, 1967], 204-5, 227, n.8).

Bower gives no hint of where he found this letter when writing in the 1440s at a time when only a handful of Scots are known to have been involved in fighting against the growing Turkish menace to Christendom (cf. Macquarrie, *Crusades*, 93-95); he associates it with the year 1366 i.e. soon after the crusade in the eastern Mediterranean led by Peter I de Lusignan, king of Cyprus (1359-69) that captured Alexandria in Egypt on 10 October 1365 (Housley, ut cit., 42-44); Professor Housley advises that it is ironic to find this letter associated with this attack on Alexandria, an expedition that was plain contrary to both Venetian and Genoese interests; but this could well have been the time when a copy of this letter reached Scotland, for King David was about then encouraging crusading activity for a time (see above c.34, ll.40-48); this defence of the Turkish position has been described as 'strained and unconvincing' (Housley, ut cit., 232), so that its effect was presumably to arouse indignation against the perfidious Turks.

5-6. *Morbassanus ... Juzevahyth*: these names are corrupt in all the variant texts; the Latin version quoted above begins: 'Morbassianus hebenesi cum fratribus Cerabi et Inbahit imperatoris Organi collaterales pugilles', and the Italian one: 'Marbasciano Eben Jesi, con li suoi fratelli Cerab e Luysbaye, e collaterali, combattitori dello 'mperadore Organe.' The first name is that of Umur Pasha (for confirmation see a letter of Pope Clement VI quoted in K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, i [Philadelphia, 1960], 194), the bey or emir of Aydin (the district around Smyrna), who was active 1334-48 often as an ally of the Byzantine emperors against the Latins in Greece and elsewhere (*ODB*, iii, 2141; more fully in P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin Byzance et l'occident* [Paris, 1957]). The other names include those of Umur's four brothers in corrupt forms; they were called Hizir, Ibrahim, Suleyman and Isa (Lemerle, ut cit., 27, 36); for Orhan see below l.57.

6. *Achaea*: alternatively Morea, i.e. the Peloponnese in southern Greece, then a Latin principality under an Angevin prince, which was subject to Turkish raids from across the Aegean Sea.

7. *lord high priest of the Romans*: i.e. Pope Clement VI (1342-52).

10-11. *whoever ... world*: the pope had extended the crusading indulgence to cover the 1344 expedition to Smyrna (Housley, ut cit., 33).

16. *Supreme Thunderer*: God.

19-26. *This is because ... did wrong*: the author is arguing that the Turks and the Italians had common ancestors in ancient Troy (in western Asia Minor), some of whose inhabitants had settled in Italy. Dr Luttrell advises that during the Renaissance the idea that the Turks fought the Greeks to avenge the destruction of Troy was quite widespread.

20. *Antenor*: a Trojan prince, the reputed founder of Padua in northern Italy.

*Aeneas*: the son of Anchises and Aphrodite, a Trojan hero, and after the fall of Troy the reputed founder of Rome.

21. *Priam*: king of Troy during the famous siege.

23. *we plan ... Asia*: Turkish expansion in western Asia Minor began near the site of ancient Troy.

24. *Hector*: the eldest son of Priam, the chief Trojan hero  
*Ilione*: the eldest daughter of Priam.

27-29. *cancel ... Venice*: Pope Clement had taken the initiative in urging Venice and others to go on crusade to Smyrna (Setton, ut cit., i, 183).

35-41. *nor do ... death*: antipathy to Jews was part of the crusading tradition.

44. *Caesar*: the Greek emperor at Byzantium.

45-48. *they ... rule*: a reference to the Aegean islands and parts of mainland Greece which had been Venetian colonies since the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

47. *as we have said above*: see above ll.21-23.

51. *legal rights*: a synonymous expression for 'laws'.

54. *Supreme Jupiter*: a curious expression for the God of Christians and Moslems.

57. *Orhan*: son of Osman, whom he succeeded as ruler of the Ottoman Turks in north-west Asia Minor 1326-62 with his capital at Bursa (*ODB*, iii, 1533).

63. *Thrace*: the identification (as in Goodall) of 'Tohorchiam' (text l.57) with Thrace is uncertain; the name does not appear in the variant texts mentioned above.

63-65. *Dated ... laws*: this clause is clearly corrupt; in the Italian text (see above), 262, the date is given as 'Data l'anno di Maometto 745 nell' entrata del mese Chaldeu', which Dr Hugh Kennedy advises probably means the Moslem dating 745 A.H. in the month of Dhu'l-Qu'da, i.e. 1345 soon after 6 March; even this date, however, seems to be six months or more too late for any genuine letter that may lie behind this text (see above); 'Chaldean fashion' here was a common confusion among Western writers when referring to the Arabs; 'Emorian laws' remains unexplained.

65. *laws*: there follows in MS C in the top third of fo.318 seventeen and one

half lines of an unrelated fragment of a longer text written in the text-hand, beginning in mid-sentence, and then all marked for deletion; this is a duplicate of XV c.20 below, text l.19 ('igitur scola huius sceleratisime doctrine') to l.44 ('choruscare') with variants towards the end; this text is found also running from the top of fo.327, which forms the same bifolio as fo.318 within the same section of the MS; this bifolio must originally been reversed with the original fos. 318-318v left blank for the list of rubrics for Book XV to be entered later, and the original fo.327 used for part of XV c.20; this latter text was then cancelled once its errors had been recognized and (to save paper) the bifolio was then reversed, leaving what is now fo.318 with a cancelled bit of text in the top third of a page, which could then be used just for the list of rubrics for Book XV (with fo.318v used later for two extra documents [see cc.56-56a]).

#### Chapter 56 p.453

At the end of the list of rubrics for Book XIV in MS C fo.293 a title for this chapter is entered by the text-hand in different ink with the number 56: 'Excommunicati sunt per bullam pape omnes qui rapiunt vel usurpant bona episcoporum decedencium', with the following comment: 'Vide tamen post titulos libri XV'; comprising as it does just the text of a papal bull, the chapter is in fact copied on fo.318v immediately after the list of rubrics for Book XV without any rubric, chapter-number or starting initial; this order is followed in MS R, which similarly has the chapter-number in its list of rubrics but not at the head of the document, while in MS H the text of cc.56 and 56a here runs on as part of c.55; cf. above c.46, ll.2-6, where in the main text in a 1384 context mention is made of this bull (out of chronological order) as having been entered after the list of rubrics for Book XIV [sic]; perhaps it was by scribal error that this instruction was not followed, and the bull was entered not in the space available on fo.293 after these rubrics, but instead in the space available on fo.318v after the rubrics for Book XV; the correct cross-reference is contained in a marginal note in MS C above at c.39, ll.33-37; but in another marginal note at end of c.27 this bull is wrongly said to be found 'in fine XV libri'. For MS CA Bower deleted mention of this document in c.46, and instead inserted its text there (along with that of c.56a below) in full; it was not included anywhere in MSS FF, P or FE; but in MSS D, B and E (followed in G) Bower's cross-reference in c.39 is misinterpreted and this chapter moved forward to form c.41; but here the original order and numbering is followed.

*Pluscarden* (321-2) follows the guidance given in c.46, ll.2-6 here to describe this papal bull at that stage of the story, though it wrongly dates it firmly 1385 (instead of 1375), before it goes on to add a mention of later action by King James II on the same subject (see below); *Extracta* (196-8) includes the whole bull at the same place in the story (following MS CA as usual) with only minor variants, but adds to the dating by the papal year at the end the wrong A.D. year 1373.

A full text of this papal bull with minor variants can be found also in Theiner, *Monumenta*, 353, no.710; cf. earlier bulls issued by the same Pope Gregory XI (1371-8) in confirmation of King David's grant (see below c.56a) dated 1 and 6 January 1372 (ibid., 346, no.694; cf. version in *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 122-4, which is misdated); there was apparently also an act of confirmation by King Robert II between then and the bull included here, which had not been fully effective (see l.16-23); hence the need for a further papal act.

For a discussion of how these acts fit into the long story of the claim of bishops through the centuries to dispose of their personal property under the customs of both church and state, see G.Donaldson, 'The rights of the crown in episcopal vacancies', in *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985), 31-39, especially 36; as mentioned in *Pluscarden* (see above) James II in 1450 was to resolve the matter finally, when he renounced any rights over the moveable property of deceased bishops, and conceded that they should have full power to dispose of them by testament (*APS*, ii, 37-38, 61-62; cf. Donaldson, ut cit., 31).

Bower is curiously ill-informed about the true date of this bull (despite the precise dating clause with which it ends), mistakenly thinking that it dated from ca 1384 (see above c.46, ll.2-6); he offers no factual context or discussion of its interest to explain why he decided to include it, though presumably in the 1440s when he was writing the topic was again a matter of controversy in the lead up to the action by King James in 1450 (see above); once he had included this text, he came across the related earlier act by King David II, and had it copied also as c.56a here.

#### Chapter 56a pp.455-7

The document in this chapter is not mentioned in MS C in its list of rubrics for Book XIV; as a late addition it has been carefully copied on to fo.318v beside and below the last of the list of rubrics for Book XV and the text of c.56 (see above); it has a short rubric itself, but no chapter-number, which is why it is treated here as an exceptional item additional to c.56; it was copied at the same place in MS R, and (like c.56) copied in MS H as part of c.55; since it is not mentioned above along with the bull of Gregory XI at c.46, ll.2-6, the intention to include it was presumably formed at a later stage; but when for MS CA Bower deleted these lines in c.46 in favour of including a full text of c.56 (see above), he included the document in this chapter also as the next item; it was not, however, included in MSS FE, P and FE; it is correctly mentioned in the marginal note in MS C at c.39, ll.31-38 as being placed after the list of rubrics for Book XV (cf. note at end of c.27, where it is not mentioned); but in MSS D, B and E (followed by G) this cross-reference is misinterpreted, and the chapter moved forward to form c.42. This document is not mentioned in *Pluscarden*; in *Extracta* (188-90) the full text is given under the heading 'Licencia datur episcopis testare, non obstante abusio regio in eschaeta bonorum', and placed at the equivalent of the end of c.27 here i.e. in 1363.



This letter or general notification of a decision of a parliament at Perth is found also in *RMS*, i, 129-30, no.372, and is datable 25 July 1368 × 11 January 1369 (see below; cf. *RRS*, vi, 522; for discussion of it see above c.56.

**15-16.** *Robert ... children*: perhaps Robert Steward's family are mentioned along with him as part of the restoration of relationships between King David and the family of his heir after he had imprisoned them briefly during the winter of 1368-9 (see above c.34, ll.18-22).

**16-17.** *three communities*: i.e. the three estates of magnate clergy, lay barons and freeholders, and burgh commissioners.

**50-51.** *John Steward*: created earl of Carrick on 22 June 1368 (*RRS*, vi, no.400).

**51.** *Thomas earl of Fife*: i.e. Thomas Bisset, as husband of the Fife heiress from 1363 until 17 March 1366 × 11 January 1369 (*HBC*, 508).

**52.** *George ... earl of March*: earl of March from 25 July 1368 (*RMS*, i, no.292).

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Both parts of this index are limited to the translation and to additional material found in the textual and editorial notes.

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